International Studies 553  
Terror and Terrorism  
Spring Quarter, 2009

Tuesday & Thursday 10:30 AM – 12:18 PM  
Instructor: Dr. M. J. Reese  
Office: 33 Townshend Hall (TO)  
Office Hours: Tuesday & Thursday  
8:30am–10:30am  
or by appointment  
E-mail: reese.150@osu.edu

Room: 0125 Mendenhall Laboratory (ML)

Course Description

Terror and Terrorism is an advanced course in International Studies dedicated to understanding the issues surrounding the modern use of cost-imposing strategies by radical political movements. Terrorism can be broadly defined as a coercive strategy intended to achieve some set of political objectives. In other words, terrorism is a means to an end. In the first half of the course, we concentrate on the first half of this equation: terrorism as a method. In the second half of the course, we concentrate on the second half: the political objectives sought by several prominent past and present terrorist movements.

The first half of the course will be dedicated to understanding terrorism as a strategy of coercion. We will begin the course discussing the deeper meaning of “coercion” and how terrorist strategies fit into the broader universe of violent political bargaining. We will move on to debating definitions of terrorism, discussing elements of the “terrorist strategy,” and the problems encountered by political entities confronted with a terrorist threat (especially when Weapons of Mass Destruction enter into the mix). The aim of this half of the class is to allow the student to contemplate why terrorism is chosen as a strategy and how that strategy works (and is thwarted).

The second half of the course will concentrate on several prominent historical terrorist movements. We will begin by pondering the historical roots of modern terrorism. We will then proceed to discuss four archetypal ideological families of terrorism (left-wing, national liberation, right-wing, and religious), citing prominent examples as we go. We then focus upon the most prominent terrorist movement on the world scene today, al-Qaeda. We conclude with some debate on the likely face of terrorism in the 21st century.

The end purpose of this class will be to provide students with the opportunity to come to their own understanding and interpretation of terror and terrorism. The course, while invaluable to International Studies majors, has been designed with students of all majors in mind as well.

Readings

There is one required book for this course. Also, students will be asked to read material contained on the Ohio State Carmen online course management system. The books you are to purchase should be available at the University Bookstore, Local Booksellers (Long’s, SBX, etc.)
ISBN: 0136026494

In addition, there will be **forty-five (45) additional readings** (don’t panic about the number as most are rather short) that you will be asked to access at your own convenience via the OSU electronic reserve system on Carmen. You can access, download, or print the included readings (in .pdf form) on any on-campus or off-campus computer with Internet access. For additional information, see the “Carmen” section of this syllabus below.

Also, it is highly suggested that you get in the habit of monitoring the international news. While I personally prefer *The Economist* (www.economist.com), other reputable publications such as the *New York Times* (www.nytimes.com) or *Newsweek* (www.newsweek.com), among others, will suffice. Connecting current events to the material presented in this course, while not strictly required, is the surest way to achieve high grades in exams.

### The Determination of Grades

The final course grade will be determined by weighting your performance in four areas:

1. Class Participation 25%
2. In-Class Midterm Exam 25%
3. Term Paper 25%
4. Take-Home Final Exam Paper 25%

**FINAL GRADE 100%**

My grading scale for the exams, paper, and final course grade are as follows:

- A = 100% - 92%
- A– = 92% - 90%
- B+ = 90% - 88%
- B = 88% - 82%
- B– = 82% - 80%
- C+ = 80% - 78%
- C = 78% - 72%
- C– = 72% - 70%
- D+ = 70% - 68%
- D = 68% - 60%
- E (also known as “F”) = Less than 60%

### Carmen (Online Course Management System)

This class will employ Ohio State’s “Carmen” online system to distribute readings not found in your required book. Also, Carmen will house an online copy of this syllabus should you ever lose yours. To access Carmen, if you have not yet done so before, employ the following steps:
1. Go to the Ohio State website (www.osu.edu).
2. On the Main OSU webpage screen, Click on the “Carmen” entry under the “Students” list.
3. On the next screen, click “Log In”
4. You will be asked to log in using your OSU Internet Username and Password (if you have not activated a username yet, contact the Ohio State OIT Technology Support Center at 614-688-4357)
5. On the next screen, if you are properly registered for the course, you should see the entry “INT STDS 553 (REESE)” under the “Political Science” heading under the “Spring 2009” heading under the “My Courses” section of your Carmen homepage. Click the “INT STDS 553 (REESE)” entry to advance to the class homepage.

We will employ the “Content” function of Carmen in this class. The “Grades,” “Discussions,” and “Dropbox” functions will not be used......however, feel free to email me at reese.150@osu.edu at any time during the course to check your grade status or ask questions about the course material.

If you click on the “Content” tab, you will see a listing of this syllabus and all readings (all in .pdf format). The readings for the entire course will be fully available by the end of the first week (in case you want to print them all up at once and/or get a head start on later work). As we move through the course, the “Content” tab will also house an archive of all handouts distributed.

**Student Responsibilities**

**Attendance & Participation:**

This course combines brief lectures with opportunities for students to provide their own reactions to the material. This course will therefore require your active participation. As a result, you are expected to attend every class session and to do so prepared to contribute. Attendance will be taken at the beginning of every class and your participation score will be negatively impacted by more than one unexcused absence. Also, you are expected to provide input on a regular basis to class discussion. This participation will have an impact on your final course grade. If you do happen to miss a class session for whatever reason, you will still be held responsible for the material covered. It is up to you to acquire notes from a classmate. This is important because we sometimes cover material in class not contained in the assigned reading. You may therefore miss something crucial for passing an exam if you do not make the necessary arrangements. You will only be given credit for an excused absence if you can provide a documented excuse for your absence. In cases of illness, for instance, a documented excuse would consist of a signed note from your doctor or the OSU Medical Center.

**Reading:**

One of the most important requirements of this course is the performance of the assigned readings. I must warn you going in, there is quite a bit of reading involved in this course (just short of 1,000 pages actually) but it has been balanced so that you will see a stable average of about 70 pages per class. You will be asked to complete a reading assignment in preparation for
each class meeting. Please try to perform the readings in the order listed in the “Course Schedule” portion of your syllabus (there is a logical progression behind the ordering). To assist you in making the most of your experience, I pose an important question or questions to keep in mind as you perform each reading (which can be found beneath each reading listing).

It is important to keep up with this reading. I cannot emphasize enough that although we do not discuss everything in class covered in your readings you will be expected to answer exam questions that may involve these reading-only points and issues (i.e. merely showing up for class will not be enough to do well in this course). Getting too far behind is a recipe for doing badly on exams. Some of the reading we will be doing is quite dense…so do not expect you can catch up on it all a day or two before the exams.

Exams:
There will be two exams held during this course: a midterm and a final. Both exams will be completely essay based (i.e. no identifications or multiple choice). For the midterm, which will be a closed book in-class exam, you will be required to answer two essay questions. The final will be a take-home exam, in which you will answer one of two essay questions in the form of a brief paper (approximately five pages typed plus or minus a page, double-spaced).

Term Paper:
You will be asked to complete a 2,000 word (give or take a hundred) typed term paper (which should be in the neighborhood of 7-8 pages of 12-point font, double spaced text) analyzing an international terrorist movement of your choice. At the end of the second week (Thursday, April 9th), I will distribute a handout to provide you with further guidelines. You will be expected to turn in a brief (less than 1 page) description of your chosen group (along with a list of initial research) on the day of the midterm examination (Thursday, April 30th). Your final paper will be due 3pm on Tuesday, May 26th. Unless you have a legitimate documented excuse that has been approved by me before that deadline has passed, each day the paper is late will result in a full letter grade deduction (10 points) on your term paper score.

Communication with Your Instructor:
I encourage every student to feel free to contact me with any problems, concerns, or questions about the course. I am easiest to contact via e-mail (reese.150@osu.edu) which I do check with consistent regularity. I will make myself available twice every week for regular office hours (Tuesday and Thursday 8:30am-10:00am @ 33 Townshend Hall) and will also be available for additional meetings by appointment. If you do wish to make an appointment to meet outside of my regularly scheduled office hours, I request that you give me at least 24 hours notice to make sure I can accommodate you.

It is unfortunate that many students wait until finals week to contact me about their performance. If you run into problems with the course material, or are not achieving the grades you believe yourself capable of, please contact me sooner rather than later. If you wait too long, you may have little or no opportunity to turn your performance around and achieve the A grade I know each of you are capable of.

Academic Honesty:
It is the responsibility of the Committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct.
The term “academic misconduct” includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. I must and will report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct (http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/info_for_students/csc.asp).

Disability:
Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs (ideally, no later than April 10th). The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Avenue; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/.

Course Schedule

March 31 Introduction

SECTION I: EMPLOYING AND COUNTERACTING THE TERRORIST METHOD

April 2 Strategy, Coercion, and Asymmetric Conflict

Read:

- Sun Tzu, “Books 3-6” from The Art of War (Sawyer, transl.), New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1994 (**On Carmen**)
  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are the main themes Sun Tzu is trying to communicate?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: What does Schelling mean by the “diplomacy of violence”? Isn’t that a contradiction in terms?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: How are asymmetric conflicts different from symmetric ones?
“One man’s freedom fighter…”: Definitions of Terrorism

Read:

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: Can terrorism be objectively defined?

- Whitaker, “The Definition of Terrorism” from The Guardian, May 7th, 2001 (**On Carmen**)  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: Are terrorists simply “those who disagree with us”?

- Combs, “Chapter 1: An Idea Whose Time Has Come?”  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are the key parts of Combs’ definition of terrorism?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What elements tend to differ between definitions of terrorism?

- Combs, “Chapter 5: Terrorism by the State”  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: Can states be “terrorists”?

Terrorist Macro-Strategy: Why do Movements use Terror?

Read:

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are the characteristics of McCormick’s 3 theories of terrorist decision making?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: To what extent is a terrorist strategy “rational”? 
- Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” in American Political Science Review, Vol. 97, 2003 (**On Carmen**)  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are the key differences between Pape’s three “forms” of terrorism?

14 Terrorist Micro-Strategy: Why do Individuals Engage in Terror?

Read:

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What role does psychology play in terrorism?

- Combs, “Chapter 4: Criminals or Crusaders?”  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What kinds of people become terrorists?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: How did the BR recruit terrorist fighters?

- German, “Behind the Lone Terrorist, a Pack Mentality” from The Washington Post, June 5th, 2005 (**On Carmen**)  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: Does terrorism require an organization?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: How does the internet make terrorism easier?

Recommended, but not Required, Reading:

- Combs, “Chapter 7: Terrorist Training”
Confronting Terrorist Threats: Direct Strategies

Read:

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: Did the past eight years go according to plan for Al Qaeda?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: To what extent are military forces useful against terrorism?

- Combs, “Chapter 12: Terrorism, Intelligence, and the Law”
  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: In what ways can intelligence be used both by and against terrorists?

- Combs, “Chapter 13: Security Measures”
  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: Do stricter security controls make any difference? Why?

Recommended, but not Required, Reading:

- Combs, “Chapter 11: Counterterrorism”

Confronting Terrorist Threats: Indirect Strategies

Read:

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: Why are “failed states” useful to terrorists?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: What role does publicity play in terrorism?
- Combs, “Chapter 8: The Media”
  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: How do the objectives in news coverage differ between terrorists, their targets, and the media itself?*

  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Is Al-Jazeera a terrorist entity?*

*Recommended, but not Required, Reading:*

- Combs, “Chapter 10: Legal Perspectives on Terrorism”

23 **Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD): A New Dynamic in Terror?**

*Read:*

- Combs, “Chapter 14: The New Terrorist Threat”
  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Do WMD change the terrorist strategy in any meaningful way?*

  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Can nuclear weapon proliferation be controlled?*

  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: How are biological weapons different from the nuclear threat?*

  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Is preemption justified by the WMD threat?*

  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are so “unusual” about Mueller’s propositions?*

28 **Catch-Up Day & Exam Review**
SECTION II: HISTORY AND FUTURE OF PROMINENT TERRORIST MOVEMENTS

May 5 History of Terror & Types of Terrorist Movements

Read:

- Combs, “Chapter 2: Not a Modern Phenomenon”
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What elements do modern terrorists share with previous examples from history?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What is the main theme in each of Rapoport’s four waves of terrorism?

- Combs, “Chapter 3: Ideology and Terrorism”
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: How do terrorists justify the use of violence?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are Cronin’s four “types” of terrorist organization?

7 Left-Wing Terrorism

Read:

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What exactly was the RAF?
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: What was the Shining Path’s “grand strategy”?*

  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: How do organizations like the FARC support themselves?*

- Combs, “Chapter 9: Domestic Terrorism in the United States (Partial)”  
  [Simply read the section on ‘Left-Wing Terrorism,’ pp.166-172]  
  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Is PETA a terrorist entity?*

  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Why do terrorists emerge despite the fact they live in a democratic society?*

12 **National Liberation and Separatist Terrorism**

Read:

  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: What role did empire play in the history of terrorism?*

  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: What did ETA and the IRA try to do strategically?*

  *Question(s) to think about for this reading: Did you know Canada faces internal separatist terrorism? Is it significant?*
- Ehrenfeld, “IRA + PLO = Terror” from National Review, August 21st, 2002 (**On Carmen**)  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: In what ways is terrorist cooperation a danger?

14 Right-Wing Terrorism

Read:

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are the unique functions of ethnic terrorism?

- Combs, ‘Chapter 9: Domestic Terrorism in the United States (Partial)’  
  [Simply read the section on ‘Right-Wing Terrorism,’ pp.172-180]  
  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: Are white supremacists ethnic terrorists?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What does Barkun mean by “millenarian aspects”?

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: What exactly are the militias?

Recommended, but not Required, Reading:

- Combs, “Chapter 9: Domestic Terrorism in the United States (Partial)”  
  [Read the portions not yet assigned, pp.163-166 & pp.180-193]

19 Religious Terrorism

Read:

  • Question(s) to think about for this reading: How is religious terrorism different from secular terrorism?
  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: What is unique about Sikh terrorism?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: Who is Faraj? Why is he important?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: In what ways is Hezbollah a unique danger?

21 **Al-Qaeda & The Modern Face of Terrorism**

Read:

- Saghi, “Osama Bin Laden, the Iconic Orator” in *Al Qaeda in its Own Words* (Kepel and Milelli, ed.s) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008 (**On Carmen**)  
  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: What has Osama Bin Laden really meant to Al-Qaeda?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: What are the central elements of Al-Qaeda’s belief system?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: How is Al-Qaeda structured?

  - Question(s) to think about for this reading: Is Osama Bin Laden a new “Che Guevara”?
26  **********TERM PAPERS DUE TODAY BY 3PM**********
    (**NO CLASS TODAY**)  

28  Terrorism in the 21st Century

Read:

  - *Question(s) to think about for this reading*: What does Hoffman see as the biggest threats today?

  - *Question(s) to think about for this reading*: How long is Al-Qaeda likely to last? Why?

- Combs, “Chapter 6: Terrorism, Inc.”
  - *Question(s) to think about for this reading*: Does terrorism pay?

*Recommended, but not Required, Reading:*

- Combs, “Chapter 15: Future Trends”

June 2  Terror Research Paper Discussion Day

4  Course Wrap-up & Final Exam Review
    (**Take-Home Final Exams distributed in class today**)  

Wednesday, June 11th  **********FINAL TAKE-HOME EXAM DUE**********
THE FINAL WILL DUE AT MY TOWNSHEND HALL OFFICE OR MAILBOX NO LATER THAN 3:30 PM