

**Terror and Politics**  
**INR 3084-01**  
**Fall 2008**

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### **Course Description**

This is an upper-division course focusing on the nature of terrorist organizations and government responses to them. It aims to provide the tools necessary to become educated consumers of news in a post-9/11 world, absent the typical polemics, through the careful analysis of different aspects of terrorism: its historical context; the organizational structure of terrorist groups; the available weapons and tactics of both national and subnational terror; mobilization and recruitment within terror networks; terrorist finance; and methods of counterterrorism.

### **Course Format**

The course will be split into two parts. In the first, after addressing the difficult problem of defining terrorism, we will break down the problem of terrorism to its component pieces, looking at the ways in which terrorist groups are organized, recruit new members, and finance their activities, and the tools they choose to use and have at their disposal.

Having developed theories to understand terrorism, in the second part we will do two things: discuss the methods by which they are fought, and apply both theories and counterterror methods to an array of terror organizations throughout history. The culmination of this part of the course will be a paper in which you will act in the role of an intelligence analyst, dissecting a subnational terrorist organization discussed in class in order both to assess the organization for the target state's head of intelligence, and to provide counterterror strategies for minimizing its impact.

During the semester there will also be two simulations, designed to help you get a feel of the real decisions being made by both terrorist groups and their prospective targets. A midterm and a final will end each part of the class; the final will be cumulative.

### **Course Requirements**

1. **Attendance and Participation (20%):** Decisions made regarding terrorism tend to have wide-reaching effects, and it is important to be able to express oneself clearly and objectively when discussing it. Accordingly, regular attendance and participation is vital and will be graded accordingly. To improve civility when discussing this sensitive subject, all comments will be prefaced with your name, and kept as scholarly in nature as possible.
2. **Midterm exam (20%):** There will be a multiple choice test after the first part of the class.
3. **Final exam (25%):** There will be a multiple-choice exam at the end of the class, during exam week. This is presently scheduled for Monday, Dec 8<sup>th</sup>, from 7:30-9:30 am. While this exam will be focused on the latter part of the class, you will be expected to utilize theories from the first part in your answers.
4. **Policy Memo (35%):** You will choose a subnational terrorist group discussed in class and write a policy memo phrased for the head of intelligence of the targeted state providing a brief summary of the situation and your proposal for policy in the region going forward. This memo should make use of the analyses discussed during the course. It must be between 6 and 10 pages (double-spaced), not including a title, references, or other supporting pages, and should be kept to 12 pt Times New Roman Font with 1

inch margins. This policy memo should follow guidelines that will be posted on Blackboard at or before the midterm, and will be graded in terms of how well it satisfies the assignment as well as the quality of the writing (i.e. it should be written formally, with proper spelling and grammar). Memos will be due the last day of class, but may be turned in earlier.

## **Grading**

### *Grading Scale*

A 93-100	A- 90-92		
B+ 87-89	B 83-86	B- 80-82	
C+ 77-79	C 73-76	C- 70-72	
D+ 67-69	D 63-66	D- 60-62	F 60 or below

## **Course Policies**

Attendance will be taken sporadically; excuses of a limited nature will be accepted for absences, assuming documentation is provided in a timely fashion. Make-up exams for the midterm and final are possible, but only with prior notice and proper documentation. Late policy memos will not be accepted under any circumstances. Memos are due promptly at the beginning of the last day of class, provided to me in person in hard copy. If this is a problem for any reason, memos may be given to me in person earlier than this date. It is your responsibility to ensure that this deadline is met. I advise starting the task as soon as possible, so as to prevent last minute unexpected events from causing problems. All information necessary to write the memo—save only the details of the case to be studied—will have been provided by the end of October to make this easier.

## **Academic Honor Code**

Students are expected to uphold the Academic Honor Code published in The Florida State University Bulletin and the Student Handbook. The Academic Honor System of The Florida State University is based on the premise that each student has the responsibility: (1) to uphold the highest standards of academic integrity in the student's own work, (2) to refuse to tolerate violations of academic integrity in the university community, and (3) to foster a high sense of integrity and social responsibility on the part of the university community.

Please see the following web site for a complete explanation of the Academic Honor Code.

<http://www.fsu.edu/Books/Student-Handbook/codes/honor.html>

## **Americans with Disabilities Act:**

Students with disabilities needing academic accommodation should: (1) register with and provide documentation to the Student Disability Resource Center; (2) bring a letter to the instructor indicating the need for accommodation and what type. This should be done during the first week of class.

For more information about services available to FSU students with disabilities, contact the

Student Disability Resource Center  
97 Woodward Avenue, South  
Florida State University  
Tallahassee, FL 32306-4167  
(850) 644-9566 (voice)  
(850) 644-8504 (TDD)

[sdrc@admin.fsu.edu](mailto:sdrc@admin.fsu.edu)  
<http://www.fsu.edu/~staffair/dean/StudentDisability/>

### **Syllabus Change Policy:**

This syllabus is a guide for the course and is subject to change with advance notice.

### **Course Materials:**

There is one required book available for purchase at the FSU bookstore, and one recommended one.

These are:

#### *Required*

- Crenshaw, Martha. (1994). *Terrorism in Context*. Penn State University Press.

#### *Recommended*

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

Readings from these books will not be found on Blackboard, though the books will be on reserve at the library. All other readings may be found on Blackboard in the course library.

### **Class Schedule**

**M Aug 25: Syllabus, procedures, etc.**

**W Aug 27: NO CLASS**

**F Aug 29: NO CLASS**

**M Sep 1: NO CLASS—Labor Day**

**W Sep 3: Definition**

Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction: Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts," in *Terrorism in Context*, pp. 3-24.

Bruce Hoffman, "Defining Terrorism" (course website), pp. 13-44.

**F Sep 5: Causes and Motivations**

Martha Crenshaw, 2002, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice" (course website) pp. 54-66.

Jeffrey Ian Ross, "Chapter Three: Exploring the Causes" (course website) pp. 77-91.

**M Sep 8: Studying Terrorism**

Timothy Garton Ash, "Is there a Good Terrorist?" *New York Review of Books*, November 29, 2001. (found at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14860>)

Stohl, Michael, 1983, "Demystifying Terrorism: The Myths and Realities of Contemporary Political Terrorism," (course website) in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*, Second Edition: Revised and Expanded. Marcel Dekker, pp. 1-19.

**W Sep 10: Organizational Challenges Overview**

Jacob N. Shapiro, "The Challenges of Organizing Terror: A Theoretical Framework for Analysis," in *Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report* (found at [http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq\\_pdf.asp](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq_pdf.asp) or on course website), pp. 11-24.

Alan Cullison, "Inside Al-Qaeda's Hard Drive," at (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200409/cullison>).

Harmony Documents: "Al-Qa'ida Goals and Structure" and "Employment Contract," both at ([http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq\\_pdf.asp](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq_pdf.asp) or on course website).

Twomey, "Staff Report" (course website).

**F Sep 12: Role Differentiation and the Mind of the Terrorist**

Jeff Victoroff. 2005. *The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches*. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42 (also on course website)

**M Sep 15: Religion and Terror**

Mark Juergensmeyer. (2001) *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press. Chapters 1 and 11. (course website)

**W Sep 17: Weapons and Tactics I: Strategic Overview**

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 49-80 (or on course website).

**F Sep 19: Weapons and Tactics II: Psychological Warfare and the Media**

Boaz Ganor, "Terror as a Strategy of Psychological Warfare," (on course website).

Brigitte L. Nacos, "Terrorism as Breaking News: Attack on America," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 118, No. 1, pp. 23-52.

**M Sep 22: Weapons and Tactics II: Hijacking and Hostage Taking I**

Simulation Exercise in class. Optional accompanying reading: Enders and Sandler, pp. 160-187.

**W Sep 24: Weapons and Tactics II: Hijacking and Hostage Taking II**

Simulation Exercise in class.

**F Sep 26: Weapons and Tactics IIIA: The Suicide Bomber: Strategic Logic**

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* (August 2003), 343-361. (also on course website)

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

**M Sep 29: Weapons and Tactics IIIB: The Suicide Bomber: Public Support and Recruitment**

Mia M. Bloom, 2004, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly*, 119 (1):61-88. (also on course website)

For more: Bloom, Mia M. (2005). *Dying to Kill*. Columbia University Press.

**W Oct 1: Weapons and Tactics IIIB: The Suicide Bomber: Additional Thoughts**

Scott Atran. 2003. The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539 (course website).

Film clips shown in class.

**F Oct 3: Weapons and Tactics IV: WMDs**

CIA, "Terrorist CBRN: Materials and Effects," May 2003, at ([https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/terrorist\\_cbrn/terrorist\\_CBRN.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/terrorist_cbrn/terrorist_CBRN.htm)).

John Parachini, "Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective," *Washington Quarterly* (Fall 2003), (at [http://twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn\\_parachini.pdf](http://twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn_parachini.pdf) or course website).

Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003, Prentice Hall, pp. 151-159. (on course website)

**M Oct 6: Mobilization and Recruitment I: Who Joins?**

Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, 2003, "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17 (4):119-144. (also on course website)

**W Oct 8: Mobilization and Recruitment II: Jihadi Networks**

Marc Sageman. 2004. "Social Networks and the Jihad," in *Understanding Terror Networks*, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 137-173. (course website)

**F Oct 10: Means of Terrorist Financing I**

Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, "Chapter 1: The Political Economy of Terrorist Financing," in Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds., *The Political Economy of Terrorism Finance and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, Forthcoming 2006). (on course website)

Matthew A. Levitt, "The Political Economy of Middle East Terrorism," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (December, 2002), pp. 49-65. (on course website)

**M Oct 13: Means of Terrorist Financing II: State-Sponsored Terrorism and State Terror**

State Sponsors of Terrorism Overview, pp. 88-90 in Department of State, Country Reports

on Terrorism, 2004 (<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/45322.pdf>).

Paul Wilkinson, "Can A State Be Terrorist?" *International Affairs* (Summer 1981), 467-472. (on course website)

**W Oct 15: Midterm Exam (Bring a pencil!)**

**F Oct 17: Counter-Terror I: A Game-Theoretic Approach**

Daniel Arce and Todd Sandler, "Counterterrorism: A Game-Theoretic Analysis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (April 2005), 183-200. (also on course website)

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

**M Oct 20: Counter-Terror II: Intelligence**

Loch Johnson, "Strategic Intelligence: the Weakest Link in the War against Terrorism," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003, Prentice Hall, pp. 239-252. (on course website)

Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorism after Al Qaeda," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2004), pp. 101-113. Available at ([http://www.twq.com/04summer/docs/04summer\\_pillar.pdf](http://www.twq.com/04summer/docs/04summer_pillar.pdf) or course website).

**W Oct 22: Counter-Terror III: Breaking Networks**

Catherine Lotrionte, "When to Target Leaders," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2003), pp. 73-86. Available at [http://twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer\\_lotrionte.pdf](http://twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer_lotrionte.pdf) or course website).

David A. Siegel. 2007. "When Does Repression Work?: Collective Action Under the Threat of Violence." Sections I, V, VI (on course website).

**F Oct 24: Counter-Terror IV: Exploiting Organizational Vulnerabilities**

Joseph Felter et al., "Organizational Vulnerabilities and Recommendations to Exploit Them," in *Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report* (found at [http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq\\_pdf.asp](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq_pdf.asp) or on course website under Oct 24), pp. 40-55.

Jacob N Shapiro and David A Siegel. 2007. "Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 51, pp. 405-429. Sections 1, 2, 5, 6. (on course website)

**M Oct 27: Simulated Exercise: Terror vs. Counterterror I**

**W Oct 29: Simulated Exercise: Terror vs. Counterterror II**

**F Oct 31: Simulated Exercise: Terror vs. Counterterror III**

**M Nov 3: Terror from Movements: Italy's Red Brigades**

Donatella della Porta, "Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy," in *Terrorism in Context* pp. 105-160.

**W Nov 5: Revolutionary Terrorism: The Shining Path of Peru**

David Scott Palmer, "The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path," in Terrorism in Context pp. 249-308.

**F Nov 7: Revolutionary Terrorism: The Urban Guerrilla of Argentina**

Richard Gillespie, "Political Violence in Argentina: Guerrillas, Terrorist, and *Carapintadas*," in Terrorism in Context pp. 211-248.

**M Nov 10: Ethnic Separatism: ETA**

Goldie Shabad and Francisco Llera, "Political Violence in a Democratic State: Basque Separatism in Spain," in Terrorism in Context pp. 410-469.

**W Nov 12: Ethnic Separatism: IRA**

Charles Townshend, "The Culture of Paramilitarism in Ireland," in Terrorism in Context pp. 311-351.

**F Nov 14: Nationalism: Algeria**

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

**M Nov 17: Nationalism: Iran**

Jerrold Green, "Terrorism and Politics in Iran," in Terrorism in Context pp. 553-594.

**W Nov 19: Nationalistic to Religious Terror: Israel-Palestine**

Kydd, Andrew & Barbara Walter. 2002. Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence, *International Organization*, 56(2):263-296 (on course website).

**F Nov 21: Nationalistic to Religious Terror: Hamas and Hezbollah**

International Crisis Group, 2004, Sections II and II of "Dealing with Hamas," (course website), pp. 4-19.

Gary Sick, "Iran: Confronting Terrorism," in Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism pp. 38-45.

Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounder: Hezbollah," (at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9155/>).

International Crisis Group, 2003, "Hizbollah: Rebel Without a Cause?" (course website).

**M Nov 24: Religious Terror: Al-Qaida**

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 2 and 4, (<http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/index.htm> or course website) pp. 1-24 and 1-36.

**W Nov 26: NO CLASS (Happy Thanksgiving!)**

**F Nov 28: NO CLASS (Happy Thanksgiving!)**

**M Dec 1: Non-Religious Suicide Terror: Tamil Tigers**

International Crisis Group, 2007, "Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process," (course website), pp. 1-12.

Mia Bloom, 2003, "Sri Lanka: In the Tiger's Belly," (<http://www.worldpress.org/Asia/1015.cfm>).

Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounder: LTTE," (<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9242/>).

**W Dec 3: Future Directions**

Bruce Hoffman, 2004, "The Changing Face of Al Qaeda and the Global War on Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 27, Issue 6, pp. 549-560 (on course website).

Walter Laqueur, "The Terrorism to Come," (<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3437231.html>).

**F Dec 5: Review and Open Discussion**

*Papers Due!*

**M Dec 8 7:30-9:30 am: Final Exam (Bring a pencil!)**