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## **Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Syllabus for One-Week Course**

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### **Lead Instructor:**

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The Fletcher School,  
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### **Teaching Assistant:**

**Andrea Walther**                      MALD Candidate 2009,  
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### **Lecturers:**

**Dr. Zachary Abuza**                      Professor, Simmons College  
**Dr. Rohan Gunaratna**                      Head of Terrorism Research,  
Institute of Defense and  
Strategic Studies, Singapore  
**Dr. Bruce Hoffman**                      Professor, Georgetown University  
**Dr. Jessica Stern**                          Lecturer in Public Policy, KSG,  
Harvard University

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**COURSE ASSIGNMENTS:**

DATE AND TIME	LESSON	TOPIC
DAY 1: 9-10:30 AM	1	<a href="#"><u>THE NEW TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 1: 10:30 AM-12 PM	2	<a href="#"><u>DEFINING TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 1: 1-2:30 PM	3	<a href="#"><u>A BRIEF HISTORY OF TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 1: 2:30-4 PM	4	<a href="#"><u>INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM OF THE FUTURE</u></a>
DAY 2: 9-10:30 AM	5	<a href="#"><u>IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES, PART I: RELIGION AND TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 2: 10:30 AM-12 PM	6	<a href="#"><u>IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES, PART II: ISLAMIC EXTREMISM</u></a>
DAY 2: 1-2:30 PM	7	<a href="#"><u>MEANS AND METHODS, PART I: CRIME AND FINANCE</u></a>
DAY 2: 2:30-4 PM	8	<a href="#"><u>MEANS AND METHODS, PART II: SUICIDE TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 3: 9 AM-12 PM	9	<a href="#"><u>FILM: INSIDE 9/11</u></a>
DAY 3: 1-2:30 PM	10	<a href="#"><u>ORGANIZING TO FIGHT TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 3: 2:30-4 PM	11	<a href="#"><u>THE CHALLENGES OF TERRORISM FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES, PART I</u></a>
DAY 4: 9-10:30 AM	12	<a href="#"><u>THE CHALLENGES OF TERRORISM FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES, PART II</u></a>
DAY 4: 10:30 AM-12 PM	13	<a href="#"><u>TERRORISM IN CONTEXT: THE IRAQI INSURGENCY</u></a>
DAY 4: 1-2:30 PM	14	<a href="#"><u>TERRORISM IN CONTEXT: WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION</u></a>
DAY 4: 2:30-4 PM	15	<a href="#"><u>WINNING THE WAR ON TERRORISM</u></a>
DAY 5: 9 AM-4 PM	16	<a href="#"><u>SIMULATION AND PRESENTATIONS</u></a>

**READING ASSIGNMENTS:**

**Course Reader:** *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment*, edited by Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer. **All textbook readings are indicated by “(CR)”**.

**Please Note: any readings that are outside the recommended course reader will be provided separately in pdf format**

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## **PART I - THE NEW TERRORISM**

What is a terrorist? Who is a terrorist? Terrorism is not an “ism” in the conventional sense of ideology. Terrorists do not want a “terrorist state” so the question we must examine is, what do terrorists desire and what motivates terrorists?

Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d) contains the following definition of terrorism:

- The term terrorism means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant<sup>1</sup> targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.
- The term international terrorism means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.
- The term terrorist group means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism.

The US Government has employed this definition of terrorism for statistical and analytical purposes since 1983.

Since the rise of modern terrorism in 1968, terrorism has changed and evolved. The terrorists' ends have changed over time and with those changing ends, the means and acceptable levels of violence have changed as well. Before understanding the threat of contemporary terrorist organizations, we must first gain an appreciation for the long history of terrorism.

### **Lesson 1: THE NEW TERRORISM**

#### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- What is the new model of terrorism?
- Compare and contrast the old and new terrorism for indicators relating to capabilities and future trends
- Explore why the shift occurred
- Discuss the implications of the shift from old to new models of terrorism
- How and why did Al Qaeda evolve as it did?
- What is Al Qaeda?
- How did Al Qaeda ascend to power?
- Understand the development of a transnational terrorist organization
- Identify Al Qaeda's significant achievements
- What are the implications of the evolution for counterterrorists?
- How should we think of Al Qaeda today?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Rohan Gunaratna, “Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaeda” (CR)
2. Russell D. Howard, “Understanding Al Qaeda’s Application of the New Terrorism—The Key to Victory in the Current Campaign” (CR)
3. Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism” (CR)

## Lesson 2: DEFINING TERRORISM

### Lesson Questions & Objectives:

- What is a terrorist?
- Who is a terrorist?
- Terrorism is not an "ism" in the conventional sense of ideology. Terrorists do not want a "terrorist state" so the question we must examine is, what do terrorists desire and what motivates terrorists?
- Why do definitions matter?

### Assigned Readings:

1. Bruce Hoffman, from "Defining Terrorism" (CR)
2. Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice" (CR)
3. Eqbal Ahmad, "Terrorism: Theirs & Ours" (CR) *Skim*
4. Paul R. Pillar, "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism" (CR) (*skim only*)

## Lesson 3: A BRIEF HISTORY OF TERRORISM

### Lesson Questions & Objectives:

- What patterns and trends of historical terrorism inform our understanding of future threats?
- What can we learn from historical examples of state response to terrorist organizations?
- Why do people resort to violence in pursuit of political or ideological ends?
- What motivates terrorists?
- What role do economics, psychology, sociology or other grievances play in motivating terrorist groups?

### Assigned Readings:

1. Martha Crenshaw, "[The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War](#)," in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context*, (University Park: Penn State Press, 2001). (Available as PDF)
2. Brian A. Jackson, "[Provisional Irish Republican Army](#)," in *Aptitude for Destruction, Volume 2: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005), pages 109-156. (Available as PDF) (*skim only*)
3. David Scott Palmer, "[The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path](#)," in Martha Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context*, (University Park: Penn State Press, 2001). (Available as PDF) (*skim only*)
4. Alan Krueger and Jitka Maletkova, "[Education, Poverty, Political Violence, and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection?](#)" National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 9074, July 2002. (Available as PDF) (*read the summary of this article, skim the rest*)

## **Lesson 4: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM OF THE FUTURE**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- How are terrorist groups benefiting from the rise of networks?
- Are terrorists moving from episodic terrorism to protracted warfare?
- Is counter-terrorism developing into a fight between state and terror networks?
- How can counter-terrorists attack the network of interlocking logistical support groups?

### **Assigned Readings:**

1. John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, and Michele Zanini, "Networks, Netwar, and Information-Age Terrorism" (CR)
2. Matthew Levitt, "Untangling the Terror Web: Identifying and Counteracting the Phenomenon of Crossover Between Terrorist Groups" (CR)

## **Lesson 5: IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES, PART 1: RELIGION AND TERRORISM**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- How has the role of ideology changed in terrorism?
- What are the dominant ideologies today?
- What is the impact of the shift in ideologies in terms of ways, means, and ends of terrorism?
- What is the implication of the changing ideology in terms of target selection?
- Rise of religious terrorism
- What happens when political goals are conceived in divine terms?
- Supranational aspect of religion

### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Madeleine Gruen, "Terrorism Indoctrination and Radicalization on the Internet" (CR)
2. Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion" (CR)
3. Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Logic of Religious Violence" (CR)

## **Lesson 6: IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES, Part 2: ISLAMIC EXTREMISTS**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- What are the key ideological dimensions of today's global Islamic insurgency?
- How closely aligned are groups in Southeast Asia to al Qaeda?
- How sophisticated are the associated groups?
- What type of threat do these groups present to both the host nation and the U.S.?
- What types of policies should the U.S. pursue based on analysis of the above items?

### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Quintan Wiktorowicz, "A Genealogy of Radical Islam" (CR)
2. Mark Sedgwick, "Al Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism" (CR)

## **PART II - MEANS AND METHODS OF THE NEW TERRORISM**

Terrorism is more lethal today than ever before given the wide range and improving access to weapons of mass destruction. The intersection of extremism and technology creates an increasingly dangerous and volatile situation. Terrorists of today have the potential to harness far more destructive power than ever before - both as a result of the technological changes and the increased density of our urban centers. Simply stated, weapons of mass destruction change the landscape - what was suddenly unimaginable becomes the probable - or does it?

### **Lesson 7: MEANS AND METHODS OF CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM, PART 1: CRIME AND FINANCE**

#### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- Change in organizational structure from old to new terrorism
- Explore the implications of a networked organizations
- How does the "network of networks" function?
- How do networks function internationally?
- How do networks function at the operational level?
- What intersections exist between transnational criminal organizations and transnational / national terrorist organizations?
- What synergies exist between the different actors?
- What challenges do these synergies pose for counter-terrorists?
- What opportunities do these synergies create for counter-terrorists?
- What role does human trafficking play in this arena?
- How do terrorists fund their operations?
- How should we approach this problem from a counter-terrorist point of view?

#### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Barry R. McCaffrey and John A. Basso, "Narcotics, Terrorism and International Crime: The Convergence Phenomenon" (CR)
2. Chris Dishman, "The Leaderless Nexus: When Crime and Terror Converge" (CR)

## **Lesson 8: MEANS AND METHODS OF CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM, PART 2: SUICIDE TERRORISM**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- Why martyrdom?
- Use of suicide bombers in Israel
- Will suicide bombers come to the U.S.?
- What is the likelihood of this threat?
- What are the different attack scenarios that we could envision?
- What lessons can we learn from Israel?

### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Bruce Hoffman, "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism" (CR)
2. Ami Pedahzur, from "Toward an Analytical Model of Suicide Terrorism—A Comment" (CR)

## **Lesson 9: FILM - *INSIDE 9/11***

### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Rohan Gunaratna, [\*Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror\*](#) (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 221-242. (PDF)
2. Peter Bergen, "[The Bin Laden Trial: What Did We Learn?](#)" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (November - December 2002), 429-434. (PDF)
3. [9/11 Timeline](#)



## PART III - COUNTERING THE THREAT

What strategies and policies should the United States adopt to deal with the new terrorism? What can the United States do? Should the United States act in a unilateral manner to respond to terrorism? How should we think about counterterrorism? After considering different means and ends of terrorism, Part III offers a look diplomatic, intelligence, military, and economic strategies to resolve these questions.

### Lesson 10: ORGANIZING TO FIGHT TERRORISM

#### Lesson Questions & Objectives:

- How should we address the current terrorist threat?
- Is it really a 'war' we are fighting? Do you think we are winning the war?
- What matrix exist (if any) for us to judge our progress in the war against terrorism?
- Do you believe terrorism can be eradicated or defeated?

#### Assigned Readings:

1. Richard H. Shultz, Jr., "Showstoppers: Nine Reasons Why We Never Sent Our Special Operations Forces After Al Qaeda Before 9/11" (CR)
2. Rob de Wijk, "The Limits of Military Power" (CR)
3. *9/11 Commission Report*, "[What to do? A Global Strategy](http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/index.htm)," 361-383. (PDF)

### Lesson 11: THE CHALLENGES OF TERRORISM FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES, PART I

#### Lesson Questions & Objectives:

- How do democracies uphold civil rights and liberties while fighting terrorism?
- The judicial front of the war on terror?
- What are the challenges of collecting intelligence in a liberal democracy? Security "vs." Human Rights?

#### Assigned Readings:

1. Wayne A. Downing, "The Global War on Terrorism: Re-focusing the National Strategy" (CR)
2. Richard K. Betts, "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror" (CR)
3. Bruce Hoffman, "A Nasty Business" (CR)
4. Russell D. Howard, "Preemptive Military Doctrine: No Other Choice" (CR)
5. The Century Foundation, *The USA PATRIOT Act: Guide to the Issues* (Washington, DC: The Century Foundation, 2004).

## Lesson 12: THE CHALLENGES OF TERRORISM FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES, PART II

### Lesson Questions & Objectives:

- How do democracies uphold civil rights and liberties while fighting terrorism?
- The judicial front of the war on terror?
- What are the challenges of collecting intelligence in a liberal democracy? Security "vs." Human Rights?

### Assigned Readings:

1. Barry R. Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics" (CR)
2. Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorism after Al Qaeda" (CR)
3. Boaz Ganor, "Dilemmas Concerning Media Coverage of Terrorist Attacks" (CR)
4. Steven Simon and Jeff Martini, from "Terrorism: Denying Al Qaeda Its Popular Support" (CR)
5. US Department of Justice, The NSA Program to Detect and Prevent Terrorist Attacks: Myth v. Reality, 27 Jan 06
6. American Civil Liberties Union, *Top Ten Myths About the Illegal NSA Spying on Americans*, Jan 06.

## Lesson 13: TERRORISM IN CONTEXT: THE IRAQI INSURGENCY

### Lesson Questions & Objectives:

What is the difference between a terrorist and an insurgent?

- Who are the actors? Are there state sponsors?
- What are insurgents' objectives?
- What are their strengths and weaknesses?

### Assigned Readings:

1. Mahan Abedin, "[Anbar Province and Emerging Trends in the Iraqi Insurgency](#)," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 3, No.14 (July 15, 2005). (Available as PDF)
2. Michael Scheuer, "[The Zawahiri-Zargawi Letter: Al-Qaeda's Tactical and Theater-of-War Concerns](#)," *Terrorism Focus*, Vol. 2, No. 21 (November 14, 2005). (Available as PDF)
3. Murad Al-Shishani, "[The Salafi-Jihadist Movement in Iraq: Recruitment Methods and Arab Volunteers](#)," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 3, No. 23 (December 2, 2005). (Available as PDF)
4. MSNBC/Newsweek Report: [Unmasking the Insurgents](#) (Available online)
5. [Who are the Insurgents?](#) (USIP, April 2005). (Available as PDF)
6. Stephen Ulph, "[Al-Zargawi as Master Strategist in Iraq, Rising Leader of the Global Jihad](#)," *Terrorism Focus*, Vol. 2, No.20 (October 31, 2005). (Available as PDF)

## **Lesson 14: TERRORISM IN CONTEXT: WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- How should we think about CBRN(E) terrorism?
- Is there something fundamentally different about these weapons?
- Why would a terrorist group use these types of weapons?
- What sources exist for acquisition of these weapons?
- What is the probability of acquiring such a weapon?
- What types of groups are most likely to use these devices?
- Are there any constraints on the use of unconventional weapons?
- How do we form public policy based on this threat - how do we view the insurance question?

### **Assigned Readings:**

1. Richard Pilch, "The Threat of Biological Terrorism Reevaluated" (CR)
2. John Ellis, "Terrorism in the Genomic Age" (CR)
3. Jessica Stern, "Getting and Using the Weapons" (CR)
4. Adam Dolnik, "All God's Poisons: Re-Evaluating the Threat of Religious Terrorism with Respect to Non-Conventional Weapons" (CR)
5. Michael Eastman and Robert B. Brown, from "Security Strategy in the Gray Zone: Alternatives for Preventing WMD Handoff to Non-State Actors" (CR)

## **Lesson 15: WINNING THE WAR ON TERRORISM**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:**

- What are the key ideological dimensions of today's global Islamic insurgency?
- How closely aligned are groups in Southeast Asia to Al Qaeda?
- How sophisticated are the associated groups?
- What type of threat do these groups present to both the host nation and the US?
- What types of policies should the US pursue based on analysis of the above items?

### **Assigned Readings:**

5. Dan Byman, "U.S. Counter-Terrorism Options: A Taxonomy," *Survival*, v. 39, n. 3, September 2007. (PDF) pp. 121-150.
6. Russell D. Howard, "Understanding Al Qaeda's Application of the New Terrorism—The Key to Victory in the Current Campaign" *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism*

## **Lesson 16: SIMULATION AND GROUP PRESENTATIONS**

### **Lesson Questions & Objectives:      TBD.**

**Assigned Readings:**

**TBD.**