

POLSCI 377-01

Terrorism

Spring 2017

Monday, Wednesday, Friday 11:00-11:50am

Wheatley Hall W01-0063

Professor: Joseph Brown (Joseph.Brown@umb.edu)

Office: Wheatley Hall 05-0073

Office Hours: Mondays 1:30-3:00pm & Wednesdays 3:30-5:00pm

Course Description

This course examines fundamental questions about the political phenomenon known as terrorism: What is terrorism? Who engages in it? What do they hope to achieve? Who supports or opposes terrorism? What are the effects of terrorism and counter-terrorism on society? The class considers these questions from a variety of perspectives, drawing from political science, psychology, sociology, and primary sources.

Required Readings

All course readings will be available online via Blackboard or the UMass Boston Healey Library. The course website is located in the Blackboard Learn environment on the UMass Boston computer system: <https://umb.umassonline.net/>. If you wish to purchase some of the books for ease of use, bibliographic information is included in the reading list below.

Assignments

Your graded assignments will include two papers, each 2-4 pages long. The instructions for each paper will be handed out in class and you will have at least one week to complete the assignment.

Attendance

Attendance is required and essential to success in this course. Your attendance will count toward your final grade (see page 2). No exceptions will be granted without appropriate medical documentation (doctor's note) demonstrating that you were unable to attend class on that day.

Attendance is also critical because the assignments will cover material presented in the lectures but *not* in the assigned readings. In the event that a class must be cancelled, you are still responsible for the assigned readings. Do not assume that a class is cancelled unless informed by your professor or by another university representative in person or through UMass Boston's automated emergency alert system. Be aware that the reading load may be higher for certain class meetings, and plan accordingly.

Classroom Audio/Video Recording (not permitted)

The audio or video recording of class lectures and discussions is strictly prohibited. The instructor's lectures are proprietary. Students are entitled to an expectation that the opinions they proffer are confined to the educational experience of the classroom.

****Important Course Content Note****

This course deals with controversial subjects. The content of certain readings may disturb or offend you. Some of the course readings are primary source documents originally produced by legally designated terrorist organizations. All course materials are assigned *for the sake of analysis only*. Their presence on the syllabus does not imply any endorsement of the material contained therein, by the instructor or by the University of Massachusetts Boston.

The instructor and the university do not endorse any illegal activity, including any illegal activities referenced in the readings or lectures.

Grading Policy

Your grade will be determined as follows:

Midterm paper: 35%

Final paper: 40%

Class attendance: 25%

Numeric grades will be converted to final letter grades as follows:

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: 0-59

Late Work Policy

Assignments turned in after the due date will not receive full credit. Your grade on the assignment will be penalized 2.5 points per day until they are turned in. No exceptions will be granted without prior consultation with the professor or appropriate medical documentation (doctor's note).

Special Accommodations

The University of Massachusetts Boston is committed to providing reasonable academic accommodations for all students with disabilities. This syllabus is available in alternate format upon request. If you have a disability and feel you will need accommodations in this course, please contact the Ross Center for Disability Services, Campus Center, Upper Level, Room 211 at 617.287.7430. <http://www.umb.edu/academics/vpass/disability/> After registration with the Ross Center, a student should present and discuss the accommodations with the professor. Although a student can request accommodations at any time, it is best to inform the professor of the need for accommodations by the end of the Drop/Add period to ensure that accommodations are available for the entirety of the course.

Academic Conduct

It is the expressed policy of the University that every aspect of academic life—not only formal coursework situations, but all relationships and interactions connected to the educational process—shall be conducted in an absolutely and uncompromisingly honest manner. The University presupposes that any submission of work for academic credit indicates that the work is the student's own and is in compliance with University policies. In cases where academic dishonesty is discovered after completion of a course or degree program, sanctions may be imposed retroactively, up to and including revocation of the degree. Students are required to adhere to the Code of Student Conduct, including requirements for academic honesty, delineated in the University of Massachusetts Boston Bulletin, found at: http://www.umb.edu/life_on_campus/policies/community/code

Ignorance of these regulations is not an excuse for violating them.

When writing your assignments you are expected to cite authors whose ideas you use. Use quotations to cite any direct use of authors' language. Your citations may be in footnotes or parenthetical format, and should include the author's name, the date of the

work, and the page numbers of any passages quoted. Please include a “Works Cited” page at the end of your paper.

Student Support

Subject tutoring and writing assistance are available through the Office of Academic Support Programs (287-6550 or www.academicssupport.umb.edu).

Special Events: Jalal Alamgir Lecture & *If A Tree Falls* film screening

The Political Science Department is pleased to announce the second annual Jalal Alamgir Lecture, to be held on April 4, 2016 at 4:00pm in Campus Center Ballroom A/B. The featured speaker will be Sherene Razack (Professor of Gender Studies, UCLA — <http://www.genderstudies.ucla.edu/faculty/sherene-razack>).

The Political Science Department will also be sponsoring a screening of the film *If A Tree Falls*, on the evening of April 28th (location to be announced). The screening will be followed by a question & answer discussion with Daniel McGowan, star of the film and the guest speaker for our class meeting the same day.

Students may receive 1.5 points of extra credit toward their final grade for attending each of these events (a total of 3 points of extra credit possible). You must announce yourself to me at each event, so that your attendance can be recorded.

Social Media

You can follow the Political Science Department on Twitter (@polisci_umb) and Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/polisciUMB/?ref=aymt_homepage_panel). These are updated regularly to announce events, lectures, internships, faculty achievements, and other newsworthy items.

Questions?

You are welcome to discuss this course with me during my office hours (Mondays 1:00-2:30pm and Wednesdays 3:30-5:00pm). To make an appointment outside of office hours please contact me by email (Joseph.Brown@umb.edu).

Schedule of Meetings, Readings, Events and Assignments:

Week I: Fundamentals — What Is Terrorism?

1. **Monday, January 23** — What is terrorism? Why study it?
2. **Wednesday, January 25** — Defining terrorism, Part I.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 1-20.

3. **Friday, January 27** — Defining terrorism, Part II.

Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 20-41.

Week II: How Should We Study Terrorism?

4. **Monday, January 30** — Terrorism as evil

Stampnitzky, Lisa. *Disciplining Terror*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 186-200.

5. **Wednesday, February 1** — Terrorism as psychopathology

Post, Jerrold M. "The Psychological Dynamics of Terrorism," in Louise Richardson, *The Roots of Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 17-27.

6. **Friday, February 3** — Terrorism as political behavior

Lake, David A. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century," *Dialogue-IO* 1 (2002), pp.15-29.

Week III: What Causes Terrorism?

7. **Monday, February 6** — Dissent and Repression

Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio. "The Causes of Revolutionary Terrorism," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 71-84.

8. Wednesday, February 8 — Economics

Gurr, Ted Robert. "Economic Factors," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 85-102.

9. Friday, February 10 — Religion and culture

Juergensmeyer, Mark. "Religion as a Cause of Terrorism," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 133-144.

Roy, Olivier. "Terrorism and Deculturation," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 159-170.

Week IV: Strategies of Terrorism

10. Monday, February 13 — Five strategies of terrorism

Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31:1 (Summer 2006), pp. 49-80.

11. Wednesday, February 15 — Terrorism and insurgency

Merari, Ariel. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5:4 (Winter 1993), pp.213-251.

12. Friday, February 17 — Cases: The IRA & MRTA

English, Richard. *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 120-133.

McCormick, Gordon H. *Sharp-Dressed Men: Peru's Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement*. (Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation, 1993), pp. 1-19.

Week V: Political Concerns

Ø. Monday, February 20 — Presidents' Day (NO CLASS)

13. Wednesday, February 22 — Bases of Support

Moloney, Ed. *Voices from the Grave: Two Men's War in Northern Ireland*. (New York: Public Affairs, 2002), pp. 66-68.

Sheffer, Gabriel. "Diasporas and Terrorism," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 117-129.

14. Friday, February 24 — Moral Questions

al-Zawahiri, Ayman. Letter to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. October 11, 2005.

*****In-class film: *The Weather Underground (Part 1)******

Week VI: Organizational Concerns

15. Monday, February 27 — Control

Shapiro, Jacob N. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 70-81.

Irish Republican Army, *Green Book* (manual for new recruits).

16. Wednesday, March 1 — Resilience

Lia, Brynjar. *Architect of Global Jihad: The Life of Al-Qaeda Strategist Abu Mus'ab Al Suri*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 351-368.

17. Friday, March 3 — Growth

Gerges, Fawaz. *ISIS: A History*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 1-22.

Week VII: Propaganda & Recruitment

18. Monday, March 6 — Agitprop

Feeney, Brian. *Sinn Féin: A Hundred Turbulent Years*. (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), pp. 259-291.

19. Wednesday, March 8 — Communiqués

Bin Ladin, Usama. "Speech to the American People." October 30, 2004.

Frequently Asked Questions about the Earth Liberation Front (ELF),
(Portland, Oregon: North American ELF Press Office, 2001).

20. Friday, March 10 — Recruitment

Sageman, Mark. "Jihadi Networks of Terror," in Richard K. Betts, ed. *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, (New York: Pearson Education, 2012) pp. 516-529.

*****Midterm Paper Handed Out In Class (Due March 27)*****

*****March 12-19: SPRING BREAK, NO CLASS*****

Week VIII. Terrorism and Political Systems

21. Monday, March 20 — Does Democracy Encourage Terrorism?

Eubank, William Lee, and Leonard Weinberg. "Does Democracy Encourage Terrorism?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 6:4 (1994), pp. 417-463.

22. Wednesday, March 22 — Does Democracy Respond to Terrorism?

Criado, Henar. "Bullets and Votes: Public Opinion and Terrorist Strategies," *Journal of Peace Research* 48:4 (July 2011), pp.497-508.

23. Friday, March 24 — Terrorism and Political Islam

Esposito, John L. "Terrorism and the Rise of Political Islam," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 145-158.

Week IX: State Terrorism — The Elephant in the Room

24. Monday, March 27 — *MIDTERM PAPER DUE*****

Claridge, David. "State Terrorism? Applying a Definitional Model." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8:3 (1996), pp. 47-63.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp.47-50.

25. Wednesday, March 29— "The Diplomacy of Violence"

Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), pp.1-34.

26. Friday, March 31 — Controversies

Chomsky, Noam. *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*, (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), pp.79-86.

UN Human Rights Council, *Human Rights In Palestine and Other Occupied Arab Territories*, (New York: United Nations, 2009), pp. 16-36.

Week X: Counterterrorism

27. Monday, April 3 — Public Policy

Obama, Barack H. Counterterrorism Policy Address to US Forces at MacDill Air Force Base, December 6, 2016. (YouTube link, time stamp 0:22:00-1:06:00.)

**April 4: Special event — Jalal Alamgir Lecture (speaker: Sherene Razack)
4pm, Campus Center Ballroom A/B.**

28. Wednesday, April 5 — Secret Policy

Aaronson, Trevor. "The Informants: The FBI has built a massive network of spies to prevent another domestic attack. But are they busting terrorist plots—or leading them?" *Mother Jones*, September/October 2011.

McGowan, Daniel. "Court Documents Prove I was Sent to Communication Management Units (CMU) for my Political Speech," *Huffington Post*, June 1, 2013.

29. **Friday, April 7 — Results?**

Horgan, John. "Deradicalization or Disengagement? A Process in Need of Clarity and a Counterterrorism Initiative in Need of Evaluation," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2:4 (2008).

*****In-class film: *The Weather Underground* (Part 2)*****

Also recommended: *The Battle of Algiers* (dir. Gillo Pontecorvo, 1966).

This historical drama realistically portrays France's counterinsurgency campaign against Algeria's *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN). Members of the FLN play themselves in the film. Highly acclaimed. Streamable on Hulu & Amazon.

Week XI: Terrorism Endgames

30. **Monday, April 10 — Assimilation**

Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, pp. 383-428.

31. **Wednesday, April 12 — Victory**

Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 43-62.

32. **Friday, April 14 — Defeat**

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *International Security* 31:1 (Summer 2006), pp. 7-48.

Week XII: Consequences of Terrorism

Ø. **Monday, April 17 — ***PATRIOTS' DAY, NO CLASS*****

33. **Wednesday, April 19 — Social Consequences**

Mueller, John. "Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 4 (2005), pp. 487-505.

34. **Friday, April 21 — Economic Consequences**

Gupta, Sanjeev, Benedict Clements, Rina Bhattacharya, and Shamit Chakravarti. "Fiscal Consequences of Armed Conflict and Terrorism in Low- and Middle-Income Countries." *European Journal of Political Economy* 20:2 (June 2004), pp.403-421.

Week XIII: Consequences of Counterterrorism

35. Monday, April 24 — Peace vs. Justice?

Stohl, Michael S. "Counterterrorism and Repression," in Richardson, *Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 57-82.

36. Wednesday, April 26 — Militarization

Lustick, Ian. *Trapped in the War on Terror*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 75-101.

37. Friday, April 28 — Concept Creep

******Invited Speaker: Daniel McGowan, former ELF member*******

"Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act," US Public Law 109-374 (November 27, 2006).

Hirsch-Hoeffler, Sivan and Cas Mudde. "Ecoterrorism: Terrorist Threat or Political Ploy?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 37:7, pp. 586-603.

April 28: Special event — *If A Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front* (film screening followed by Q&A with Daniel McGowan). Time/location to be announced.

Week XIV: The Future (Part I)

38. Monday, May 1 — New Media

Cox, Joseph. "How Jihadists Use the Internet." *VICE News* (January 14, 2014).

Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 197-228.

39. **Wednesday, May 3** — New Structures

Lia, *Architect of Global Jihad*, pp. 420-427.

Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 125-146.

40. **Friday, May 5** — New Recruiting Paths

Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula, *Inspire*, 13 (Winter 2014), excerpts.

Callimachi, Rukmini. "ISIS and the Lonely Young American," *New York Times* (June 27, 2015).

*****Final Paper Handed Out In Class (Due May 17)*****

Week XV: The Future (Part II)

41. **Monday, May 8** — Cyberterrorism?

Conway, Maura. "Reality Check: Assessing the (Un)Likelihood of Cyber Terrorism," in T.M. Chen, ed. *Cyberterrorism*, pp. 103-122.

42. **Wednesday, May 10** — Terrorist Governance?

Malik, Shiv. "The ISIS Papers: Leaked Documents Show How ISIS Is Building Its State," *The Guardian* (December 7, 2015).

*****MAY 17: FINAL PAPER DUE*****