

Terrorism and Counterterrorism (Fall 2005)

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Terrorism has gone from a persistent yet marginal security concern to one of the most important problems of our day. As the September 11, 2001 attacks made clear, terrorists can and will kill thousands to pursue their ends. In addition to threatening the United States, terrorists menace governments worldwide: indeed, there are few if any countries that do not suffer from some form of terrorism.

This course examines a wide range of questions in order to provide students with a deeper understanding of the threat of terrorism today. Among the questions it examines are: What is terrorism? How has the threat of terrorism changed over time? What motivates different types of terrorist groups? When does terrorism succeed and fail? How can terrorism best be fought?

This course explores the nature of terrorism, the motivations of terrorists, and the tactics that terrorists use. It surveys state-sponsored terrorist groups, as well as several leading past and current radical groups. The final weeks of the course will assess different methods of countering terrorism, ranging from law enforcement to covert action.

Students are not expected to have a strong background on terrorist groups or methods. However, students with personal knowledge of this subject are encouraged to share their knowledge with the class.

Students will write two short (7 page) papers that draw on lessons learned during the course and one long paper (10 pages) that involves *limited* additional research. Class participation is essential.

The reading load is often heavy. Students are expected to read the assigned readings and be prepared to discuss the various discussion questions. Given the dynamic nature of terrorism and the many recent changes in efforts to fight it, it is also likely that additional readings will be handed out while this class is in progress.

Student grades will be based several written papers, and class participation. The two short papers will each count for approximately 20 percent of the final grade. The final paper will count for 40 percent of the grade. The remaining 20 percent of the students' grades will be from class participation.

Books for Purchase

Anonymous, *Through Our Enemies' Eyes: Osama Bin Ladin, Radical Islam, and the Future of America* (Brassey's, 2002)

Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism* (Cambridge, 2005).

Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer (eds.), *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (McGraw Hill (2004)). **Make sure you have the latest version!**

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998)

Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (W.W. Norton, 2003)

Barry Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory? The Politics and History of the PLO* (Harvard, 1994)

All readings that are not from the above books are available on the class Blackboard site.

PART ONE: GENERAL BACKGROUND ON TERRORISM

Class 1. Introduction (September 6)

1. United States Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003* (Washington, DC 2003), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/31912.pdf> , p. xii only (including the footnote!)
2. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 7-44
3. John Mueller, "Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (forthcoming, draft available at: <http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/jmueller/6PROTPV3.PDF>)

Class 2. The Post-Colonial Era (September 13)

1. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 45-86.
2. Alistair Horne, "The Battle of Algiers." *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (Penguin, 1987), pp. 190-207.
3. Rubin, *Revolution Until Victory*, pp. 1-65, 123-145.

Class 3. Left-wing Terrorism (September 20)

1. Hans Josef Horchem, "The Decline of the Red Army Faction," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 3, no. 2, Summer 1991, pp. 61-75.
2. Hans Josef Horchem, "The Lost Revolution of West Germany's Terrorists," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 1, no. 3, July 1989, pp. 353-360.
3. Alison Jamieson, "Entry, Discipline and Exit in the Italian Red Brigades," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1990, pp. 1-21.
4. Ehud Sprinzak, "The psychopolitical formation of extreme left terrorism in a democracy: The case of the Weathermen," in Walter Reich (ed.), *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Woodrow Wilson Press, 1998), pp. 65-85.

Class 4. Right Wing Terrorism (September 27)

1. Mark Juergensmeyer, "Soldiers for Christ," in *Terror in the Mind of God* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 19-43.
2. Michael Barkun, "Millenarian Aspects of 'White Supremacist' Movements," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 1, no. 4, October 1989, pp. 409-434.
3. Daniel Levitas, "Militia Madness" in *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* (Thomas Dunne Books, 2002), pp. 301-316.
4. Betty Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile, "Ideology" in *The White Separatist Movement in the United States* (Johns Hopkins, 2000), pp. 89-163.
5. Mike German, "Behind the Lone Terrorist, A Pack Mentality," *The Washington Post*, June 5, 2005. Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html>

Class 5. Types and Causes (October 4)

1. Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism," in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, pp. 54-66.
2. Daniel Byman, "The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol.21, No.2, (April-June 1998), pp. 149-169.
3. Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Logic of Religious Violence," in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, pp. 136-155.
4. Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," *Annual Review of Political Science* no. 6, pp. 473-507.
5. United States Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003* (Washington, DC 2001), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/31912.pdf>, pp. 113-160.

Class 6. Weapons of Terrorism (October 11)

1. Bruce Hoffman, "The Modern Terrorist Mindset, in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, pp. 75-95.
2. Bruce Hoffman, "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism," in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, pp. 260-270.
3. Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (New York: Times Book, 2004), pp. 19-42.
4. Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists*, pp. 48-68.
5. Central Intelligence Agency, "Terrorist CBRN: Materials and Effects," May 2003, http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/terrorist_cbrn/terrorist_CBRN.htm
6. John Parachini, "Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective," *Washington Quarterly* (Fall 2003), available at: http://twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn_parachini.pdf

Paper One Due: Take the point of view of a current or fictitious left-wing, right-wing, or ethno-nationalist terrorist group (e.g. The Committee to Liberate Freedonia) and discuss how you should, and should not, use violence. Please note the impact on recruiting, international support, and other goals.

PART TWO: TERRORIST GROUPS AND THEIR SPONSORS

Class 7. State Sponsors of Terrorism (October 18)

1. Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections*, pp. 1-78, 155-186 (Pakistan), and 219-272.

Class 8. The Irish Republican Army (October 25)

1. Richard English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 81-147.
2. Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 3-92, 455-492.

Class 9: Hezbollah (November 1)

1. Daniel Byman, "Should Hezbollah Be Next?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, no. 6 (pp. 54-66)
2. Byman, *Deadly Connections*, pp. 79-116.
3. Hala Jaber, "The Party of God," in *Hezbollah: Born With A Vengeance* (Columbia, 1997), pp. 47-74.
4. International Crisis Group, "Hizbollah: Rebel Group without a Cause?" July 30, 2003. Available at:
<http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=1070>
5. Martin Kramer, "The Moral Logic of Hizballah." Available at:
<http://www.martinkramer.org/pages/899528/index.htm>

Class 10. Al-Qa'ida (November 8)

1. Anonymous, *Through Our Enemies' Eyes*, entire.
2. Bruce Hoffman, "Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism Since 9/11," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, no. 25 (2002), pp. 303-316.
3. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing: Introduction and Executive Summary." Available at:
http://www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/index.htm#monographs

Class 11. Sunni Extremist Groups (November 15)

1. Gilles Kepel, "The Threat of Terrorism in Egypt," *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 276-299.
2. Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian HAMAS: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 27-48.
3. Gal Luft, "The Palestinian H-Bomb: Terror's Winning Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, no. 4 (July/August 2002), pp. 2-7.
4. Ahmed Rashid, "Namangani and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan," *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 137-155.
5. Javier Jordan and Nicola Horsburgh, "Mapping Jihadist Terrorism in Spain," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (1995), no. 29, pp. 169-191.
6. Robert S. Leiken, "Europe's Mujahideen," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, no. 4 (July/August 2005), pp. 120-135.

Paper Two Due: Please choose one of two topics: (1) the future direction of the IRA, Hezbollah, or al-Qa'ida *drawing on what we've learned from other groups and al-Qa'ida's past* or (2) whether any of these groups would use CBRN.

PART THREE: COUNTERTERRORISM

Class 12. Policy Instruments (November 22)

1. Barry Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, pp. 429-441.
2. Paul Pillar, "Counterterrorism Instruments" in *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Brookings, 2001), pp. 73-129.
3. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 131-156.
4. Byman, *Deadly Connections*, pp. 273-312.
5. "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," White House document. Available at:
http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/counter_terrorism/counter_terrorism_strategy.pdf

Class 13. Intelligence (November 29)

1. Grant Wardlaw, "Counter-measures against terrorism: the intelligence function," in *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics, and Countermeasures* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 131-146.
2. Paul Pillar, "Intelligence," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (eds.), *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Georgetown University Press, 2003), pp. 115-139.
3. Paul Aussaresses, "The Terror," *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria* (Enigma, 2002), pp. 124-131.
4. Dana Priest and Barton Gellman, "U.S. Decries Abuse But Defends Interrogations," *Washington Post*, December 26, 2003.
5. Glenn Frankel, "Prison Tactics a Longtime Dilemma for Israel," *Washington Post*, June 16, 2004. Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A44664-2004Jun15.html>
6. Paul Pillar, "Counterterrorism after Al-Qaeda." *The Washington Quarterly*, (Summer 2004). Available at http://www.twq.com/04summer/docs/04summer_pillar.pdf

Class 14. Covert Action and Assassination (December 6)

1. Jonathan Fredman, "Covert Action, Loss of Life, and the Prohibition on Assassination," *Studies in Intelligence* (1997), pp. 15-25.
2. Steven R. David, "Israel's Policy of Targeted Killing," *Ethics & International Affairs* (Spring 2003), Vol. 17, pp. 111-126.
3. Yael Stein, "By Any Name Illegal and Immoral: Response to 'Israel's Policy of Targeted Killing,'" *Ethics & International Affairs*.
4. Catherine Lotrionte, "When to Target Leaders," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2003), pp. 73-86, available at: http://www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer_lotrionte.pdf.

Final paper (due last day of class): Pick an active terrorist group *other than al-Qa'ida, Hizballah, and the IRA* and discuss how the United States or another government can best counter it. Limited outside research is expected.