

TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

Lecture: Tues., 6:20-8:20

Office Hrs: Tues., 8:30-9:30 and by appointment

Professor Stuart Gottlieb

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This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.

— Winston Churchill

Description

This course examines the origins and evolution of modern terrorism, challenges posed by terrorist groups to states and to the international system, and strategies employed to confront and combat terrorism. We assess a wide variety of terrorist organizations, and explore the psychological, socioeconomic, political, and religious causes of terrorist violence past and present. We also analyze the strengths and weaknesses of various counterterrorism strategies, from the point of view of efficacy as well as ethics, and look into ways in which the new threat of global terrorism might impact the healthy functioning of democratic states.

The course is divided into two parts. Part I focuses on the terrorist threat, including the nature, roots, objectives, tactics, and organization of terrorism and terrorist groups. Part II addresses the issue of counterterrorism, including recent American efforts to combat terrorism, the strengths and weaknesses of counterterrorist tools and instruments, the issue of civil liberties and democratic values in confronting terrorism, and international strategies and tactics.

Requirements

Grading is based on the results of an optional take-home midterm exam (25%); a backgrounder memorandum (25%); and a cumulative take-home final exam (50% or 75%). Regular attendance and class participation may also factor into your final grade. The midterm questions, covering the first seven weeks of the semester, will be handed out at the end of class on March 10, and due the beginning of class on March 24. The memo assignments will be handed out on April 14 and due in class on April 21. The final exam will be handed out on the last day of class (May 6) and due in my mailbox by close of business on Thursday, May 12.

Backgrounder Memorandum

On April 14, each student will be randomly assigned a terrorist group from the State Department's list of Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations, and charged with providing a detailed memorandum (2-4 pages, single-spaced) to the Assistant to the President of the United States for National Security Affairs (National Security Adviser) prior to his/her official trip to the nation/region where the group operates. Each memorandum must cover the following: 1) a concise history of the terrorist organization; 2) an explanation of its primary grievance(s); 3) its goals; 4) its primary tactics and strategies used to achieve those goals, and the utility thereof; 5) the ability of its target(s) to effectively confront/combat the organization; and 6) brief suggestions the National Security Adviser should offer on how to best bring about an end to the violence.

Required Readings

The following texts are available at the NYU Bookstore, as well as on reserve at the library. All other required readings are available on the Classes server.

- * Stuart Gottlieb, ed., Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Causes, Contexts, and Responses, 2nd Edition (CQ Press, 2013).
- * Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, revised and expanded ed. (Columbia University Press, 2006).
- * Walter Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998).
- * The 9/11 Commission Report (Norton, 2004).

Course Outline and Dates of Importance

Week 1 (1/27):	Introduction	
Week 2 (2/3):	Defining Terrorism; Active Terrorist Groups	
Week 3 (2/10):	The Evolution of Terrorism I	*Movie: <u>Battle of Algiers</u> *
Week 4 (2/17):	The Evolution of Terrorism II	
Week 5 (2/24):	Root Causes, Motivations, and Justifications; Logic of “Sacred Terror”	
Week 6 (3/3):	Al Qaeda Before 9/11	
Week 7 (3/10):	Al Qaeda After 9/11	*Movie: <u>Al Qaeda’s New Front</u> * *MT exam handed out*
Week 8 (3/24):	The New Tools of Terrorism I	*MT exam due in class*
Week 9 (3/31):	The New Tools of Terrorism II	
Week 10 (4/7):	Counterterrorism Pre-9/11	
Week 11 (4/14):	Counterterrorism Post-9/11	*Terrorist groups assigned for memo*
Week 12 (4/21):	Democratic Values and Counterterrorism	*Memos due in class*
Week 13 (4/28):	Global Strategies and Challenges	*Movie: <u>Dirty War</u> *
Week 14 (5/5):	The Road Ahead	*Final exam handout*

Final Exams due in my mailbox by 5pm on Tuesday, May 12.

PART I. THE TERRORIST THREAT

Week 1

January 27

Introduction

Week 2

February 3

Lecture

Defining Terrorism

Active Terrorist Organizations

Readings [~110 pp.]

Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism (Columbia University Press, 2006), Ch. 1, pp. 1-41.

Jack Gibbs, "Conceptualization of Terrorism," American Sociological Review, Vol. 54 (June 1989), pp. 329-340.

Robert Keeley, "Trying to Define Terrorism," Middle East Policy (March 2002), pp. 33-39.

Eqbal Ahmad, Terrorism: Theirs and Ours (Seven Stories Press, 2001), pp. 11-26.

Noam Chomsky, "International Terrorism: Image and Reality," in Alexander George, ed., Western State Terrorism (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 12-38.

Timothy Garton Ash, "Is There a Good Terrorist?" The New York Review of Books, Vol. 48 (Nov. 29, 2001).

United States Department of State, Country Reports on Terrorism 2013 (April 2014), Ch. 7, "Legislative Requirements and Key Terms"; Ch. 6, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations."
<http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2013/index.htm>

Week 3

February 10

Lecture

The Evolution of Terrorism I

Traditional Terrorism: Ideological, Ethno/Separatist, Nationalistic

Movie: The Battle of Algiers (1965)

Readings [~130 pp.]

Martin A. Miller, "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe," in Martha Crenshaw, ed., Terrorism in Context (Penn State University Press, 1995), pp. 27-62.

Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, Ch. 2, "The End of Empire and the Origins of Contemporary Terrorism," pp. 43-62.

Konrad Kellen, "Ideology and Rebellion: Terrorism in West Germany," in Walter Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), pp. 43-58.

Franco Ferracuti, "Ideology and Repentance: Terrorism in Italy," in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 59-64.

Ehud Sprinzak, "The Psychopolitical Formation of Extreme Left Terrorism in a Democracy: The case of the Weathermen," in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 65-85.

Martha Crenshaw, "The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War," in Crenshaw, ed., Terrorism in Context, pp. 473-513.

Week 4

February 17

Lecture

The Evolution of Terrorism II

The Modern Variant: Global Terrorism

Readings [~135 pp.]

- Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, Ch. 3, "The Internationalization of Terrorism," pp. 63-80.
Benjamin Barber, "Jihad vs. McWorld," Atlantic Monthly (March 1992), pp. 53-65.
Thomas Friedman, The Lexus and the Olive Tree (Random House, 2001), pp. 398-405.
Louise Richardson, "Global Rebels," Harvard International Review (Fall 1998), pp. 52-56.
Steven Simon and Daniel Benjamin, "America and the New Terrorism," Survival (Spring 2000), pp. 59-75.
Martha Crenshaw, "Why America?" Current History (December 2001), pp. 425-432.
Stuart Gottlieb, ed., Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, 2nd ed. (CQ Press, 2013), Ch. 1, "Is the 'New Terrorism' Really New?" (Alexander Spencer: No; Rohan Gunaratna: Yes), pp. 1-34.
Paul Joosse, "Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion: The Case of the Earth Liberation Front," Terrorism and Political Violence (Fall 2007), pp. 351-368.
William Yardley, "Radical Environmentalist Gets 9-Year Term," New York Times, May 26, 2007.
Andrea Todd, "The Believers," Elle (May 2008).
"Breivik manifesto details chilling attack preparation," BBC News, July 24, 2011. (Skim manifesto)

Week 5

February 24

Lecture

Root Causes, Motivations, and Justifications

The Logic of "Sacred Terror"

Readings [~255 pp.]

- Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 2, "Does Poverty Serve as a Root Cause of Terrorism?" (James Piazza: No; Karin von Hippel: Yes), pp. 35-68.
Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism," in Walter Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), pp. 7-24.
Jerrold Post, "Terrorist Psycho-logic," in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 25-40.
Jerrold Post, et al., "In Their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists," Terrorism and Political Violence (Spring 2003), pp. 171-184.
Albert Bandura, "Moral Disengagement," in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 161-191.
Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 3, "Can Terrorism Ever Be Justified?" (Tamar Meisels: No; Ted Honderich: Yes), pp. 69-100.
Walter Reich, "Understanding Terrorist Behavior," in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 261-279.
David Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," American Political Science Review (September 1984), pp. 658-677.
Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, Ch. 4, "Religion and Terrorism," pp. 81-130.
Martin Kramer, "The Moral Logic of Hizballah," in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 131-157.
Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 4, "Does Islam Play a Unique Role in Modern Religious Terrorism?" (Andrew McCarthy: Yes; Fawaz Gerges: No), pp. 101-135.
Martha Brill Olcott, "The Terrorist Notebooks," Foreign Policy (March/April 2003), pp. 31-40.
Samuel Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49. (Skim)

Week 6

March 3

Lecture

Al Qaeda Before 9/11: While America Slept

Readings [~190 pp.]

Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda, 3rd ed. (Berkley Books, 2003), pp. 1-126.

The 9/11 Commission Report (Norton, 2004), Chs. 2, 5, 7.

Alan Cullison, "Inside Al-Qaeda's Hard Drive," Atlantic Monthly (Sept. 2004), pp. 55-70.

Al Qaeda Training Manual. (Skim) – http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/terrorism/alqaida_manual

Week 7

March 10

Lecture

Al Qaeda After 9/11: The Global Network and Beyond

Movie: Al Qaeda's New Front

Midterm handed out

Readings [~100 pp.]

Jessica Stern, "The Protean Enemy," Foreign Affairs (July/August 2003), pp. 27-40.

Department of State, Country Reports 2013, Ch. 1, "Strategic Assessment."

Bruce Hoffman, "Al Qaeda's Uncertain Future," Studies in Conflict & Terrorism (August 2013), pp. 635-653.

"The State of al-Qaeda: Unquenchable Fire," Economist, September 28, 2013.

Paul Cruickshank, "UK Trial Reveals New al-Qaeda Strategy to Hit West," CNN, Feb. 21, 2013.

Al-Qaeda "training paper" on resistance to drones, Associated Press (discovered February 2013).

Stuart Gottlieb, "Four Reasons ISIS Is a Threat to the Homeland," National Interest, Sept. 20, 2014.

Jack Jenkins, "The Book That Really Explains ISIS (Hint: It's Not the Qur'an)," ThinkProgress, September 10, 2014. (Skim manuscript)

David Kirkpatrick, "Attacks in West Raise New Fears Over ISIS' Influence," New York Times, October 24, 2014.

David Von Drehle, "The European Front," Time, January 26, 2015.

Bret Stephens, "How Al Qaeda Will Perish," Wall Street Journal, March 25, 2008.

Letter from Ayman al-Zawahiri to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi on al-Qaeda strategy, July 9, 2005.

<http://www.fas.org/irp/news/2005/10/dni101105.html>

Dana Ford, "Egypt's President Calls For a 'Religious Revolution'," CNN, January 6, 2015.

Week 8

March 24

Lecture

The New Tools of Terrorism I

The Quest for Catastrophic Weapons

Midterm due in class

Readings [~170 pp.]

Richard Falkenrath, et al., America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism (MIT Press, 1998), Introduction, pp. 1-26, Ch. 1, pp. 27-96. (Suggested: Ch.3, pp. 167-215.)

Karl-Heinz Kamp, Joseph Pilat, Jessica Stern, Richard Falkenrath, "WMD Terrorism: An Exchange," Survival (Winter 1998-99), pp. 168-183.

Richard Betts, "New Threat of Mass Destruction," Foreign Affairs (Jan./Feb. 1998), 26-40.

Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 6, “Is Nuclear Terrorism a Real Threat?” (Matthew Bunn: Yes; Susan Martin: No), pp. 172-208.

D.A. Henderson, et al., “Smallpox as a Biological Weapon.” Journal of the American Medical Association, Vol. 281, No. 22 (1999), 2127-37.

David Ruppe, “Threat Mongering?” National Journal, April 23, 2005.

Fatwa by Saudi Sheikh Nasir bin Hamd al-Fahd, “A Treatise on the Legal Status of Using Weapons of Mass Destruction Against Infidels,” May 2003.
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/npp/terrorism.cfm>

Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, Report to the President (March 2005), Ch. 3, “Al Qaeda,” pp. 267-278.

Week 9

March 31

Lecture

The New Tools of Terrorism II

Emerging Methods, Strategies, and Tactics

Readings [~160 pp.]

John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, “The Advent of Netwar (Revisited),” and “Afterword (Sept. 2001): Sharpening Fight for the Future,” in Networks and Netwars (RAND, 2001), pp. 1-25, 363-371.

Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, Ch. 5, “Suicide Terrorism,” pp. 131-171.

Ariel Merari, “The Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East,” in Reich, ed., Origins of Terrorism, pp. 192-207.

Robert Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Bombing,” American Political Science Review (August 2003), pp. 343-361.

Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 5, “Is Suicide Terrorism an Effective Tactic?” (Gordon McCormick and Lindsay Fritz: Yes; Max Abrahms: No), pp. 136-171.

Official Account of London Bombings (House of Commons, May 2006), pp. 13-19 (skim the rest).

Barton Gellman, “Cyber-Attacks by Al Qaeda Feared,” Washington Post, June 27, 2002.

Gabriel Weimann, “Cyberterrorism: How Real Is the Threat?” United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 119 (Dec. 2004).

Anne Stenersen, “The Internet: A Virtual Training Camp?” Terrorism and Political Violence (Spring 2008), pp. 215-233.

Brian Jenkins, “Is Al Qaeda’s Internet Strategy Working?” Testimony Before the House Subcommittee on Counterterrorism, December 6, 2011.

Laura Ryan, “Why Al-Qaeda and ISIS Use Twitter Differently,” National Journal, Oct. 10, 2014.

James Farwell, “The Media Strategy of ISIS,” Survival (Dec. 2014-Jan. 2015), pp. 49-55.

Claire Fraser and Malcolm Dando, “Genomics and future biological weapons,” Nature Genetics, Vol. 29 (November 2001), pp. 253-256.

John Ellis, “Terrorism in the Genomic Age,” in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., Terrorism and Counterterrorism (McGraw Hill, 2004), pp. 303-309.

Wendy Orent, “Crying Wolf over Bioterrorism,” Los Angeles Times, March 2, 2008.

“An Engineered Doomsday,” New York Times, January 7, 2012.

Wendy Orent, “Fear Gone Viral,” Los Angeles Times, January 15, 2012.

PART II. COMBATING THE TERRORIST THREAT

Week 10

April 7

Lecture

The State of Counterterrorism: Pre-9/11

Readings [~185 pp.]

Martha Crenshaw, "How Terrorism Declines," Terrorism and Political Violence (Spring 1991), pp. 69-87.

Paul Pillar, Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy (Brookings Institution Press, 2001), Ch. 4, "Counterterrorist Instruments," pp. 73-129.

Judith Miller, Jeff Gerth and Don Van Natta Jr., "Planning for Terror But Failing to Act," New York Times, Dec. 30, 2001.

9/11 Commission Report, Chs. 3, 4, 6.

Report from the National Commission on Terrorism, "Countering the Changing Threat of International Terrorism," June 2000. (Skim)

<http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/commission.html>

Week 11

April 14

Lecture

Wake-Up Calls and Shifting Sands: Counterterrorism Post-9/11

Terrorist groups assigned

Readings [~180 pp.]

Paul Pillar, "Counterterrorism After Al-Qaeda," Washington Quarterly (Summer 2004), pp. 101-113.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," International Security (Summer 2006), pp. 7-48.

Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 7, "Counterterrorism Strategies: Do We Need Bombs over Bridges?" (Brigitte Nacos: No; Michael Rubin: Yes), pp. 209-242.

Stuart Gottlieb, "Three Keys to Fighting Terrorism," Hartford Courant, December 5, 2008.

Richard Betts, "Fixing Intelligence," Foreign Affairs (Jan./Feb. 2002), pp. 43-59.

9/11 Commission Report, Chs. 11, 13.

Tim Starks, "Intel: Lost in the Reshuffle," CQ Weekly, May 5, 2008.

Stephen Flynn, "The Neglected Home Front," Foreign Affairs (Sept./Oct. 2004), pp. 20-33.

Bipartisan Policy Center, Reflections on the Tenth Anniversary of the 9/11 Commission Report, July 2014, pp. 17-40 (skim the rest).

Christopher Chyba, "Toward Biological Security," Foreign Affairs (May/June 2002), pp. 122-136.

Wil Hylton, "How Ready Are We for Bioterrorism?" New York Times Magazine, October 26, 2011.

Rebecca Smith, "U.S. Risks National Blackout From Small-Scale Attack," Wall Street Journal, March 12, 2014.

Week 12

April 21

Lecture

Democratic Values and Counterterrorism: Balancing Liberty and Security

Memos due

Readings [~130]

Dahlia Lithwick, "Guide to the Patriot Act," 4-part series in Slate Magazine, Sept. 8, 9, 11, 12, 2003.
Alberto Gonzales and Robert Mueller, testimony on Patriot Act and FISA before Senate Intelligence Committee, April 27, 2005
Stuart Taylor, "Patriot Act Hysteria Meets Reality," National Journal, April 16, 2005.
Ryan Lizza, "State of Deception" New Yorker (December 16, 2013).
Brendan Sasso and Dustin Volz, "Patriot Act Deadline Threatens to Splinter NSA Reformers," National Journal, Nov. 25, 2014.
Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 11, "Counterterrorism & the Constitution: Does Providing Security Require a Trade-Off with Civil Liberties?" (John Yoo: Yes; David Cole: No), pp. 345-379.
Linda Greenhouse, "Access to Courts," New York Times, June 29, 2004.
Linda Greenhouse, "Justices Back Detainee Appeals," New York Times, June 13, 2008.
"President Kennedy," Wall Street Journal, June 13, 2008.
Barack Obama, Remarks at the National Archives, May, 21, 2009.
Dick Cheney, Remarks at the American Enterprise Institute, May 21, 2009.
Stuart Gottlieb, "Staying the Course: Why President Obama's antiterror policies look so much like George W. Bush's," American Lawyer (November 2010).
Scott Shane, "Targeted Killing Comes to Define War on Terror," New York Times, April 7, 2013.
Stimson Center, Task Force on US Drone Policy: Recommendations and Report, June 2014 (skim).
Barack Obama, Speech on Counterterrorism Policy, National Defense University, May 23, 2013.
Conor Friedersdorf, "President Obama's Shifty Terrorism Speech," Atlantic, May 24, 2013.
Michael Schmidt, "At F.B.I., Change in Leaders Didn't Change Focus on Terror," New York Times, May 19, 2014.
Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 10, "Is an Outright Ban the Best Way to Eliminate or Constrain Torture?" (Michael Posner: Yes; Alan Dershowitz: No), pp. 312-344.

Week 13

April 28

Lecture

Global Strategies and Challenges

Movie: Dirty War

Readings [~160 pp.]

The White House, "National Security Strategy of the United States," Sept. 2002. (Skim)
The White House, "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," Sept. 2006.
Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda, pp. 294-322.
Department of State, Country Reports 2013, Ch. 5 "Terrorist Safe Havens" (skim the rest).
9/11 Commission Report, Ch. 12.
George W. Bush, speech before the National Endowment for Democracy, Nov. 6, 2003.
Steven Radelet, "Bush and Foreign Aid," Foreign Affairs (Sept./Oct. 2003), pp. 104-117.
Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 8, "Can Spreading Democracy Help Defeat Terrorism?" (Gregory Gause: No; Jennifer Windsor: Yes), pp. 243-275.
Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 9, "Can International Organizations Make a Difference in Fighting Terrorism?" (Zachary Shirkey: No; Bruce Cronin: Yes), pp. 276-311.

Rohan Gunaratna, "Bankrupting the Terror Business," Jane's Intelligence Review (August 2000).
 Martin Weiss, "Countering the Financing of Terrorism," remarks at the United States Institute of Peace, September 6, 2007.
 Eric Lichtblau and Eric Schmitt, "Cash Flow to Terrorists Evades U.S. Efforts," New York Times, December 5, 2010.
 Rukmini Callimachi, "Paying Ransoms, Europe Bankrolls Qaeda Terror," New York Times, July 29, 2014.
 Juan Zarate and Tom Sanderson, "How the Terrorists Got Rich," New York Times, June 28, 2014.
 David Cohen, "Attacking ISIL's Financial Foundation," remarks at the Carnegie Endowment, October 23, 2014.
 Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, "The Emergence of Modern State-Sponsored Terrorism," pp. 258-267.
 Department of State, Country Reports 2013, Ch. 3, "State Sponsors of Terrorism."
 Robert Rotberg, "Failed States in a World of Terror," Foreign Affairs (July/August 2002), pp. 127-140.

Week 14

May 5

Lecture

The Road Ahead

Final exam handed out

Readings [~45 pp.]

Samuel Huntington, "The Age of Muslim Wars," Newsweek, December 17, 2001.
 Francis Fukuyama, "Their Target: The Modern World," Newsweek, December 17, 2001.
 Abdel Monem, "A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," Euromoney Institutional Investor, May 1, 2002.
 James Kitfield, "Inside America's Shadow War on Terror – and Why It Will Never End," National Journal, May 17, 2014.
 Roger Cohen, "An Obsession the World Doesn't Share," New York Times, December 5, 2004.
 Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism, Ch. 12, "Conclusion: Is the Threat of Terrorism Being Overstated?" (John Mueller: Yes; Walter Laqueur: No), pp. 380-407.