

United States Military Academy, West Point  
SS465: Terrorism and Counterterrorism – Spring 2011  
(January 3, 2011)

## **Course Instructors**

### **Course Director: Mr. Don Rassler, x. 8549**

Instructor: Dr. Nelly Lahoud, x. 5055

Instructor: Dr. Arie Perliger, x. 0671

Instructor: Mr. Gabriel Koehler-Derrick, x. 2899

## **Sections**

Mr. Don Rassler, Section 1 (E/F Hours), TH 362

Dr. Nelly Lahoud, Section 2 (E/F Hours), TH 360

Dr. Arie Perliger, Section 3 (E/F Hours), LH B202

Mr. Gabriel Koehler-Derrick, Section 4 (E/F Hours), TH 364

## **Course Overview**

The events of September 11, 2001 and the years following these attacks highlight the changing and dangerous nature of the international security environment. Although terrorism has never been simply a foreign problem, the United States has arguably been more affected by international terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century than at any time before. The United States not only faces a stubborn insurgency and ongoing terrorist attacks in Afghanistan and Iraq, but in the past year has also witnessed an unprecedented number of terrorist plots designed to kill and maim Americans in the U.S. homeland. Given that in the age of globalization terrorist attacks have a growing potential to influence U.S. national security and the course of global events, it is imperative that future U.S. Army leaders be armed with the intellectual tools to understand the complex nature of terrorism and the challenges of counterterrorism.

To that end, this course is designed to offer cadets a solid understanding of the causes, nature, and consequences of terrorism, and of the practical and moral dilemmas facing states' attempts to counter the terrorist threat. The course rests on the assumption that a sophisticated understanding of the contemporary terrorist threat requires an understanding both of the theoretical and historical underpinnings of terrorism, but also of practical and policy considerations surrounding terrorism and counterterrorism. We will therefore approach the topics from both a theoretical and practical stance; in other words, we will apply theory to contemplate, develop, and discuss policy relevant solutions. The course also rests on the assumption that an informed understanding of terrorism must involve examinations at various levels of analysis: that of the individual terrorist, that of the terrorist group, and that of the situational context of terrorism.

This is a demanding course that seeks to help raise cadets' appreciation of the complex nature of terrorism and counterterrorism. It will allow the students to learn about and question widely held beliefs about terrorism while developing their own thoughts about this subject. The course consists of four sections: 1) The Foundations of Terrorism; 2) The Context of Terrorism; 3) The Mechanisms of Contemporary Terrorism; and 4) Countering Terrorism. Elements of the last section will be emphasized throughout the semester, allowing students to work toward developing viable counterterrorism strategies. Together, these components build a synergistic educational basis that will provide cadets with a thorough grounding in terrorism studies.

This course is designed as a graduate level seminar. As such, there is a heavy reading load, and cadets will be active participants in class discussions. As in other graduate level seminars, discussion of the class readings will be an integral part of each lesson. Classes will meet once a week, making it important for cadets to plan well ahead of each lesson when to do the readings.

## Course Structure

Block I: The Foundations of Terrorism, offers an overview of the various definitions of terrorism and provides a historical sketch of political terrorism. It then examines the various causes that scholars have offered to explain the genesis of terrorism, and concludes with a lesson on some of the salient components of terrorism, including sanctuary, organization, financing, training, and the media.

Block II: The Context of Terrorism, begins by offering a typology of terrorism, distinguishing left-wing revolutionary terrorism from ethno-nationalist/separatist and religious variants. The block then delves into a deeper discussion of Al Qaeda and the global jihad movement, the predominant contemporary terrorist threat to U.S. national security. The block ends with a closer look at a number of case studies, including terrorist groups in the Afghan-Pakistani region, the United States, the United Kingdom, Algeria, Yemen, and Somalia. Cadets will be divided into groups and present on a case study of their choice.

Block III: The Mechanisms of Contemporary Terrorism, first addresses the stages of radicalization that many would-be terrorists undergo. It distinguishes radicalization of the individual terrorist from the recruitment efforts of the terrorist organizations. The block then takes a close look at some of the tactics associated with contemporary mass casualty terrorism, namely suicide terrorism and terrorism using chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons.

Block IV: Countering Terrorism, is designed to apply the students' recently gained understanding of terrorism toward devising strategies to address the terrorist threat. The block begins by providing an overview of the various elements of CT strategy, while also comparing the terrorism elements of several national and international security strategy documents. Next, cadets will again be divided into groups to examine a variety of CT strategies—targeted killings, public diplomacy, deradicalization, counterideological approaches, and others—in greater detail. The block will end with a discussion of how terrorist groups have historically ceased to exist, and how the United States can best position itself to ensure a positive outcome in the struggle against terrorism.

## Course Objectives

The course will first establish a baseline of terrorism education and an understanding of the threat posed by the new terrorism. In addition, the course's structure and guest speakers will assist the students in developing a framework to better understand terrorism and policy responses to address the different threats by:

- a. Offering cadets insights into the historical evolution, theoretical debates, key characteristics, and fundamental mechanisms of terrorism.
- b. Providing students with the intellectual tools and knowledge to understand and explain the changing security landscape throughout the world with respect to terrorism and its causes.
- c. Developing an understanding of political, economic and social causes of terrorism in diverse political systems through the use of theory, concepts, and case studies.
- d. Develop frameworks to analyze future changes to the security environment and the implications of these changes for national security policy and strategy.

## Course Readings

**Required Readings:** Most required articles for the course are available in the course reader. Those that are not found in the course reader are available online. The syllabus lists which of the required course readings are available in the course reader, and which online. URLs for articles that can be downloaded from the internet are found on the syllabus.

**Recommended Readings:** Recommended readings are designed as suggestions for additional immersion in a topic that is of particular interest to a cadet. They are also designed as a starting point for students with a deeper research interest in the topic of that particular lesson. Most recommended readings will be posted on the course website. Others are left to the student to find online or in the library, or can be requested from the course director via email at [don.rassler@usma.edu](mailto:don.rassler@usma.edu).

## Course Requirements

### Class Participation (100 points):

As stated earlier, this class is designed as a graduate level seminar. While the class will meet only once a week, there is a relatively high reading load. Students are expected to do the readings and come to class prepared. The class is devised in seminar-style, and students will actively debate the contributions and/or deficiencies of various theories on terrorism and counterterrorism, based on the readings and lessons.

When doing the readings, you should ask yourself a number of questions:

- What do you see as the most important insight or idea from the readings?
- Do the authors provide sufficient evidence to prove their point? Are there examples that contradict the authors' argument/s?
- Are the authors asking the right questions? Are you convinced of the conclusions? If there are apparent inconsistencies among the readings, what do you make of them?
- What questions or issues concern you about the reading(s)?

### Presentations (150 points):

Individual Presentations (80 points): At the beginning of each lesson, one cadet will present a class reading and guide class discussion. To that end, every instructor will distribute to his section a sign-up sheet containing a selection of the class readings from the syllabus. Each cadet will select one of the articles from that sign-up sheet. At a minimum, the presentation (10-15 minutes in length) will state the author's argument, summarize his/her points, relate the article to the course, and then critique the author's argument. Presentations will include a 1-2 page memorandum (not an outline) distributed to the entire class that summarizes the same material. Additionally, prepare discussion questions to guide the remainder of the 55-minute class period. The grade for this presentation will take into consideration your preparation, the quality of the memorandum, and the quality of the discussion that results from your presentation.

Group presentations (70 points): Each cadet will participate in two group presentations. The first group presentation occurs in Lesson 9: Case Studies on the Jihadist Threat. Cadets will form

groups of 3-4 students, and each group will choose a case study of a current terrorist hot spot (Algeria, Somalia, United Kingdom, United States, or Yemen). Group presentations will last 15 minutes, to be followed by a question-and-answer session. Group presentations must involve every cadet in that group.

The second group presentation takes place in Lesson 15: CT Strategies in Focus. Cadets will again be divided into 4 groups with 3-4 cadets in each group. Each group will lead a PowerPoint presentation of 15 minutes, followed by Q&A, analyzing the benefits and cost of a specific CT strategy, such as deradicalization, targeted assassinations, public diplomacy, etc.

### **Written Assignments (500 points):**

Research Memos: The major graded events for this semester will consist of a series of two research memorandums. In these memos, you are expected to provide analysis of the topic in succinct, logical, and persuasive fashion, as if you were writing for a key decision-maker. Outstanding memos will refer to insights gained during class and from the readings. Determinants of a high grade include rigorous analysis, sound research, logical argumentation, clarity in expression and other evidence of good writing skills. Citations should be made in accordance with social science standards, and as taught in SS307 International Relations.

Guidance for Research Memorandums: During the first block of the course, each student should choose an ongoing conflict pitting a terrorist organization against a specific state (e.g., Pakistani Taliban vs. Pakistan, or ETA vs. Spain). Each of the two memos will cover the same conflict, but in each of these memos you are asked to address a different aspect of that conflict. You need to receive your instructor's approval for each conflict you choose. Cadets must choose conflicts that are not discussed in great detail in class, although exceptions may be made on a case by case basis, after discussion with your instructor.

1. **Research Memo 1 (250 points):** The first memo is an analysis of the terrorist group that includes a discussion of the group's origins, goals, organizational structure, strategy, and tactics employed in pursuit of its desired end state. Approach this assignment as if you are constructing a background memorandum for a key decisionmaker such as the President or the National Security Advisor. Do not approach this assignment as merely a profile of a terrorist group that contains basic information. Instead, approach this memo as an analytical memo designed to assess the actual threat potential of this group. To that end, you need to a) define the threat and explain its significance; b) explain the group's strategy, the rationale behind it, and whether it was effective to date; c) indicate the group's structure, the logic behind that structure, and analyze whether that structure was the best fit given its strategy, limitations, and end state; d) finally, analyze the scope of the threat, including the regions and targets to which the group presents the greatest threat in the future.

Requirements: 5 pages, single spaced, Times New Roman, 12 point font, 1 inch margins

**Deadline: Tuesday, 22 February 2011, NLT 0800**

2. **Research Memo 2 (250 points):** The second memo examines the state's response to the terrorist group. Approach this assignment as if you are constructing a background memorandum for a key decision-maker. First, briefly describe the significance of the threat from the point of view of the state. Second, describe the particular CT approach the state adopted, and why. How did the state define success and effectiveness in this case? Third, explore the short- and long-term impact of these countermeasures on the terrorist group. Were these measures successful or unsuccessful in the short- and long-term, and why? Finally, discuss whether this case has any significance and applicability for U.S. counterterrorism efforts.

Requirements: 4 pages, single spaced, Times New Roman, 12 point font, 1 inch margins

**Deadline: Monday, 4 April 2011, NLT 0800**

**Term End Exam (250 points):**

Date: TBD

## Course Grades

The course will consist of 1000 points as follows. The grade assignment is as follows:

Assignment	Date Due	Points
Research Memo 1		250
Research Memo 2		250
Term End Exam (TEE)		250
Individual presentation	Variable	80
Group presentations		70
Class participation		100
<b>Total Points</b>		<b>1000</b>

	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.

## **BLOCK I – THE FOUNDATIONS OF TERRORISM**

Block I provides a baseline to understand the phenomenon of terrorism. We will discuss the historical evolution of political terrorism, the main characteristics of terrorism, and existing insights into the causes of terrorism. We will also introduce a framework that we will use throughout the course to understand the terrorist groups and their behavior. To begin this process, we must understand the security environment from multiple perspectives as well as recognizing the uncertainties within the security environment.

Since the rise of modern terrorism in 1968, terrorism has changed and evolved. Is terrorism fundamentally different from other forms of political violence? To answer that question, we must first gain conceptual clarity about the term “terrorism” itself. What is terrorism? What is a terrorist? Who is a terrorist? Terrorism is not an “ism” in the conventional sense of ideology. Terrorists do not want a “terrorist state” so the question we must examine is, what do terrorists desire and what motivates individuals to seek violence as recourse to structural harms? The terrorists’ ends have changed over time and with those changing ends, the means and acceptable levels of violence have changed as well. Finally, we will examine needs and requirements of groups seeking to employ political violence. How groups organize to fight defines a set of capabilities as well as limitations. Furthermore, the new terrorist groups are converging with transnational criminal elements that have redefined the playing field.

### **Lesson 1 – Terrorism: Definitions and Historical Context (Jan 11, 13)**

- Terrorism Defined
  - What is terrorism and how should we think about this form of political violence?
  - Who is a terrorist?
- Context
  - Why terrorism and why today?
  - How are we to understand the nature of the threat before us? What is its purpose?
  - What is the nature of terrorist strategy?

#### Required Readings:

- Eqbal Ahmad, “Terrorism: Theirs & Ours.” (Course Reader)
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Revised and Expanded Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp 1-41 (Course Reader)
- David Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Rebel Terrorism and September 11” (Online: available at <http://www.anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap0801/terror.htm>)
- James Hess and Curtis R. Friedel, “Applying Critical Thinking to Intelligence Analysis,” *American Intelligence Journal*, Summer 2008, pp. 31-44. (Available from Instructor)

#### Recommended Readings:

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Beyond the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3, (Winter 2002/3), pp 30-58.
- Richmond M. Loyd, “Strategy and Force Planning Framework,” pp. 1-15.
- Henry C. Bartlett, G. Paul Holman, Jr., and Timothy E. Somes, “The Art of Strategy and Force Planning,” pp. 16-28.

## **Lesson 2 – Terrorism: Root Causes, Motivations, and Justifications (Jan 18, 20)**

- Terrorist Motivations
  - Why do people resort to violence in pursuit of political or ideological ends?
  - What motivates terrorists?
  - What role do economics, psychology, sociology or other grievances play in motivating terrorist groups?
  - How can we understand the interrelationship between societal, group and individual dynamics in terrorism?
  - How is it that individuals are able to justify their involvement in terrorist organizations and the violence they commit?

### Required Readings:

- Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (July 1981) (Course Reader)
- Martha Crenshaw, “The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice.” (Course Reader)
- Jeff Victoroff, “The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2005), pp. 3-42 (Course Reader)

### Recommended Readings:

- Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara Walter, “The Strategies of Terrorism”
- Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism does not work,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.
- Alan Krueger and Jitka Maletkova, “Education, Poverty, Political Violence, and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection?” National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 9074, July 2002. (on Website) **Read the summary of this article, skim the remainder.**

## **Lesson 3 – Components of Terrorism (Jan 24, 26, 28)**

- What factors enable and facilitate organizations to conduct political violence and why are these factors important?
  - Sanctuary
  - Organization
  - Financing
  - Training
  - Media
- How do groups organize – what are the implications of organizational structure?
  - What are the organizational tradeoffs between security and efficacy?
  - How do networks function internationally?
  - How do networks function at the operational level?

### Required Readings:

- Ray Takeyh & Nikolas K. Gvosdev, “Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?” (Course Reader)
- Jacob Shapiro, “Organizing Terror: Hierarchy and Networks in Covert Organizations,” Manuscript, 2005. (Course Reader)
- John Rollins, Liana Sun Wyler, and Seth Rosen, “International Terrorism and Transnational Crime: Security Threats, U.S. Policy, and Considerations for Congress,” Congressional Research Service Report, January 2010. (Online: available at [http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R41004\\_20100318.pdf](http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R41004_20100318.pdf))
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Ch. 6-7 (Course Reader)
- Justin Magouirk, Scott Atran, and Marc Sageman, “Connecting Terrorist Networks,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 2008), pp. 1-16. (Course Reader)

## BLOCK II – THE CONTEXT OF TERRORISM

Understanding the context of terrorism today requires us to understand how we have arrived at where we are today. Part II begins with a review of two historical terrorism cases: the ethno-nationalist conflict in Algeria and the revolutionary conflict in Peru. These two very different cases present unique lessons for understanding the dynamics of today's organizations.

Next, we will discuss the changing framework of terrorist ideology – from political to religious – and the implications of this shift. How did religion rise to become the dominant framework? Is there really a difference between politically and religiously motivated terrorism? How should we evaluate the future implications of this change? Is the increasing level of violence and willingness to use violence a result of a shift from political motivations to religious motivations – or, are all terrorist actions ultimately politically motivated?

The Salafi Jihadist terrorists, including al Qaeda, rely upon the de-contextualization and reinterpretation of Islam. We will explore the construction of the Salafi Jihadi narrative as an example of how the organization constructs interpretations of the world around them in an attempt to both serve as the vanguard for a larger group and as a justification for violence.

Al Qaeda has become the prototype of this organization and has defined the past decade of terrorist violence. The global, distributed social movement that undergirds the organization provides a case study to understand mobilization and radicalization. Finally, we will examine how the organization has morphed into a social movement? How, in light of the counterterrorism successes of recent years, has al Qaeda continued to not only operate but expand in some areas? Additionally, we will look at some of the terrorists' own media and their attempt to shape their own message.

### **Lesson 4 – Types of Terrorism 1: Left Wing Revolutionary and Ethno-Nationalist/ Separatist Terrorism (Feb 1, 3)**

- Use historical examples of revolutionary and state formation terrorism to learn lessons about today's threat.
  - What can we learn from historical examples of state response to terrorist organizations?
  - If you have not already seen the *Battle of Algiers*, I would recommend seeing the film.

#### Required Readings

- Paul Wilkinson, "Why Modern Terrorism? Differentiating Types and Distinguishing Ideological Motivations," in Charles Kegley, Jr., ed., *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*. (Course Reader)
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War," in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context*, (University Park: Penn State Press 2001). (Course Reader)
- David Scott Palmer, "The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path," in Martha Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context*, (University Park: Penn State Press 2001). (Course Reader)

#### Recommended Readings

- Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction: Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 3-24

- Charles Townshend, "The Culture of Paramilitarism in Ireland," in *Terrorism in Context*, edited by Martha Crenshaw, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 2005, p.311-351.

### **Lesson 5 – Types of Terrorism II: Religious Terrorism (Feb 7, 9, 11)**

- Is there a difference when groups utilize religion as opposed to political or other motivations?
- Is there something qualitatively different about religion than other belief systems?
- What is the impact of the shift in ideologies in terms of ways, means and ends of terrorism?
- What are the implications when political goals are conceived in divine, supranational terms?

#### Required Readings:

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Chapter 4. (Course Reader)
- Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion." (Course Reader)
- Jessica Stern, "The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord," in Jonathan Tucker, ed., *Toxic Terror* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000). (Course Reader)

#### Recommended Readings:

- Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Logic of Religious Violence."

### **Lesson 6 – Origins of Islamic Radicalism (Feb 15, 17)**

#### Required Readings:

- International Crisis Group, "Understanding Islamism." (Online: available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/North%20Africa/Understanding%20Islamism.ashx>)
- Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), Introduction and Ch. 1. (Course Reader)
- Emmanuel Sivan, "The Clash Within Islam," *Survival*, Vol 45, no, 1, Spring 2003, 25-44 (Course Reader)
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, "A Genealogy of Radical Islam," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 28, 75-97, 2005. (Course Reader)

#### Recommended Readings:

- Quintan Wiktorowicz, "The Anatomy of the Salafi Movement," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 29: 20-239. 2006

### **Lesson 7 – Al Qaeda - Origins and Organization pre-9/11 (Feb 22, 24)**

#### **Guest Lecture: Dr. Bruce Hoffman, Feb 22**

- The origins, organization, structure and challenges posed by al Qaeda.
- How can we evaluate this organization within the history of modern terrorism?
- What do the origins of the organization portend for future development?

#### Required Readings:

- Vahid Brown, "Cracks in the Foundation," Combating Terrorism Center Report, 2006, pp. 1-23. (Online: [http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/Harmony\\_3\\_Schism.pdf](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/Harmony_3_Schism.pdf))

- Assaf Moghadam, "Al Qaeda and the Primacy of Suicide Attacks," in Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), Ch. 2. (Course Reader)
- Harmony Document, AFGP-2002-600048, By-laws (Course Reader)
- Harmony Document, DOCUMENT AFGP-2002-600045, Employment Contract (Course Reader)
- Allen Cullison, "Inside al Qaeda's Hard Drive," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2004. (Course Reader)
- "Text of World Islamic Front's Statement Urging Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders" printed in Al-Quds al-'Arabi, 23 February 1998. (Course Reader)

Recommended Readings:

- Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Towers: al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*,
- Combating Terrorism Center, "Harmony and Disharmony."
- Michael Scheuer, *Through Our Enemies Eyes: Osama bin Laden, Radical Islam, and the Future of America*, Potomac Books, 2002.

**Lesson 8 – Al Qaeda post-9/11: The Global Jihad Movement (Feb 28, Mar, 2, 4)**

**Guest Lecture: Dr. Bruce Hoffman, Mar 2**

- Hype or reality – the strength of a "network of networks"
  - How has Al Qaeda evolved into a global network?
  - How does the "network of networks" function?
  - How sophisticated are the associated groups?
  - How representative are these cases of a larger trend?
  - What type of threat do these groups present to both the host nation and the US?
  - What types of policies should the US pursue based on analysis of the above items?
- The transformative nature of Islamist fundamentalism and fundamentalist groups.
  - How has the movement changed?
  - What challenges does this movement present for the counterterrorist?
  - What types of policies should the US pursue based on analysis of the above items?

Required Readings:

- Bruce Riedel, "Al Qaeda Strikes Back," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (May/June 2007) (Course Reader)
- Assaf Moghadam, "From Al Qaeda to Global Jihad," in Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom*, Ch. 4. (Course Reader)
- Bruce Hoffman, "The Myth of Grass-Roots Terrorism: Why Osama bin Laden Still Matters," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008 (Course Reader)
- Marc Sageman and Bruce Hoffman, "Does Osama Still Call the Shots? Debating the Containment of al Qaeda's Leadership," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008. (Course Reader)
- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Ideological Hybridization of Jihadi Groups," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, 18 November 2009. Available at <http://currenttrends.org/research/detail/the-ideological-hybridization-of-jihadi-groups>

Recommended Reading:

- Scott Helfstein and Dominick Wright, "Success, Lethality, and Cell Structure Across the Dimensions of al-Qa'ida," Working Paper, December 2009.

## **Lesson 9 – Group Presentations 1: The Jihadist Threat – Case Studies (Mar 8, 10)**

- Cadets will be divided into several groups, with each group picking a case study of a contemporary jihadist threat from the list below . Each group will give a 15 minute presentation, followed by a 15 minute Q&A session. Presentations are to be given in PowerPoint format.
- In-depth assessment of the contemporary jihadist threat posed in a number of countries.
- Why has there been an uptick in violence in these particular regions?
- What makes these regions particularly vulnerable targets and/or breeding grounds for jihadist terrorists?
- How has the state responded in each of these cases?
  - United States
  - United Kingdom
  - Algeria
  - Somalia
  - Yemen

### United States:

- Bruce Hoffman, "American Jihad," *National Interest*, No. 107 (May/June 2010), 17-27. (Course Reader)
- Lorenzo Vidino, Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism in the United States: A New and Occasional Phenomenon?, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32 (1): 1-17. (Course Reader)
- David Schanzer, Charles Kurzman, and Ebrahim Moosa, "Anti-Terror Lessons of Muslim Americans, Duke University, 6 January 2010. (Online: available at <http://www.sanford.duke.edu/centers/tcths/documents/Anti-TerrorLessonsfinal.pdf>)
- Rick Nelson and Ben Bodurian, "A Growing Terrorist Threat? Assessing "Homegrown" Extremism in the United States," CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program Report, March 2010. (Online: [http://csis.org/files/publication/100304\\_Nelson\\_GrowingTerroristThreat\\_Web.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/100304_Nelson_GrowingTerroristThreat_Web.pdf))

### United Kingdom:

- Honourable House of Commons, Report of the Official Account of the Bombings in London on 7th July 2005 (London: The Stationary Office, HC 1087), 11 May 2006. (Online: Available at <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/hc0506/hc10/1087/1087.asp>)
- Intelligence and Security Committee, "Could 7/7 Have Been Prevented?" Report from House of Commons Presented to Parliament, May 2009. (Online: Available <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm76/7617/7617.asp>)
- Assaf Moghadam, "The United Kingdom and the 7/7 Bombings," in Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Course Reader).

### Algeria:

- Al Qaeda Branch Steps Up Raids in North Africa. (Online: available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/10/world/africa/10terror.html?emc=eta1>)
- Lianne Kennedy Boudali, "AQ in the Islamic Maghreb: Evaluating the results of the al-Qa'ida Makeover." (Available by email from Instructor)

### Yemen:

- CTC Sentinel Special Issue: Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, January 2010. (Online: available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/CTCSentinel-YemenSI-2009.pdf>)

### Somalia:

- Kenneth Menkhaus, "Violent Islamic Extremism: Al-Shabaab Recruitment in America," Hearing before the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, March 11, 2009 (Course Reader)
- (Online: available at [http://hsgac.senate.gov/public\\_files/031109Menkhaus031109.pdf](http://hsgac.senate.gov/public_files/031109Menkhaus031109.pdf))
- Andrea Elliott, "A Call to Jihad From Somalia, Answered in the U.S.," *New York Times*, 12 July 2009. (Online: Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/12/us/12somalis.html>) .

### **Lesson 10 – Case Study: Dynamics in the Afg-Pak Region (Mar 21, 23, 25)**

- What is the significance of terrorist groups in South Asia?
- How are they tied to U.S. and coalition efforts in the region?
- How has al-Qaeda influenced the objectives, organization, strategy, and actions of these groups?
- What role can we expect them to play in the future?

#### Required Readings:

- Seth Jones, "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad," *International Security*, Spring 2008. (Course Reader)
- Jacob Shapiro and Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," *International Security*, Winter 2009/2010 (Course Reader).
- Hussain Haqqani, "The Ideologies of South Asian Jihadi Groups," *Current Trends in Islamic Ideology*, vol. 1, pp. 12-26, 2005. (Online: available at <http://www.currenttrends.org/research/detail/the-ideologies-of-south-asian-jihadi-groups>)
- Jayshree Bajoria, Pakistan's New Generation of Terrorists, Backgrounder, Council on Foreign Relations, 6 May 2010. (Online: available at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/15422/>).
- Stephen Tankel, "Lashkar-e-Taiba in Perspective: An Evolving Threat," New America Foundation, February 2010. (Online: available at [http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/publications/policy/lashkar\\_e\\_taiba\\_in\\_perspective](http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/publications/policy/lashkar_e_taiba_in_perspective))

#### Recommended Readings:

- "Pakistan: The Militant Jihadi Challenge," International Crisis Group, Asia Report No. 164, 13 March 2009.
- Yoginder Sikand, "The Changing Course of the Kashmiri Struggle: from National Liberation to Islamic Jihad," *Muslim World* 91 (2001), pp. 229-56.

## **BLOCK III – THE MECHANISMS OF CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM**

In Block III, we turn our attention to the emergent mechanisms of contemporary terrorism.

We will explore the impact of globalization and technology on age old issues of terrorist recruitment and radicalization. How are terrorists leveraging the tools of the modern age to further their cause? What can be done to stop them? What impact does this portend for civil liberties?

Additionally, we will look at the rise of suicide bombings as a terrorist tactic in recent years and terrorist efforts to acquire and use chemical, biological, nuclear, and radiological (CBRN) weapons against states.

### **Lesson 11 – Pathways to Mobilization: Radicalization & Recruitment (Mar 29, 31)**

- Terrorist Recruitment – how can we make sense of this phenomenon that is the lifeline of all terrorist organizations?

- Mobilization - what strategies are employed to mobilize individuals to choose political violence over alternative means? What role do ideological entrepreneurs play in constructing a social reality? What framing devices are utilized by these ideological entrepreneurs?
- Radicalization – what strategies and techniques are utilized in radicalizing individuals in service of the current fight?

Required Readings:

- Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26 (2000): 611-639 (Course Reader)
- Alejandro J. Beutel, "Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism in Western Muslim Communities: Lessons Learned for America" (Course Reader)
- Abu-Amr al-Qa'idi, "A Course in the Art of Recruiting Mujahidin" posted to Jihadi Forum on 7 September 2008. Open Source Center, GMP20080929342001. (Course Reader)
- Brian Michael Jenkins, "Would be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States Since September 11, 2001," RAND Occasional Paper (2010). (Online: Available at [http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2010/RAND\\_OP292.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2010/RAND_OP292.pdf))
- "Recruitment and Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe," ICSR/Kings College London, October 2008 (Online: available at [http://www.icsr.info/publications/papers/1234516791ICSREURResearchReport\\_Proof1.pdf](http://www.icsr.info/publications/papers/1234516791ICSREURResearchReport_Proof1.pdf))

Recommended Readings:

- Laila Bokhari, Thomas Hegghammer, Brynjar Lia, Petter Nesser, Truls Tonnessen, "Paths to Global Jihad: Radicalization and Recruitment to Terror Networks" Proceedings from a FFI Seminar, Oslo, 15 March 2006.
- Donatella della Porta, "On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations," in *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations* (International Social Movement Research, Vol. 4, 1992).

**Lesson 12 – Suicide Terrorism (Apr 4, 6, 8)**

- Suicide Attacks
  - Why martyrdom – is there a qualitative difference between this and other means of terrorism?
  - How are we to understand the likelihood of this threat and will suicide bombers come to the US?
  - What are the competing theories of suicide terrorism?
  - What does the recent increase in suicide terrorism tell us about the commitment of religious terrorists? What impact does it have on recruitment?

Required Readings:

- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, 97.3 (August 2003) (Course Reader)
- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Winter 2008/09), pp. 46–78. (Course Reader)
- Mohammed Hafez, "Rationality, Culture, and Structure in the Making of Suicide Bombers: A Preliminary Theoretical Synthesis and Illustrative Case Study." (Course Reader)
- Bruce Hoffman and Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attack," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 27, 4 (July-August 2004), pp. 243-82. (Course Reader)

## **Lesson 13—CBRN Terrorism (Apr 12, 14)**

- CBRN Terrorism
  - What are the challenges associated with terrorist acquisition and use of CBRN weapons?
  - Should we be concerned?
  - What feasible counterterrorism tactics can the U.S. and other countries employ to prevent terrorist acquisition and use of these weapons?

### **Required Readings:**

- Jonathan Tucker, ed., Introduction to his edited volume, *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000) (Course Reader)
- Gavin Cameron & Natasha E. Bajema, “Assessing the Post-9/11 Threat of CBRN Terrorism: A Threat of Mass Destruction or Mass Disruption?” (Course Reader)
- Adam Dolnik, ‘13 Years Since Tokyo: Revisiting the Superterrorism Debate,’ Vol. II, Issue 2, *Perspectives on Terrorism* Journal. (Course Reader)
- Rolf Mowatt-Larssen, “Al Qaeda Weapons of Mass Destruction Threat: Hype or Reality?,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, January 2010 (Online: available at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/al-qaeda-wmd-threat.pdf>)

### **Recommended Readings:**

- Matthew Bunn and Susan B. Martin, “Is Nuclear Terrorism a *Real Threat*?” in Stuart Gottlieb, ed., *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), pp. 166-200

## **BLOCK IV – COUNTERING TERRORISM**

In Block IV, we turn our attention to the strategies designed to combat this evolving threat.

Groups like Al Qaeda present many challenges and threats to our security, both through its physical networks and through its ideology. After having discussed the origins and evolution of the group in earlier sections, here we will look at counterterrorist responses to the threat posed by terrorism. Particular emphasis will be placed on the threat posed by Al Qaeda and associated movements (AQAM) in the post-9/11 environment.

Finally, we will evaluate what strategies and policies should the United States (and other countries) adopt to deal with the new terrorism? What can the United States do? Should the United States act in a unilateral manner to respond to terrorism? How should we think about counterterrorism? After considering different means and ends of terrorism, Part IV offers a look at diplomatic, intelligence, military, law enforcement, and economic strategies to resolve these questions.

## **Lesson 14 – Counterterrorism I: Instruments, Strategy, and Policy (Apr 18, 20, 22)**

### **Guest Lecture: TBD, Date-TBD**

- How has the U.S. defined the threat since 9/11? What are the implications associated with different definitions?
- What are the various elements of counterterrorism strategy?
- Which agencies are responsible for each element of U.S. counterterrorism strategy?
- What does success look like and is it possible?

- As we look to the future, what are the emerging threats within transnational terrorism that we do not understand or have failed to pay attention to?
- What exogenous factors are shaping the context for al Qaeda and other transnational organizations?

Required Readings:

- Paul Pillar, "Counterterrorism Instruments," in Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2001), pp.73-129. (Course Reader)
- John Mueller, "Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 17: 487-505, 2005. (Course Reader)
- 2006 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. (Online: available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsct/nsct/2006/nsct2006.pdf>)
- 2010 National Security Strategy (Online: [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf))
- United Kingdom's Prevent Strategy. (Online: available at [http://security.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-publications/publication-search/prevent/guidance-prevent-strategy/.](http://security.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-publications/publication-search/prevent/guidance-prevent-strategy/))

Recommended Readings:

- Catherine Lotrionte, "When to Target Leaders," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2003), pp. 73-86, available at: [http://www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer\\_lotrionte.pdf](http://www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer_lotrionte.pdf).
- Amy Zegart, *Spying Blind: The CIA, The FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*, Princeton University Press, 2007.

**Lesson 15 – Group Presentations 2: CT Strategies in Focus (Apr 26, 29)**

- Cadets will be divided into several groups, with each group picking a case study of a CT strategy from the list below . Each group will give a 15 minute presentation, followed by a 15 minute Q&A session. Presentations are to be given in PowerPoint format.
- CT Strategies in Focus
  - What are the strengths and weaknesses of particular CT strategies?
  - Under what circumstances are specific strategies more/less likely to work?
  - What are terrorists' strengths? Vulnerabilities?
  - What are government strengths? Vulnerabilities?
  - How can the government best leverage its strengths and exploit terrorist weaknesses?

Targeted Killings:

- Daniel Byman, Do Targeted Killings Work? *Foreign Affairs*, 95-111. (Course Reader)

Public Diplomacy:

- Peter Peterson, Public Diplomacy and the War on Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*, 81: 74. (Course Reader)

Deradicalization:

- Jessica Stern: Mind over Martyr: How to Deradicalize Islamist Extremists, *Foreign Affairs* (Course Reader)

War of Ideas:

- Kenneth Payne, "Winning the Battle of Ideas: Propaganda, Ideology, and Terror," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32 (2): 109-128 (Course Reader).
- Heather S. Gregg, "Fighting the Jihad of the Pen: Countering Revolutionary Islam's Ideology," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (2): 292-314. (Course Reader)

Preemption:

- Richard H. Shultz and Andreas Vogt, "It's War! Fighting Post-11 September Global Terrorism through a Doctrine of Preemption," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 15, no. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 139-151. (Course Reader)

Intelligence:

- Paul Pillar, "Intelligence," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Georgetown University Press, 2003), pp. 115-139. (Course Reader)

**Lesson 16 –How Terrorism Ends (May 3, 5)**

- What tools are necessary for effectively countering terrorism?
- What are the limits of counterterrorism?
- Are we winning? How will we know if we have won—what are the appropriate metrics?
- How have terrorist groups historically ceased to exist?

Required Readings:

- Daniel Byman, "What is Victory and How Do We Achieve it?," in Daniel Byman: *The Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, 2008), pp. 49-82. (Course Reader)
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 7–48. (Course Reader)
- Uri Fisher, "Deterrence, Terrorism and American Values" (Course Reader)
- Combating Terrorism Center, "The Five Powers of al-Qa`ida," *CTC Sentinel*, March 2009. (Online: available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/CTCSentinel-Vol2Iss1.pdf>), pp. 1-4.
- United States Institute of Peace Special Report, "How Terrorism Ends" (Online: available at <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr990525.pdf>)

Recommended Readings:

- 9/11 Commission Report, "Counterterrorism Evolves," 71-253. Available at <http://www.9-11commission.gov/>