

## **GOVT 327: The Politics of Terrorism**

Wesleyan University  
Spring 2009

**Instructor:** Professor Erica Chenoweth  
**Email:** [echenoweth@wesleyan.edu](mailto:echenoweth@wesleyan.edu);  
**Note:** email checked once daily at 5pm;  
please include GOVT 327 in Subject

**Office and phone:** PAC 324; 5-2504  
**Office Hours:** T2:30-4:00, W10:30-11:30

### **Course Description and Objectives**

Terrorism dominates the headlines, but few attempt to think critically about the origins and evolution of terrorist groups over the course of history. The history of terrorism, however, is rife with puzzles. What is terrorism? Why do groups take up arms against fellow civilians to effect political change? What explains the tactical choices of terrorist groups? Why do terrorist groups end? What are the most effective ways to combat terrorism? Is the “new” terrorism really new, or does it reflect continuity with terrorism in previous eras?

The course takes a theoretical and historical approach, attempting to nest contemporary challenges within the broader context of terrorism as a phenomenon. To this end, the course will acquaint students with the historical evolution of domestic and international terrorism while introducing them to the major theoretical approaches to the study of terrorism. The five primary goals of the course are to: (1) present leading theories and concepts for understanding terrorist behavior; (2) explore international history to evaluate theories of terrorism; (3) apply these theories to analyze current terrorist trends and make predictions about future developments; (4) provide students an opportunity to conduct research and write an original paper; and (5) allow students to deepen their knowledge about several major terrorist groups around the globe.

### **Required Texts and Readings**

The readings for this course offer conflicting interpretations of theory and history. Students should read these texts with the goals of identifying, comparing, evaluating, and contesting contending arguments.

The following texts are available at the campus bookstore and online. A copy of each is available at the Olin Library’s reserve desk.

Martha Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context* (Penn State University Press, 1995).

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2nd edition (Columbia University Press, 2006).

Walter Reich, ed. *Origins of Terrorism* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (Vintage, 2006).

Additional required readings are available on Blackboard, which students should check regularly for announcements and details on assignments for the course.

In the reading schedule provided, I have identified a number of additional readings for those interested in pursuing each topic further. For students interested in pursuing a graduate degree in

the subject, this syllabus will provide a useful bibliography of leading works in terrorism studies. Of course, these recommendations are not exhaustive; the readings on particular cases are especially light. I encourage students to visit me during office hours, where I can recommend materials specific to your interests.

### Expectations

This course assumes no prior familiarity with terrorism, but students are strongly encouraged to follow current events through a major newspaper with reputable coverage of foreign affairs; I recommend in particular the *New York Times*. Wordpress.org is a source of headlines from daily newspapers around the world, and the magazine *The Economist* also has strong weekly coverage of global issues. *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* are decent general sources and are released six times per year. Additionally, there are two major scholarly journals with a specific focus on terrorism: *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. The Wesleyan University Library subscribes to both journals.

This is an upper-division course, and I have high expectations of the students at Wesleyan. Students are advised not to fall behind in the reading, as the reading load is quite heavy. I expect students to attend class regularly, arrive early and prepared, and conduct themselves with respect and courtesy toward others in the classroom. Students can expect the same from me.

### Graded Work

Course grades will be based on the following elements:

	<u>Value</u>	<u>Date</u>
Discussion Questions	5%	<b>due in class on day assigned</b>
Terrorist Group Profiles	5%	<b>due in class Feb. 19</b>
Midterm Exam	25%	<b>in class Feb. 26</b>
Research Paper Prospectus	5%	<b>due in class Apr. 7</b>
Memo to the NSC	5%	<b>due in class May 5</b>
Research Paper	40%	<b>due by 12pm May 14</b>
Class Participation	15%	

#### Discussion Questions (5%)

At the end of the first week of class, each student will take responsibility for summaries and discussion questions for a class period from the course syllabus. Each student will be responsible for posting reading summaries and at least two discussion questions by 11pm on the night before the class the reading is assigned. Students will post summaries of the readings (around 150 words each reading) and two critical thinking discussion questions on the course wiki. In class, students should submit to me a hard copy of their reports and come prepared to discuss at least one of their critical thinking questions. I will provide examples for the first week's readings for some direction, but students are highly encouraged to consult me in office hours before developing their discussion questions. Discussion questions should be critical evaluations of the readings that encourage students to think about how the readings connect with or diverge from the course material. Here are two examples based on the readings of Week 14:

Why, according to Abrahms, are democracies "superior" counterterrorists? In your opinion, does his explanation hold with regard to the U.S.'s current "War on Terrorism"?

What data does Abrahms use to support his argument? Is this evidence convincing? Why, or why not?

Which of Byman's counterterrorism policies is the U.S. most likely to adopt, if Abrahms is correct?

These reports and the student's performance in leading discussion will be worth 5%. Late summaries will not be accepted.

#### Terrorist Group Profiles (5%)

Students will construct profiles of major terrorist groups in all regions of the world. I will assign terrorist groups to students on the first day of class. The profiles will include information on the group's formation, objectives, location, membership, ideology, attack patterns, and opponent responses. The profiles must also include bibliographies of at least seven major sources of information about each group (only two of which may be official websites; unofficial websites are unacceptable). Profiles must be posted on the course wiki (labeled "Group Profiles" on the course Blackboard menu) **no later than February 19<sup>th</sup> at the beginning of class**. Students must also **present me with hard copies of the posted profile pages at that time**. During class on Feb. 19<sup>th</sup>, students will present their profiles to the class. The wiki will serve as a launching point for preparing students' research projects.

#### Midterm Exam (25%)

The midterm exam will be administered **in class on February 26<sup>th</sup>**. Students can expect a combination of short answer and essay questions; more specific information will be announced prior to the exam. This exam accounts for 25% of the total course grade and covers material through February 24<sup>th</sup>.

There are no make-up exams. Serious and verifiable personal emergencies will be accommodated at my discretion. Unexcused absences from an exam, however, will result in a "0" for that exam.

#### Research Paper Prospectus (5%)

Students will submit a 5-page research paper prospectus **on April 7<sup>th</sup> at the beginning of class**. The prospectus should include a research question, research design, and project bibliography. The prospectus is an opportunity for students to get feedback on their research papers before conducting the research and writing. Students should view the prospectus, therefore, as an opportunity to improve their final papers. I will evaluate the prospectus based upon a pass or fail criteria; however, prospectuses that arrive late will receive a 0.

#### Memo to the National Security Council (5%)

Students will submit a professional policy memo (no more than 3 pages) on the final day of class. This will be a cooperative effort among randomly assigned pairs of students. The memo should be addressed to the National Security Council and should address the following prompt: "Based on your knowledge of terrorism and counter-terrorism, what are three ways the U.S. should change its National Security Strategy regarding terrorism?" For examples of policy memos, see the START Research Briefs website at [http://www.start.umd.edu/publications/research\\_briefs/](http://www.start.umd.edu/publications/research_briefs/), or memos at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/by\\_type/policy\\_briefings\\_testimony\\_presentations](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/by_type/policy_briefings_testimony_presentations)

[.html](#). Students should follow normal citation procedures, submit their memos in hard copy at the **beginning of class on May 5<sup>th</sup>**, and come to class prepared to discuss their memos. Late memos will not be accepted.

#### Research Paper (40%)

The final paper, worth 40% of the total course grade, will be a 20-25 page original research paper on one of two topics: (1) compare two groups (one violent, one nonviolent) and explain why one group adopted violence while the other did not; or (2) choose two terrorist groups and explain why one has targeted the United States while the other has not. The paper is due at the end of the assigned final exam period, which is **Thursday, May 14<sup>th</sup> at 12:00pm**. Students should submit their papers to the locked box outside of the Government Department (PAC 116). Please ensure the paper is submitted to the course box identified for GOVT 327. Papers will be evaluated on the basis of demonstration of critical analysis, defense of argument, organization, coherence, and writing style. No extensions will be granted; students are strongly recommended to submit their papers before the deadline.

#### Course Participation (15%)

Students should think of the course participation grade as an in-class oral examination extended throughout the semester. I will select, throughout the semester, four random, unannounced classes in which I evaluate your participation, preparation, and comprehension. To achieve the maximum score on participation, students should attend class regularly, prepare for discussion by completing the readings in advance, contribute to the discussion in class, and be responsive to other students. Quantity of participation is not as important as quality. Questions, insights, and synthesis are all considered quality. Irregular attendance, arriving to class late, failing to participate in discussions, and disrupting class with side conversations, texting, or using your laptop for non-course related reasons can detract from the participation grade. In-class participation counts toward 10% of your grade.

Part of active learning is engaging in related activities outside of the classroom. Therefore, in addition to class attendance, students are required to attend **at least two out of the following three** public lectures, which will occur at Wesleyan this spring. Students must submit a paragraph response to me at the first course after the event (2.5% points each). Of course, attendance at all three events is strongly encouraged. If you attend more than two of these lectures, you will receive extra credit on your participation grade. Please mark your calendars.

- Dr. Peter Ackerman, "When Does Civil Resistance Work?" February 2, 2009, Public Lecture, 4:30-6:00pm (location TBA)
- Dr. Jason Lyall, "When Does Insurgency Succeed or Fail?" April 8, 2009, Public Lecture, 4:30-6:00pm (location TBA)
- Dr. Martha Crenshaw, "Why Do Terrorists Attack the United States?" April 22, 2009, Public Lecture, 4:30-6:00pm (location TBA).

The following table designates the values I assign to letter grades, per the standard grading scale at Wesleyan.

<b>Letter Grade</b>	<b>Numeric Grade</b>	<b>GPA Value</b>
A+	98.3	4.0
A	95	4.0
A-	91.7	3.7
B+	88.3	3.3
B	85	3.0
B-	81.7	2.7
C+	78.3	2.3
C	75	2.0
C-	71.7	1.7
D+	68.3	1.3
D	65	1.0
D-	61.7	.7
F	58.3	0

### **Office Hours**

I strongly suggest that students avail themselves of the opportunity to clarify and discuss course material with me during my office hours. Office hours are not, however, opportunities to obtain information missed during absences from class. Such material should be obtained from classmates.

### **Grade Dispute Procedure**

In the event that a student wishes to dispute a grade received on an exam, the student must adhere to the following procedure before I will review the exam. First, the student must wait 48 hours before sending me an email concerning the grievance. Second, the student must send me an email to make an appointment to discuss the grievance. Third, during the appointment, the student must provide the original graded exam and a brief, typed summary of the reasons why the grade seems unfair. I will then reevaluate the exam. The student must accept the revised grade on the exam, even if it is lower than originally graded.

### **Additional Information**

Plagiarism is a grave offense, and Wesleyan University takes academic honesty very seriously. For more details on Wesleyan's policy on plagiarism (and how to avoid it), see [http://www.wesleyan.edu/acaf/policy/sc\\_plagiarism\\_complete.html](http://www.wesleyan.edu/acaf/policy/sc_plagiarism_complete.html).

Students with disabilities should notify me immediately so that I can make the appropriate accommodations. Please see the University's policies on students with disabilities, available at the following website: <http://www.wesleyan.edu/deans/disabilities.html>.

Wesleyan University provides numerous services to students to help improve writing, quantitative skills, and professional development. The Writing Workshop can be an invaluable resource for students with room to improve on writing. Please see the Writing Workshop's website at <http://www.wesleyan.edu/writing/workshop> for more information.

## LECTURE AND ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

Week	Date	Lecture
1	Th 1/22	Introductory Lecture
2	T 1/27	What is Terrorism?
	Th 1/29	How Do We Study Terrorism?
3	T 2/3	Analyzing Terrorism I: The Strategic Approach
	Th 2/5	Analyzing Terrorism II: The Socio-Organizational Approach
4	T 2/10	Analyzing Terrorism III: The Psychological Approach
	Th 2/12	Analyzing Terrorism IV: Structural Approaches
5	T 2/17	Application: Explaining Suicide Terrorism
	Th 2/19	<b>GROUP PROFILES DUE</b> ; Film: <i>The Battle of Algiers</i>
6	T 2/24	<i>Film: The Battle of Algiers</i> ; Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism: the FLN, IRA, and LTTE
	Th 2/26	<b>MIDTERM EXAM</b>
7	T 3/3	<i>Film: The Weather Underground</i>
	Th 3/5	The Struggle on the Left: Revolutionary Terrorism
8	T 3/24	Reactionary Terrorism in Democracies
	Th 3/26	The Return to Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Hezbollah
9	T 3/31	The Origins of Al Qaeda
	Th 4/2	September 11 <sup>th</sup> and Al Qaeda Today
10	T 4/7	Terrorists for Hire? State Sponsorship and its Dilemmas; <b>PAPER PROSPECTUS DUE</b>
	Th 4/9	Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction; Film: <i>Dirty War</i>
11	T 4/14	Terrorism and the Media
	Th 4/16	Terrorism, Democracy, and Elections
12	T 4/21	The Politics of Counterterrorism
	Th 4/23	The Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Instruments
13	T 4/28	How Terrorism Ends
	Th 4/30	Do We Worry Too Much About Terrorism?
14	T 5/5	Implications of Terrorism for U.S. Security; <b>NSC MEMO DUE</b>
	Th 5/14	<b>FINAL PAPER DUE BY 12:00PM</b>

## LECTURES AND READINGS

Readings available on Blackboard are designated with an asterisk.

### Week 1

#### **Jan. 22: Introductory lecture**

No reading.

Please submit the following information to me in the body of an email by Jan. 23<sup>rd</sup> at 5pm:

Name

Class

Major

Where are you from?

Why are you interested in this class?

How would you describe your knowledge of the subject (beginner, basic, intermediate, advanced, etc)?

Do you have any regional or country-level knowledge (outside the U.S.) based on travel, study abroad, research, etc?

What are your post-graduation aspirations?

What do you enjoy doing in your free time?

What would you like to get out of this class?

Anything else you'd like to share?

## Week 2

### **Jan. 27: What is Terrorism?**

Bruce Hoffman, "Defining Terrorism," in Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Ch. 1.

David Barsamian, "The U.S. Is Leading a Terrorist State: An interview with Noam Chomsky," available at <http://www.monthlyreview.org/1101chomsky.htm>

\*Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoeffler, "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (2004), pp. 777-94.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

William F. Shugart III, "An Analytical History of Terrorism," *Public Choice*, Vol. 128 (2006), pp. 7-39.

Alison M. Jaggard, "What Is Terrorism, Why Is It Wrong, and Could It Ever Be Morally Permissible?" *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (May 2005), pp. 202-217.

Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, eds., *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005).

Boaz Ganor, "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter?" *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (2002), pp. 287-304.

Jean Paul Azam and Anke Hoeffler, "Violence against Civilians in Civil Wars: Looting or Terror?" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2003), pp. 461-485.

David Claridge, "State Terrorism? Applying a Definitional Model," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Autumn 1996), pp. 47-63.

Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 1993), pp. 213-251.

Christopher Harmon, "Terrorism: A Matter for Moral Judgment," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 1-21.

Paul Wilkinson, "Can A State Be 'Terrorist'?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Summer 1981), pp. 467-472.

### **Jan. 29: How Do We Study Terrorism?**

Martha Crenshaw, "Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Context," in Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context*, Ch. 1.

\*LaFree, Gary and Laura Dugan, "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, No. 19 (2007), pp. 181-204.

\*Todd Sandler, "On the Relationship between Democracy and Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 1-9.

Browse the following databases prior to class:

Global Terrorism Database: <http://www.start.umd.edu/data/gtd/>

Terrorist Organization Profiles Database: <http://www.start.umd.edu/data/tops/>

Minorities at Risk Project: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/>

Additional Recommended Reading

Edna F. Reid and Hsinchun Chen, "Mapping the Contemporary Terrorism Research Domain," *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, Vol. 65 (2007), pp. 42-56.

Todd Sandler and Walter Enders, "Applying Analytical Methods to Study Terrorism," *International Studies Perspectives* Vol. 8, No. 3 (2007), pp. 287-302.

Andrew Silke, *Research into Terrorism: Trends, Achievements and Failures* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Senechal de la Roche, "Toward a Scientific Theory of Terrorism," *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2004), pp. 1-4.

Part IV, in Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, (Chs. 13 and 14).

### Week 3

#### **Feb. 3: Analyzing Terrorism I: The Strategic Approach**

Martha Crenshaw, "The logic of terrorism: Terrorist behavior as a product of strategic choice," in Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, Ch.1.

\*Barbara Walter and Andrew Kydd, "Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 49-80.

\*Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

William Rose, Rysia Murphy, and Max Abrahms, "Does Terrorism Ever Work? The 2004 Madrid Train Bombings," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 185-192.

Peter Neumann and M.L.R. Smith, "Strategic Terrorism: The Framework and its Fallacies," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (August 2005), pp. 571-595.

David Lake, "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty First Century," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2002), pp. 15-29.

#### **Feb. 5: Analyzing Terrorism II: The Socio-Organizational Approach**

\*Max Abrahms, "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 78-105.

\*Martha Crenshaw, "Causes of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in David Rapaport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, revised editions (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 13-31.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Asal, Victor, and R. Karl Rethemeyer, "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (April 2008), pp. 437-449.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Mark Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization: The Case of the Abu Sayyef," *Public Organization Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 2003), pp. 387-401.

Gordon McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 6 (2003), pp. 473-507.

Cyrus Zirakzadeh, "From Revolutionary Dreams to Organizational Fragmentation: Disputes over Violence within ETA and Sendero Luminoso," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Winter 2002), pp. 66-92.

Kent Layne Oots, *A Political Organization Approach to Transnational Terrorism* (Wesport: Greenwood, 1986).

## Week 4

### **Feb. 10: Analyzing Terrorism III: The Psychological Approach**

Jerrold Post, "Terrorist psycho-logic: Terrorist behavior as a product of psychological forces," in Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, Ch. 2.

Albert Bandura, "On Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement," Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, Ch. 9.

\*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.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko, "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways toward Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2008), pp. 415-433.

John Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism* (London: Frank Cass, 2005).

Andrew Silke, *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences* (London: Wiley, 2003).

Rex Hudson, *Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why? The 1999 Government Report on Profiling Terrorists* (Lyons, 2002).

Martha Crenshaw, "The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the Twenty First Century," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2000).

### **Feb. 12: Analyzing Terrorism IV: Structural Approaches**

\*Jeffrey Ian Ross, "The Structural Causes of Oppositional Political Terrorism: Towards A Causal Model," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1993), pp. 317-329.

\*Michael Mousseau, "Market Civilization and its Clash with Terror," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/2003), pp. 5-29.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza, eds., *Terrorism Economic Development and Political Openness* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Alan B. Krueger, *What Makes a Terrorist?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Brian Burgoon, "On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 2006), pp. 176-203.

Brock Blomberg, et al., "Economic Conditions and Terrorism," *European Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 20 (2004), pp. 463-478.

Charles Knight, Melissa Murphy, and Michael Mousseau, "The Sources of Terrorism: Correspondence," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 192-198.

Alan Krueger and Jitka Malečková, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 17 (2003), pp. 119-144.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/2003), pp. 30-58.

Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1981), pp. 379-399.

## Week 5

### **Feb. 17: Application: Explaining Suicide Terrorism**

\*Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361.

\*Mia M. Bloom, "Outbidding, Market Share, and Palestinian Suicide Bombing," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (2004), pp. 61-88.

\*Mohammed Hafez, "Rationality, Culture, and Structure in the Making of Suicide Bombers," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (March/April 2006), pp. 165-185.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

Claudia Brunner, "Occidentalism Meets the Female Suicide Bomber: A Critical Reflection on Recent Terrorism Debates; A Review Essay," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Summer 2007), pp. 957-971.

Martha Crenshaw, "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay," *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 2007), pp. 133-162.

Diego Gambetta, ed. *Making Sense of Suicide Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Ami Pedahzur, *Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism: The Globalization of Martyrdom* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Mia M. Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).

Christoph Reuter, *My Life Is a Weapon: A Modern History of Suicide Bombing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Karla Cunningham, "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2003), pp. 171-96.

### **Feb. 19: Film: *The Battle of Algiers***

#### **GROUP PROFILES DUE**

Bruce Hoffman, "The End of Empire and the Origins of Contemporary Terrorism," in Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Ch. 2.

Martha Crenshaw, "The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War," in Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context*, Ch. 11.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962*, rev. ed. (New York Review of Books, 2006).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Paul Aussaresses, *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-terrorism in Algeria, 1955-1957* (London: Enigma Books, 2002).

## Week 6

### **Feb. 24: Film: *The Battle of Algiers*; Ethno-nationalist Terrorism: the PLO, IRA, and LTTE**

Ian Lustick, "Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context*, Ch. 12.

Charles Townshend, "The Culture of Paramilitarism in Ireland," in Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context*, Ch. 8.

\*Mia Bloom, "Ethnic Conflict, State Terror, and Suicide Bombing in Sri Lanka," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp.54-84.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Ignacio Cuenca, "The Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (September 2007), pp. 289-206.

Miranda Alison, "Cogs in the Wheel? Women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 37-54.

Paddy Woodworth, "Why Do They Kill? The Basque Conflict in Spain," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 1-12.

Daniel Byman, "The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1998), pp. 149-169.

Gamini Samaranyake, "Political Violence in Sri Lanka: A Diagnostic Approach," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 99-119.

Manoj Joshi, "On the Razor's Edge: The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1996), pp. 19-42.

Goldie Shabad and Francisco Llera, "Political Violence in a Democratic State: Basque Separatism in Spain," in Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context*, Ch. 10.

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1993), pp. 27-47.

See Professor Chenoweth for additional readings (there are far too many to list).

### **Feb. 26: MIDTERM EXAM**

No reading.

## Week 7

### **Mar. 3: Film: *The Weather Underground***

\*Ehud Sprinzak, "The psycho-political formation of extreme left terrorism in a democracy: The case of the Weathermen," in Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, Ch. 5.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days: Memoirs of an Anti-War Activist* (Boston: Beacon, 2008).

Berdadine Dorhn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones, eds., *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground 1970 – 1974* (Seven Stories, 2006).

Ron Jacobs, *The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground* (Verso, 1997).

FBI Files, "The Weather Underground Organization," available at <http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/weather.htm> (last accessed 1/5/09).

### **Mar. 5: The Struggle on the Left: Revolutionary Terrorism**

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\*Klaus Boehnke, John Hagan, and Hans Merkens, "Right-wing Extremism among German Adolescents: Risk Factors and Protective Factors," *Applied Psychology*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (July 2007), pp. 109-126.

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### **Mar. 26: The Return to Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Hezbollah**

\*Bruce Hoffman, "Religion and Terrorism," in Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Ch. 4.

\*Jessica Stern, "Humiliation," in *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (Ecco, 2003), pp. 32-62.

Martin Kramer, "The moral logic of Hezbollah," in Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, Ch. 8.

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, Chs. 1-4.

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Matthew Levitt, *Hamas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

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David C. Rapaport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (September 1984), pp. 658-677.

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### **Mar. 31: The Origins of Al Qaeda**

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, Chs. 5-13.

#### Additional Recommended Reading

Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

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### **Apr. 2: September 11<sup>th</sup> and Al Qaeda Today**

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\*Peter Neumann, "Europe's Jihadist Dilemma," *Survival*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 2006), pp. 71-84.

\*Bruce Riedel, "Al Qaeda Strikes Back," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (May/June 2007).

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\*Navin Bapat, "The Internationalization of Terrorist Campaigns," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 24 (2007), pp. 265-280. Read pp. 265-267, 274-280; skim pp. 267-273.

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\*Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier, "Seven Myths of Nuclear Terrorism," *Current History* (April 2005), pp. 153-161.

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#### Additional Recommended Reading

Bob Graham, et al., *World at Risk: The Report of the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism* (New York: Vintage, 2008).

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"WMD Terrorism: An Exchange," *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 1998/99), pp. 168-183.

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### **Apr. 14: Terrorism and the Media**

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\*Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "Lost in the Terrorist Theater," *Harper's*, Vol. 269, No. 1613 (October 1984), pp. 43-58.

\*Konstantinos Drakos and Andreas Gofas, "The Devil You Know but are Afraid to Face: Underreporting Bias and its Distorting Effects on the Study of Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 5 (October 2006), pp. 714-735.

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\*Quan Li, "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (April 2005), pp. 278-297; Read pp. 278-284.

\*Jennifer Windsor, "Promoting Democratization Can Combat Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 43-58.

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\*Daniel Byman, "Remaking Alliances in the War on Terrorism," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (October 2006), pp. 767-811.

\*Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterror," *International Organization*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter 2007), pp. 9-36.

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Ethan Bueno de Mesquita and Eric Dickson, "The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (2007), pp. 364-381.

Richard H. Schultz, "Showstoppers: Nine reasons why we never sent our Special Operations Forces after al Qaeda before 9/11," *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 9, No. 19 (January 26, 2004).

Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (Free Press, 2004).

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\*Gregory D. Miller, "Confronting Terrorisms: Group Motivation and Successful State Policies," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 19, No. (Fall 2007), pp. 331-350.

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\*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.

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### **Apr. 30: Do We Worry too Much About Terrorism?**

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\*Richard Betts, Daniel Byman, and Martha Crenshaw, "Comments on John Mueller's 'Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism'," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (October 2005), pp. 507-521.

\*Todd Sander and Walter Enders, "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening? A Time-Series Investigation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (2000), pp. 307-332. Read pp. 307-312; 329-330.

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John Mueller, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (Free Press, 2006).

Ian Lustick, *Trapped in the War on Terror* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

John Mueller, "Simplicity and Spook: Terrorism and Dynamics of Threat Exaggeration," *International Studies Perspectives* (May 2005), pp. 155-173.

## Week 14

### **May 5: The Implications of Terrorism for U.S. Security**

#### **NSC MEMO DUE**

\*The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2006, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/> (last accessed 1/4/09).

\*Daniel Byman, "US Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy," *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Autumn 2007), pp. 121-150.

\*Max Abrahms, "Why Democracies Make Superior Counterterrorists," *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 223-253.

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Neta C. Crawford, "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (March 2003), pp 5-25.

### **May 14: FINAL RESEARCH PAPER DUE BY 12PM.**

## Partial List of Groups for Group Profiles and Research Papers

Abu Nidal organization (ANO)  
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)  
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade  
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group, IG)  
Al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad, EIJ)  
Al-Qaida  
Animal Liberation Front (ALF)  
Ansar al-Islam (AI)  
Armed Islamic Group (GIA)  
Aum Shinrikyo/Aum Supreme Truth/Aleph  
Basque Fatherland and Liberty/Euzkadi ta Askatazuna (ETA)  
Cambodian Freedom Fighters (CFF)  
Christian Identity Movement  
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)/United People's Front  
Communist Party of Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)  
Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)  
Earth Liberation Front (ELF)  
Earth First!  
Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)  
First of October Antifascist Resistance Group (GRAPO)  
Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN)  
HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)  
Hizballah (Party of God)  
Irgun  
Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)  
Irish Republican Army (IRA)  
Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)  
Jamiat ul-Mujahedin (JUM)  
Japanese Red Army (JRA)  
Jemaah Islamiya (JI)  
Kahane Chai (Kach)  
Klu Klux Klan (KKK)  
Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK, KADEK)/Kongra-Gel (KGK)  
Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM)  
Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT)  
Lashkar i Jhangvi (LiJ)  
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)  
Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)  
Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF)  
Maoist Communist Center of India (MCCI)  
Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK or MKO)  
National Liberation Army (ELN)—Colombia  
Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)  
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)  
People's Will Movement (Narodnaya Volya)  
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)  
Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA)  
Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ)  
Real IRA (RIRA)

Red Army Faction (RAF)/Bader-Meinhof Gang  
Red Brigades (RB)  
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)  
Revolutionary Nuclei (RN)  
Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17 November)  
Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC)  
Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path or SL)  
The Tunisian Combatant Group (TCG)  
Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)  
Turkish Hizballah  
Ulster Defense Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (USA/UFF)  
Ulster Defense Force (UVP)  
United Self-Defense Forces/Group of Colombia (AUC)  
Weather Underground/Weathermen  
Zapatista National Revolutionary Army (EZLN)

### **General Introductory Guides on the Subject**

Yonah Alexander, ed., *Counterterrorism Strategies: Successes and Failures of Six Nations* (Washington, DC: Potomac, 2006).

Yonah Alexander, ed., *Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

William C. Banks, Mitchel B. Wallerstein, and Renee de Nevers, *Combating Terrorism: Strategies and Approaches* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007).

Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, eds., *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

Audrey Kurth Cronin and James Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004).

Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, *The Political Economy of Terrorism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Boaz Ganor, *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2007).

Walter Laqueur, *No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (Continuum, 2004).

Walter Laqueur, *Voices of Terror* (Sourcebooks, 2005).

Brynjar Lia and Katja Skjolberg, *Causes Of Terrorism: An Expanded And Updated Review Of The Literature* (Kjeller, Norway: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, 2004), available at: <http://rapporter.ffi.no/rapporter/2000/02769.pdf>.

James M. Lutz and Brenda J. Lutz, *Terrorism: Origins and Evolution* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2004).

Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat* (New York: Random House, 2006).

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Stephen Sloan, *Terrorism: The Present Threat in Context* (Berg, 2006).

Leonard Weinberg, *Global Terrorism: A Beginner's Guide* (Oneworld, 2008).

Leonard Weinberg, ed., *Democratic Responses to Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2008).

**Classmate Contact Information**

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