

Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

POL380H1F: Topics in International Politics, 2015 Summer Session

Course Instructor: Simon Frankel Pratt

Course description and aims:

On 11 September 2001, the study of terrorism shot from a relatively niche activity in political science to a top national priority for many governments. Over the past fifteen years, the US government alone has handed tens of millions of dollars to researchers to study how and why people become terrorists, and the means by which states can secure themselves from the threat terrorism poses. The ‘Global War on Terror’ has cost Canada, the US, the UK, and numerous other states an enormous price in money and in blood. And the scholarly literature on terrorism and counterterrorism has blossomed as a result.

There are numerous questions we might ask about the always-controversial subject of terrorism, and those studying it have sought to answer them. The social science literature features significant discussions on *what terrorism is, why it happens, how it works, the ways it has evolved, and what governments have been doing to counter it*. And of course, scholars have also investigated *how the label of ‘terrorist’ is used rhetorically and politically*. These discussions have incorporated insights and approaches from a variety of academic disciplines, and the field of terrorism studies incorporates work in international relations, comparative politics, history, sociology, and psychology.

This course offers a window into the study of terrorism, giving students a critical survey of terrorism as an historical phenomenon and of ‘terrorism studies’ as a field of academic research. We begin by discussing terrorism as a concept and as a strategy, looking at how persons and groups have used terrorism as a means to ends. Then we broaden our horizons by looking at terrorism through a (social) psychological lens and through critical theory, and examine several contrasting cases. We also examine counter-terrorism, looking at multiple cases and focusing in particular on the United States. Finally, we discuss some normative issues, bringing in perspectives from political philosophy and theory. By the end, students should be able engage critically and knowledgably with the recent and current issues related to the ‘War on Terror’ and to the threat of far-right terrorism, jihadi movements, ‘homegrown’ and foreign threats, radicalisation and extremism, as well as some of the dangers of an overly aggressive or powerful domestic security apparatus.

Course requirements:

Midterm exam (1 hour, in class [1 June]).....	20%
Essay proposal (1 page, single spaced [1 June]).....	5%
Research Essay (4,000 words, due last class [17 June]).....	35%
Final exam (2 hours, cumulative).....	30%
Presence (attendance + participation).....	10%

Note: all essays to be submitted both to Blackboard and to *Turnitin*. Details to follow.

Course readings:

The majority of readings for this course will be academic articles published in peer reviewed journals. A few readings will be journalistic or editorial. A few will be portions of books. Expect to read between 40 and 60 pages of required material for each class, and to be assigned another 20 pages or so of *highly recommended* optional reading. In addition to listed readings, I may send short readings prior to a given class, which add perspective and context— these will be optional and typically journalistic.

All readings will be made available on Blackboard, by photocopy, or in course reserves.

Class structure:

Each class will begin with a lecture, approximately one to one-and-a-half hours, in which I frame the class's subject and offer some context to the readings. ***If you have not done the readings, the lecture will therefore make much less sense.*** Then, following a five minute break, I will lead a discussion, with some emphasis on break-out groups or activities such as debates or scenarios. While this will provide some opportunity for students to be creative in how they approach the subject, it is necessary that students come to class prepared — in other words, ***do the readings.***

Presence (attendance + participation):

Students receive a grade for their overall 'presence' in the course. Presence is more than just attendance, and also more than participation. To have a presence means that you inject your personality into the class environment. Students need not feel pressured to say something about everything, but they should be present: they should be listening actively, asking questions or offering opinions with some regularity, and attending all classes. Students who miss several classes will find that their 'presence' grade suffers greatly unless they can provide a valid excuse, ideally ahead of time.

Note: to facilitate presence during lectures, all laptops, tablets, and phones must be left alone, and students should take notes by hand, which has been scientifically shown to improve information retention during lectures. Exceptions to be made for cases of impairment.

Exams:

The midterm exam will cover the first half of the course, dealing with key definitions and concepts in the study of terrorism. It will comprise a combination of short-answers and an essay question. It should take no more than an hour of class time.

The final exam will cover the full course. It will consist of three essay questions, two short and one long.

Essay:

Students will write a 4000 word research essay on a terrorism-related topic, containing a statement of a research puzzle, a discussion of theory, and an application of theory to something empirical. The essay proposal, due the same class as the midterm, will ensure that all students have an actionable essay topic and a plan for writing it. Topics may include any of those subjects discussed, or something else, provided it is clearly related to the themes of the course. Students are encouraged to start thinking about this early.

Grading Policy:

All matters of grading, exemptions, and discipline procedures will be handled in accordance with the Faculty of Arts and Science Academic Handbook. Late assignments will be penalized 5% per day for the first ten days of lateness. After ten calendar days of lateness, the assignment will be given a zero. Extensions may only be granted prior to the day of the deadline or exam. Students whose health renders them unable to complete the assignment should contact the professor before deadlines under non-exceptional circumstances.

Accessibility:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or the course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible. **Once you do this, we can be accommodating. Before you do this, there's not much we can do.**

Academic Honesty:

Using the words, content, or ideas of others in written work for which you will receive credit in this course requires citing that work. This includes ideas or articles found on the internet. Failure to properly cite other people's words or ideas constitutes plagiarism and is a **very serious** academic offence, as are other forms of academic dishonesty. *If you are uncertain whether citation is needed, or how to cite properly, please consult the instructors.* Ignorance of citation requirements does not constitute an excuse.

Turnitin:

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site. Any student who believes that any work has been unfairly graded may ask the instructor to re-evaluate his or her work. Grading appeals should be submitted with a cover letter explaining the basis of the appeal to the instructor or the teaching assistant. No oral or emailed appeals will be considered. Such re-marking may involve the entire piece of work, and may raise or lower the mark. All other appeals and complaints will be handled in a manner consistent with the regulations described in the handbook. See <http://www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/studentaffairs/handbook.shtml> for the complete handbook.

Course Plan:

Class 1 [Mon., 11 May]: Defining Terrorism, Theorising Terrorism

Lecture: What is terrorism and what are the ways we can study it?

Readings:

- Schmid, Alex (2004). 'Terrorism – The Definitional Problem', *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 36(2-3), 375-419
- Weinberg, Leonard and Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler (2004). 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(4), 777-94
- [optional] Weber, M. (1958). Science as a Vocation. *Daedalus*, 87(1), 111-134.

Class 2 [Wed., 13 May]: Terrorism in Historical and Strategic Perspective

Lecture: The evolution of terrorism – anarchist, revolutionary, nationalist, jihadi

Readings:

- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1): 49–79
- Duyvesteyn, Isabelle (2004) 'How New is the New Terrorism?', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27(5), 439-54
- Bolt, Neville, David Betz, and Jaz Azari (2008). "Propaganda of the Deed: Understanding the Phenomenon." *Royal United Services Institute Whitehall*
- [optional] Horchem, Hans Josef (1991). "The Decline of the Red Army Faction", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3.

Class 3 [Wed., 20 May]: Historical and Strategic Perspective II

Lecture: Terrorism as insurgency: a means to liberation, revolution, and transformation?

Readings:

- Neumann, Peter, and M. L. R. Smith (2005). "Strategic Terrorism: The Framework and Its Fallacies." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28 (4) (August): 571–595
- Merari, Ariel (1993) "Terrorism as a Form of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* (4): 213–251
- [optional] Tarrow, S. (2007). Inside insurgencies: Politics and violence in an age of civil war. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(03), 587-600

Class 4 [Mon., 25 May]: Psychological Approaches to Studying Terrorism

Lecture: Radicalisation, violence, and the terrorist act

Readings:

- McCauley, Clark and Moskalenko, Sophia. (2005). 'Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways to Terrorism,' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 17(3).
- Rogers, Brooke M., Loewenthal, Kate M., Lewis, Christopher Alan, Amlot, Richard, Cinnirella, Marco, and Ansari, Humayan. (2007). 'The role of religious fundamentalism in terrorist violence: A social psychological analysis.' *International Review of Psychiatry*, 19(3).
- [optional] Victoroff, J. (2005) 'The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1): 3-42

Class 5 [Wed., 27 May]: Comparison of Cases: IRA, al-Qa'ida, and Hamas

Lecture: Religion or Nationalism: a reasonable or incoherent dichotomy?

- Neumann, Peter. 2005. “The Bullet and the Ballot Box: The Case of the IRA.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28 (6) (December): 941–975
- Mishal, Shaul and Avraham Sela (2006). *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence and Coexistence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. [new introduction, chaps 1, 2, conclusion]
- Hoffman, Bruce (2004). ‘The Changing Face of Al Qaeda and the Global War on Terrorism’, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 27(6).
- [optional] None; this is a heavy reading Class.

Class 6 [Mon., 1 June]: MIDTERM, ‘Homegrown’ and ‘Lone Wolf’ Terrorism

Lecture: The challenge from within: Anders Breivik and the London 5/5 Bombings

Readings:

- None! Study!
- [optional] Pantucci, R. (2011). *A typology of lone wolves: preliminary analysis of lone Islamist terrorists*. International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence.

Class 7 [Wed., 3 June]: Critical Approaches to Terrorism

Lecture: The ‘terrorism’ discourse and elephant in the room — an awfully state-like elephant

Readings:

- Gunning, Jeroen (2007). ‘A Case for Critical Terrorism Studies?’ , *Government and Opposition*, 42(3), 363-93
- Horgan, John and Michael Boyle (2008). ‘A case against ‘critical terrorism studies’ , *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(1), 51-64
- [optional] Foucault, Michel. (1980). *Power/Knowledge*. Edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.
- [optional] Jones, D. M., & Smith, M. L. R. (2009). ‘We’re All Terrorists Now: Critical—or Hypocritical—Studies “on” Terrorism?’ *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32(4), 292-302.

Class 8 [Mon., 8 June]: Countering Terrorism I: the Gist

Lecture: Counterterrorism: a job for the police, the politicians, or the military?

Readings:

- Heymann, Philip (2001). ‘Dealing with Terrorism: An Overview’, *International Security*, 26(3) 24-38
- Wolfendale, Jessica (2005). ‘Terrorism, Security, and the Threat of Counterterrorism’, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 30(1), 75-92
- [optional] Pratt, S. F. (2013). “Anyone Who Hurts Us”: How the Logic of Israel’s “Assassination Policy” Developed During the Aqsa Intifada. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25(2), 224-245.
- [optional] Horgan, J., & Braddock, K. (2010). rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalization programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22(2), 267-291.

Class 9 [Wed., 10 June]: CT II: Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency

Lecture: How counterterrorism is counterinsurgency, and vice versa

Readings:

- Kilcullen, David J. (2005). 'Countering Global Insurgency', *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28(4) 597-617
- Byman, Daniel (2006). 'Friends Like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism', *International Security*, 31(2) 79-115
- [optional] Dixon, P. (2009). 'Hearts and Minds'? British Counter-Insurgency from Malaya to Iraq. *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32(3), 353-381.

Class 10 [Mon., 15 June]: The US and the War on Terror

Lecture: Liberal values in the land of drones, waterboarding, and the PATRIOT Act

Readings:

- De Goede, Marieke. (2008). 'The Politics of Preemption and the War on Terror in Europe'. *European Journal of International Relations* 14(1): 161-185.
- Buzan, B. (2006). "Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War?" *International affairs*, 82(6), 1101-1118.
- [optional] Stephen M. Walt (2002). 'Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy', *International Security*, 26(3).

Class 11 [Wed., 17 June]: Normative Perspectives on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

Lecture: Can we fight a Just War on terror or are we playing right into their hands?

Readings:

- Walzer, Michael. (2007). On fighting terrorism justly. *International Relations*, 21(4), 480-484.
- Crawford, N. C. (2003). Just war theory and the US counterterror war. *Perspective on Politics*, 1(01), 5-25.
- [optional] Gross, M. L. (2006). 'Assassination and Targeted Killing: Law Enforcement, Execution or Self-Defence?' *Journal of applied philosophy*, 23(3), 323-335.

*****RESEARCH ESSAY DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CLASS**