

**POSC 4931
TERRORISM
Spring 2011**

Risa Brooks
Office Hours: Monday, 10:20 -12:20;
Tuesday & Thursday, 3:20- 5:00; and by appointment.
William Wehr Physics 412
Risa.brooks@marquette.edu

Why do militant groups employ terrorist methods? What forces or pressures drive militant leaders to employ such controversial methods in pursuit of their aims? This course provides students an opportunity to study what terrorists do, and why they do it, helping them formulate answers to these questions. To facilitate the inquiry, much of the course is devoted to developing and applying five alternative theories or lenses through which militant groups can be analyzed. These stress the effects on militant action of ideology; social structural and psychological factors; organizational dynamics, and strategic or cost-benefit analysis. The course also examines a diverse array of militant groups, including entities like violent offshoots of contemporary right-wing militias and other al-Qaeda inspired militants in the United States, "Jihadi" groups in Pakistan, the Weather Underground, the Provisional Irish Republican Army, and others.

Required Texts:

1. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Columbia University Press, 2006.
NOTE: Make sure you get the SECOND (2006) edition of this book.
2. Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998
3. Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God*, Harper Collins, 2003
4. Igor Primoratz, *Terrorism, The Philosophical Issues*, Palgrave, 2004.

Optional Texts:

1. Diego Gambetta, ed. *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, Oxford University Press. HEREAFTER Gambetta
2. Rosemary H.T. O'Kane, *Terrorism*, Pearson, 2007

Optional texts and optional readings below may be especially useful for graduate student participants.

Course Requirements:

One short paper (4-6 pages) = 20%

One hourly exam = 25%

One long paper (9-12 pages) = 35%

Bibliography and three quizzes = 20%

Note on quizzes: completing assigned readings is essential to your performance and participation in the course. Twice during the semester I will ask you to answer a question based directly on the readings in class (you will be given 20-30 minutes). I will grade these with a plus, check, or minus (I expect most students will get a check).

To do well on quizzes, complete the readings for that day and make sure you know what are the author's main arguments and key supporting points. To be especially prepared, spend a few minutes before class thinking about questions or concerns that the reading raised for you, or things that you believe warrant further discussion.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Jan 18

Course introduction

Jan 20

 Putting the *terror* into terrorism.

Discussion of 9/11 and Mumbai massacre

Reading:

1. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Second Edition (2008), Chapter one
2. Review article at link: <http://reason.com/archives/2006/08/11/dont-be-terrorized>

Section I: What is Terrorism?

Jan 25

 Defining Terrorism

Reading:

PLEASE get a head start on reading for next few classes, especially Feb. 3 (which has the heaviest reading of the course); for example it is recommended you read the Vaniak article ahead of time, as it is especially (and unusually) dense

Jan. 27

 Defining Terrorism; Some Controversies

What is distinctive about terrorism as a method of armed conflict? Through what pathways or mechanisms do the strategy/strategies of terrorism supposedly work. What are these strategies of terrorism?

Reading:

1. Handout from Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency" *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 5, no. 4 (Winter 1993)
2. Peter R. Neumann and M.L.R. Smith, *The Strategy of Terrorism: How it works and why it fails*, Routledge, 2008, chapter 3

3. A.P. Schmid, "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 1, no. 4 (1989) **ONLY READ: 539-546**
4. Robert Mackey, "Can Soldiers be Victims of Terrorism," *The New York Times*, November 20, 2009

Feb. 1 Can states be "terrorists"?

E.g., how should we consider the bombing of German cities in W.W.II. or the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Sherman's march through the South, etc.

Reading:

1. Primoratz, chapters TBA

Feb. 3 Is an objective, universally applied, definition of terror possible?

Reading:

1. Achin Vanaik "The ethics and Efficacy of Political Terrorism" from Eric Hershberg and Kevin W. Moore, *Critical Views of September 11*, SSRC project, New York: The New Press
2. Hoffman, 20-35, section titled: Why is terrorism so hard to define?
3. News articles
 - a. Articles on Joseph Allen Stack (flew his plan into an I.R.S. office building)
 - i. Brian Stelter, "In plane crash coverage, networks use the word Terrorism with care," *The New York Times*, February 18, 2010.
 - b. Articles on Luis Posada Carriles (anti-Cuban militant who when under the employ of C.I.A. oversaw bombings, etc. in Havana)
4. Jacob Shamir and Khalil Shikaki, "Self-serving perception of terrorism among Israelis and Palestinians," *Political Psychology* vol. 23, no. 3, (Sept. 2002), 537-557. (PDF) ,

OPTIONAL Reading

1. START Background Report, "Discovery Communications Hostage-Taking," September 1, 2010.
2. Press Articles on Jared Loughner.

February 8 The national and international politics of naming terrorists

Reading:

1. Benjamin Freedman, "Officially Blacklisted Extremist/Terrorist (support) organizations: a comparison of lists from six countries and international organizations," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, vol. 4, issue 2.
2. Review briefly PDF of state department list of terrorist organizations

3. Mark Landler, "U.S. Revises Offer to take Sudan off Terror list," *The New York Times*, November 7, 2010.
4. John F. Burns, "Iranian Exiles aren't terrorist group, British Court Says," *The New York Times*, 5/8/08.
5. Helene Cooper and Nazila Fathi, "Terrorist Label for Iran Guard Reflects U.S. Impatience with U.N.," *The New York Times*, August 16, 2007.
6. Brian Knowlton, "U.S. Thinking of restoring N. Korea to Terror List," *The New York Times*, June 8, 2009.

Optional

1. "The Uses and Abuses of lists" in Martha Crenshaw, ed. *The Consequences of Counterterrorism*, Russell Sage, 2010

Section II: Models

The Ideology Model

Feb. 10 Preview of perspectives/models for why militants employ terrorist methods

Introduction to the "Ideology" model

Reading

1. Chapter on skinheads in Michael P. Arena and Cruce A. Arrigo, *The Terrorist Identity*, NYU Press, 2006

Feb 15 The case of social-revolutionary terrorism: The Weather Underground

Reading:

1. Ehud Sprinzak, "The psychopolitical formation of extreme left terrorism in a democracy: The case of the Weatherman" in Reich, ed. (see your textbook)
2. William Ayers, "The Real Bill Ayers," *The New York Times*, December 8, 2008.

Feb. 17 Religiously-inspired terrorism: examples from three major religious traditions

Rabbi Kahane; Timothy McVeigh and Christian-Patriots; Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri

Reading:

1. Hoffman, chapter 4
2. CRS brief outline of Islam
3. Quintan Wiktorowicz and John Kaltner, "Killing in the Name of Islam: Al-Qaeda's Justification for September 11," *Middle East Policy*, vol. 10, no. 2, summer 2003.

Feb. 22 Religiously-inspired terrorism (con't)

Reading:

1. Stern, chapter 4, "Temple Mount Faithful"
2. Cindy Combs, Elizabeth Al. Combs and Lydia Marsh, "Christian Militia Training: Arming the "troops" with Scripture, the Law and A good gun," in James J.F. Forest, *The Making of a Terrorist, Recruitment, Training and Root Causes*, Praeger Security International

Optional:

1. News articles on Timothy McVeigh and Oklahoma city bombing
2. Allan C. Brownfeld, "Zionism and the Pursuit of West Bank Settlements," in James J.F. Forest, *The Making of a Terrorist, Recruitment, Training and Root Causes*, Vol. 1: Recruitment, Praeger.
3. News Articles on Hutaree
4. James M. Smith, "Japan and Aum Shinrikyo," Chapter 31 in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century, Volume 3: Lessons from the fight against Terrorism*, Praeger, 548-556 ONLY
5. David. C. Rapoport, Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions, vol. 78, no. 3 *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Sept. 1984), p. 658-677
6. Timothy G. Baysinger, "Right Wing Characteristics and Ideology," *Homeland Security Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 2 (July 2006).

The Sociological/Psychological Model(s)

Feb. 24 Social structure; Economic Inequality and Poverty: do they "cause" terrorism?

Reading:

1. Krueger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 4 (Fall).
2. Edward Rothstein, Connections: Exploring the flaws in the notion of the root causes of terror," *The New York Times*, November 17, 2001.
3. Sarbina Tavernise, "Frustrated Strivers in Pakistan Turn to Jihad," *New York Times*, February 27, 2010.

Optional:

1. Peter Bergen and Swati Pandey, "The Madrassa Myth," *New York Times* June 14, 2005.
2. Abdellaziz Testas, "Determinants of Terrorism in the Muslim World: An Empirical Cross-Sectional Analysis," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 16, no. 2 (summer 2004), p. 253-273 (hard copy)
3. M. Najeeb Sahfiq and Abdulkader H. Sinno, "Education, Income and Support for Suicide Bombings: Evidence from Six Muslim Countries," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54, no. 1 146-178.

March 1 Psycho-pathological approaches: Are terrorists "unbalanced" or "crazy"?

Reading:

1. Jerrold M. Post. "Terrorist psycho-logic: terrorist behavior as a product of psychological forces," in Reich (textbook)
2. Excerpt from Jeff Victoroff, "The Mind of Terrorist," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 49, no. 1 (February 2005, 3-42)

Optional:

1. Albert Bandura, "Mechanisms of moral disengagement" in Reich (textbook)

March 3 Interaction of Ideology and psychology

Readings:

1. Articles on Faisal Shahzad and Zachary Chesser TBA
2. Jarret Brachman, "My Pen Pal, the Jihadist," *Foreign Policy*, July 29, 2010.

Optional:

1. "Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the twentieth century" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32, no. 3, (March 2009)
2. George Michael, "Blueprints and Fantasies: A review and analysis of Extremist Fiction," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 33 no. 2 (2010), 149-170.

March 8 Psychology and Small group dynamics

Reading:

1. Stern, Chapter two, "Humiliation"
2. Martha Crenshaw, In David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, Frank Cass, 2001, pages 19-26 (Note: skip conclusion on page 26, but look at the right-hand side of the table on p. 27 related "The organizational perspective,")

Optional:

1. Arthur Deikman, "The Psychological Power of Charismatic Leaders in Cults and Terrorist Organizations," in James J.F. Forest, ed., *The Making of a Terrorist*, volume 2, Training, Praeger
2. Martha Crenshaw, "Decisions to Use Terrorism: Psychological Constraints on Instrumental Reasoning," *International Social Movement Research*, vol. 4 (1992) pages 29-42.

March 10 Psycho-sociological approaches: the interaction of psychology and social structure

PAPER DUE ON MARCH 10 AT START OF CLASS

Reading:

1. Background on Palestinian-Israeli conflict, pages 281-292 in Neal Jesse and Kristen Williams, eds. *Ethnic conflict*: CQ press, 2011
2. Raymond H. Hamden, "Unresolved Trauma and the Thirst for Revenge: The Retributional Terrorist," in James J.F. Forest, ed., *The Making of a Terrorist*, volume 1, Recruitment, Praeger

Optional:

1. Daphne Burdman, "Education, Indoctrination and Incitement: Palestinian Children on their Way to Martyrdom," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 1 (spring 2003), 96-123. READ ONLY 96-106

The Organizational/Bureaucratic model

March 22 Terrorism, Inc.

Terrorism as a business enterprise?

Reading

1. Shapiro and Siegel, "Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations" *International Studies Quarterly*, no. 2 (2007) (NOTE: mathematical section of this article is optional; just try to get their approach, assumptions, and their take-away points)
2. Stern, chapter on Pakistani militant organizations, 188-236

Optional

1. Background: Jessica Stern, "Pakistan's Jihadi Culture," in *Essential Readings on Political Terrorism*, Gordian Knot Books, 2002.
2. Aaron Zelinsky and Martin Shubik, "Research Note: Terrorist Groups as Business Firms: A New Typological Framework," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21, no. 2 (2009), 327-336

March 29 Terrorism as a business enterprise (con't)

Case Study: Al Qaeda as an organization

Reading:

1. Articles from West Point's Center for Combating Terrorism, TBA <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/>
TBA
2. Alan Cullison, "Inside Al Qaeda's hard drive," *The Atlantic*, September 2004.

April 5 Al Qaeda (continued)

Reading:

1. Michael Moss and Souad Mekhennet, "An Internet Jihad Aims at U.S. Viewers," *The New York Times*, October 15, 2007.

2. Fareed Zakaria, "The Jihad against the Jihadis," *Newsweek*, February 12, 2010.
3. Brynjar Lia and Thomas Hegghammer, "Jihadi Strategic Studies: The Alleged Al Qaida Policy Study Preceding the Madrid Bombings," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27 (2004), 355-375

Optional:

1. Alia Brahimi, "Crushed in the Shadows: Why Al Qaeda will lose the War of Ideas," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (Feb. 2010).

The Strategic Choice Model

April 12 What is a strategic choice approach?

Exploring the effects of external stimuli: the political environment: resources, social support and strategies of adversary

Reading

1. Martha Crenshaw, "The logic of terrorism: terrorist behavior as a product of strategic choice" in Reich (textbook)
2. Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: the strategic logic of suicide terrorism*, New York: Random House, 2005 (excerpt TBA)

April 14 The Provisional Irish Republican Army: background and history

Reading:

3. "Northern Ireland: protestants, Catholics and the Troubles," chapter 3 in Neal Jesse and Kristen Williams, eds. *Ethnic conflict*: CQ press, 2011

April 19 PIRA (con't)

How are the actions and behavior of the PIRA over-time consistent with a strategic choice approach?

April 26: Catch-up and Discussion and review for exam

April 28 Hourly Exam: In class essay exam

May 3 Library/bibliography exercise (details to be discussed in class)

May 5 Review and paper presentations

PAPER DUE: MAY 11 at start of regularly scheduled exam time.