INR 4084.0001: POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Instructor: Marcos Degaut
Class Meetings: MWF, 10:30-11:20 AM at CB1 0120
Credit: 3 units
Office Hours: 11:30 AM – 12:30 PM, MW at Philips Hall 313 or by appointment
Instructor E-mail: marcosdegaut@knights.ucf.edu

Terrorism dominates the headlines today, but how much do we really know about this form of political violence? What is terrorism? Who is a terrorist, and in the eyes of whom? What drives an individual to join a violent political group? What are the characteristics of terrorism? Why do some groups engage in terrorism and others don't? What are common causes of terrorism? This course will address these and many other questions, while introducing students to relevant analytical frameworks, theories, and cases concerning terrorism and providing a general introduction to important facets of terrorism, such as its historical development, its strategic logics, contemporary methodologies, and political roots, as well as the challenges facing counter-terrorism today.

Course Goals:

As a result of this course, the student will:

- be able to identify, analyze, and describe the major causes of terrorism.
- be able to identify, analyze, and describe the major consequences of terrorism.
- be able to identify, analyze and describe why individuals connect with and join terrorist groups.
- acquire an understanding of the historical foundations of contemporary international terrorism.
- acquire a thorough understanding of modern terrorism as a political, military, social, and economic phenomenon.
- become familiar with characteristics of major terrorist organizations, including their political ideologies and efforts by opponents to counter them.
- learn how to improve their analytical thinking, conduct quality research, and present an effective argument, both orally and in writing.

Course Design

This course will provide a variety of activities and assessments to assist you in achieving the outcomes/objectives for the course, reason why it involves a combination of class sessions which includes lecture and discussion, directed readings, papers, exams, and opportunities for informal discussion during office hours. Each part serves a purpose, be it information transmission and retention, promoting rigorous analysis, or encouraging the development of new ideas. Failing to engage with all parts will diminish the return on your efforts. For this reason, pre-class preparation is essential for this course. Students are expected to have read and considered the assigned material prior to the course, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Please remember that that the material of the course is delivered in *both* texts and in-class discussion, which means that the texts contain valuable ideas and information which may not be specifically addressed in class, and discussions and lectures will go beyond the readings. You are responsible for understanding both, so please be sure to raise questions about things you are unsure about.

Assignments:

Course grades will be the product of the following:

Class Preparation and Participation: *10%.*
Note that "Class Preparation and Participation" represents 10% of your overall grade. Your active participation in class is therefore necessary if this class is to be a successful learning experience. This means you must come in having read the assignments and join in the class-room discussion of them, making evident that you have read and thought about them. While attendance is not graded as such, excessive truancy can affect this grade, since you are unable to participate when absent. I document and grade class participation after every class meeting.

5 1-page papers: *15%.* Topics will be distributed in class.

Midterm Exam: *25%,* 9 **October,** at normal class time.

Course Paper: *25%,* Due **7 December**. Write an 8-page paper advancing an argument about a subject related to terrorism. Further instructions will be distributed.

Final Exam: *25%*, Tuesday **9 December**, cumulative.

Optional Discussion Participation and Bonus Grade

In addition to the required assignments, optional assignments on specific topics and issues will be distributed in class. Every time you complete one of these optional assignments, you will receive bonus points. The points from these optional discussions will go toward a bonus that will be added to your overall grade for the semester, up to 5% addition to your grade. So, for instance, if you earn an 87.5% overall for the semester, but you were very active in the optional assignments, you earn a 4.3% bonus, that gets added to your overall grade, for a new total of 91.8%, and instead of getting a B, you would get an A! And, because this is such a large possible bonus, please note that I do NOT round grades up at all. In other words, if you get an 89.9% overall, but never participate in the optional discussions, then your final grade will be a B.

Missed Assignments/Make-Ups

Papers and assignments must be turned in by class time on the day they are due. They should be in hardcopy unless unforeseen circumstances prevent printing them in or handing them in a timely manner. Exams may not be rescheduled or postponed. ***Exceptions will be allowed only under extreme, documented circumstances***. Under such circumstances, you are required to notify me (or, if I am unavailable, the Department of Political Science) prior to the date or as soon as possible if prior notice is impossible. Late papers are generally not accepted. If I accept a late paper because of circumstances, I will make substantial reductions in the paper grade for every day it is late, up to a maximum of 75% reduction.

Ungraded Assignment

First Week Academic Activity
As of Fall 2014, all faculty members are required to document students' academic activity at the beginning of each course. In order to document that you began this course, please complete the following academic activity by the end of the first week of classes, or as soon as possible after adding the course, but no later than August 28. Failure to do so will result in a delay in the disbursement of your financial aid. To complete the assignment (it's simple, based on the first reading), go to the webcourses webpage, select quizzes, and complete the 1-question quiz.

Evaluation and Grading

Grades are assigned to both individual pieces of work and cumulatively. The grade scale I use for both is below (note that "g" refers to the numerical grade you receive). I do not usually curve grades, but reserve the right to do so if I deem it necessary. All material is graded on its own terms, rather than through comparison with other students' work.

100>g≥93: A	90>g≥88: B+	80>g≥78: C+	70>g≥68: D+	60>g: E
	88>g≥83: B	78>g≥73: C	68>g≥63: D	
93>g≥90: A-	83>g≥80: B	73>g≥70: C-	63>g≥60: D	

Academic Honesty

As reflected in the UCF creed, integrity and scholarship are core values that should guide our conduct and decisions as members of the UCF community. Plagiarism and cheating contradict these values, and so are very serious academic offenses. Penalties can include a failing grade in an assignment or in the course, or suspension or expulsion from the university. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and follow the University's Rules of Conduct (see http://www.osc.sdes.ucf.edu/).

Plagiarism and Cheating of any kind on an examination, paper, or assignment will result at least in an "F" for that assignment (and may, depending on the severity of the case, lead to an "F" for the entire course) and may be subject to appropriate referral to the Office of Student Conduct for further action. See the UCF Golden Rule for further information. I will assume for this course that you will adhere to the academic creed of this University and will maintain the highest standards of academic integrity. In other words, don't cheat by giving answers to others or taking them from anyone else. I will also adhere to the highest standards of academic integrity, so please do not ask me to change (or expect me to change) your grade illegitimately or to bend or break rules for one person that will not apply to everyone.

Disabilities Accommodations

The University of Central Florida is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. This syllabus is available in alternate formats upon request. Students with disabilities who need accommodations in this course must contact the professor at the beginning of the semester to discuss needed accommodations. No accommodations will be provided until the student has met with the professor to request accommodations. Students who need accommodations must be registered with Student Disability

Services, Ferrell Commons Room 132, phone (407) 823-2371, TTY/TDD only phone (407) 823-2116, before requesting accommodations from the professor.

Changes to the Syllabus
In the event that there is a need for there to be any changes to the syllabus, an e-mail will be sent to all students' knights-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar), and will be mentioned in class meetings. Changes become effective immediately after their mention in class, or the sending of the e-mail.

Cancellation of Class: In the event that the instructor needs to cancel class, an e-mail will be sent to all students' knights-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar) prior to class time.

Copyright
This course may contain copyright protected materials such as audio or video clips, images, text materials, etc. These items are being used with regard to the Fair Use doctrine in order to enhance the learning environment. Please do not copy, duplicate, or distribute these items. The use of these materials is strictly reserved for this classroom environment and your use only. All copyright materials are credited to the copyright holder.

Readings

The following book should be purchased:

Russell Howard and Bruce Hoffman, *Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment, Readings and Interpretations*, 4th edition. Mcgraw-Hill.

All other course materials will be available online, via the webcourses@ucf website.

Course Schedule

24 August
Overview of the course
No reading required

26 August
What is terrorism?
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 1.1, "Defining Terrorism", by Bruce Hoffman.

28 August
What is terrorism?
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 1.2, "Terrorism: Theirs & Ours," by Eqbal Ahmad.

31 August
Characteristics of terrorism
Cindy C. Combs (2006), "An Idea Whose Time Has Come?", pp. 8-19.
Paul Pillar (2001), "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism", pp. 24-36.

2 September
The Pre History of Terrorism
Gérard Chaliand & Arnaud Blin (2007), "Zealots and Assassins", pp. 55-78, and "The invention of Modern Terror", pp. 95-112.

4 September
The Roots of Modern Terrorism
Olivier Hubac-Occhipinti (2007), "Anarchist Terrorists of the Nineteenth Century", pp. 113-131; and Gérard Chaliand & Arnaud Blin (2007), "Russian Terrorism, 1878-1908", pp. 132-174.

7 September
LABOR DAY: No class

9 September
The Roots of Modern Terrorism
David Rapoport (2004), "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism", pp. 46-73.

11 September
A New Terrorism?
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 3.1, "The New Terrorism", by Russell Howard and Margaret J. Nencheck;
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 3.2, "The Debate over `New' vs. `Old' Terrorism, by Martha Crenshaw.

Optional Reading:
Paul Wilkinson (2003), "Why Modern Terrorism?", pp. 106-134.

14 September
Why Terrorism?
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 1.3, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," by Martha Crenshaw;
Martha Crenshaw (2003), "The Causes of Terrorism", pp. 92-103.

Optional Reading:
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 2.4, "Terrorism as a Product of Choices and Perceptions, by James Forest;

16 September
Why Terrorism?
Rex A. Hudson (1999), "The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?" pp. 19-55;

Optional Readings:
Edward Newman, "Weak States, State Failure, and Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2007, Vol. 19, issue 4;
Alan Krueger & Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?", *Journal of Economic Perspectives,* 2003, Vol. 17, n. 4.

18 September
The Strategies of Terrorism
Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, n. 1, Summer 2006, pp. 49-80.

Optional Readings:
Bruce Hoffman (1997), "The Modern Terrorist Mindset: Tactics, Targets, and Technologies", pp. 75-95.
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 6.1, "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," by Richard K. Betts.

21 September
The Strategies of Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 7.1, "Terrorism, Strategies, and Grand Strategies", by Martha Crenshaw;
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 3.3, "Networks, Netwar, and Information-Age Terrorism", by John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, and Michele Zanini;

Optional Reading:
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 5.2, "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism," by Bruce Hoffman.
Robert Pape (2003), "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism", American Political Science Review, Vol 97, n. 3, pp. 343-361.

23 September
A Typology of Terrorism: Revolutionary and Sub-Revolutionary Terrorism
Dennis A. Pluchinsky, "Germany's red army faction: An obituary," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 1993, Vol. 16, Issue 2.
Xavier Raufer, "The red brigades: Farewell to arms," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 1993, Vol. 16, issue 4.

Optional Reading:
Brenda Lutz & James Lutz (2013), "Terrorism", pp. 273-288.

25 September
A Typology of Terrorism: Repressive and Separatist Terrorism
Ignacio Sànchez-Cuenca, 'The Dynamics Of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2007, Vol. 19, n. 3.
Drazen Petrovic, "Ethnic Cleansing – An Attempt at Methodology", *European Journal of International Law*, n. 3, 1994, pp. 342-259.

Optional Reading:
Rony Blum et al., "Ethnic cleansing' bleaches the atrocities of genocide", *European Journal of Public Health*, 2007, Vol. 1, n. 6.
Daniel Byman (1997), "The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism", 1997, Rand Corporation.

28 September
A Typology of Terrorism: International Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 2.1, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism", by Audrey Kurth Cronin.
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 2.2, "Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?", by Ray Takeyh and Nikolas K. Gvosdev**;**

Optional Readings:
Justin Conrad (2011), "Interstate Rivalry and Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 50, n. 6, pp. 889-
Belgin San Akca (2009), "'Supporting Non-State Armed Groups: A Resort to Illegality?", Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 32, issue 4, pp. 589-613.
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 2.3, "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?, by Stewart Patrick. 925.

30 September
A Typology of Terrorism: Narco-Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 5.7, "The Nexus of Extremism and Trafficking: Scourge of the World or so Much Hype", by Russell D. Howard and Colleen M. Traughber.
James Piazza, "The Illicit Drug Trade, Counternarcotics Strategies, and Terrorism," *Public Choice*, 2011, Vol. 149, issue 3, pp. 297-314.

Optional Reading:
Vera Eccarius-Kelly, "Surreptitious Lifelines: A Structural Analysis of the FARC and the PKK," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012, Vol. 24, issue 2.

2 October
A Typology of Terrorism: Religious Terrorism
David Rapoport (1984), "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, n. 3, pp. 658-677.
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 4.1, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion", by Magnus Ranstorp;
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 4.2, "A Genealogy of Radical Islam," by Quintan Wiktorowicz;

5 October
A Typology of Terrorism: Religious Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 4.3, "The Clash within Islam", by Emmanuel Sivan.
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 3.4, "Al Qaeda's Trajectory during and After Bin Laden, by Rohan Gunaratna;

Optional Readings:
Krista E. Wiegand (2009), "Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32: 8

7 October
A Typology of Terrorism: Religious Terrorism
Harold Brackman (2011), "Hamas – Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow", pp. 6-20.
Beverley Milton-Edwards (2013), "Hamas and the Arab Spring: Strategic Shifts?" Middle East Policy, vol. XX, N. 3, pp. 60-72.

Optional reading:
Graeme Wood (2015), "What ISIS Really Wants", *The Atlantic*, available at http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/

9 October
Midterm Review

12 October
MIDTERM EXAM - Part 1

14 October
MIDTERM EXAM - Part 2

16 October
Cyberterrorism
Myriam Dunn Cavelty (2013), "Cyber Security", *Contemporary Security Studies*, pp. 362-378;
Gregory J. Rattray (2001), "The Cyberterrorism Threat", pp. 221-244.

19 October
Cyberterrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter *5.5*, "www.terror.net: How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet," by Gabriel Weimann;
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter *5.6,* "Going Viral: Al-Qaeda's Use of Online Social Media, by Jarret M. Brachman.

21 October
Financing Terror
James Piazza, "The Opium Trade and Patterns of Terrorism in Afghanistan," *Terrorism and Political Violence.*
Michael Freeman (2011), "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, n. 34, pp. 461-475.

Optional Reading:
Joshua Prober (2005), "Accounting for Terror: Debunking the Paradigm of Inexpensive Terrorism", Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Watch #1041.
Matthew Levitt (2012), "Hizbullah Narco-Terrorism", IHS Defense, Risk and Security Consulting, The Washington Institute.

23 October
The Lone Wolves
Rafaello Pantucci (2011), "A Typology of Lone Wolves", *The International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence.*

Optional Reading:
Sarah Teich (2013), "Trends and Developments in Lone Wolf Terrorism in the Western World", *International Institute for Counter Terrorism.*

26 October
Recruitment, Training, Tactics, and Techniques
Simon Cottee and Keith Hayward (2011), "Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol, 34, issue 12, pp. 963-986.
Scott Gerwehr & Sara Daly (2006), "Al-Qaida: Terrorist Selection and Recruitment:, The RAND Corporation.

28 October
Recruitment, Training, Tactics, and Techniques
Cindy C. Combs (2006), "Terrorist Training", pp. 136-152;
Angela Dalton and Victor Asal, "Is it Ideology or Desperation? Why do Organizations Deploy Women in Violent Terrorist Attacks?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011

30 October
WMD's
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 5.1, "Assessing the Post-9/11 Threat of CBRN Terrorism", by Gavin Cameron and Natasha E. Bajema;
Gregory Koblentz (2011), "Predicting Peril or the Peril of Prediction? Assessing the Risk of CBRN Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 23, issue. 4, pp 501-520.

2 November
Terrorism and Sports
Richard Giulianotti and Francisco Klauser (2012), "Sport mega-events and 'terrorism': A critical analysis", International Review for the Sociology of Sport, Vol. 47, n. 3, pp. 307-323;
Marcos Degaut (2014), "Dark Shadows: The Threat of Terrorism Hangs Over Brazil", Harvard International Review, Vol. 36, issue 1, pp. 36-40.

4 November
Organizing to Fight Terrorism
Richard. K Betts (2002), "Fixing Intelligence", Foreign Affairs.
Marcos Degaut (2015), "Spies and Policymakers: Intelligence in the Information Age", *Intelligence and National Security Journal.*

6 November
Organizing to Fight Terrorism
Loch K. Johnson (2003) "Strategic Intelligence: The Weakest Link in the War against World Terrorism", pp. 239-252.
Joshua Rovner (2011), "Fixing the Facts or Missing the Mark? Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq", Foreign Policy Research Institute;

9 November
Strategies for Combating Terrorism
Erik Dahl (2011), "The Plots that Failed: Intelligence Lessons Learned from Unsuccessful Terrorist Attacks Against the US," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 34, pp. 621-648,

11 November
VETERANS DAY: No class

13 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 7.6, "U.S. Counterterrorism Policy and Strategy: The Early Obama Administration," by Christopher C. Harmon
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 7.4, "No Path to Glory: Deterring Homegrown Terrorism", by Brian Michael Jenkins

16 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 7.2, "US Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy," by Daniel Byman;
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 8.2 , "Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper: The Year of the Drone, by Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann;

18 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 8.3, "Assessing the Success of Leadership Targeting," by Austin Long;
Bryan Price (2012), "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 36, n. 4, pp. 9-46.

Optional Reading:
Jenna Jordan (2009), "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation", *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, pp. 719-755.

20 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 8.4, "Preemptive Military Doctrine: No Other Choice, by Russell D. Howard;
Anthony Clark Arend (2003), "International Law and the Preemptive Use of Military Force", *The Washington Quarterly,* Vol. 26, Issue 2, pp. 89-103.

23 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 8.1, "The Jihad Against The Jihadis: How Moderate Muslim Leaders Waged War on Extremist – and Won", by Fareed Zakaria;
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 9.2, "Rhetoric and Reality: Countering Terrorism in the Age of Obama", by Marc Lynch

25 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Gregory Miller (2007), "Confronting Terrorisms: Group Motivation and Successful State Policies," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2007, vol.19, issue 3, pp 331-350.
Raphael Perl (2007), "Combating Terrorism: The Challenge of Measuring Effectiveness". Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.

27 November
THANKSGIVING: No class

30 November
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Robert Trager and Dessislava Zagorcheva (2005), "Deterring Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, pp. 87-123.
Rogelio Alonso (2011), "Why Do Terrorists Stop? Analyzing Why ETA Members Abandon or Continue with Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 34, pp. 696-716.

2 December
Approaches to Countering Terrorism
Andrew Kydd (2011), "Terrorism and Profiling," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 23, issue 3, pp. 458-473.
Neta Crawford (2003), "Just War Theory and the US Counterterror War," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 1, issue 1, pp. 5-25.

4 December
Winning the "War"?
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 9.3, "Can the War on Terror be Won? How to Fight the Right War", by Philip H. Gordon
Howard & Hoffman, Chapter 9.4, "Winning the Campaign against Terrorists: Eight Considerations", by Russell D. Howard and Brita Sands.

7 December
Final Review
TERM PAPER DUE

9 December
FINAL EXAM