

Columbia University
Department of Political Science

GU4835 (POLSG4835): FORMAL AND INFORMAL TERRORIST ACTORS

Prof. Assaf Moghadam

Instructor:

Prof. Assaf Moghadam. Bio: <https://www.assafmoghadam.com/bio/>

Email: am3141@columbia.edu

Office hours and location: Thursdays, 10:15-11:15, Int'l Affairs Building Room 716

Course Description:

In recent years, acts of terrorism have been carried out by an increasingly diverse array of actors, ranging from states and formal terrorist organizations to informal networks and individual attackers. This course seeks to examine the full spectrum terrorist perpetrators, addressing both their internal dynamics as well as relationships between these actors. The course provides a conceptual and theoretical overview of these diverse actors; explores their emergence, modus operandi, and decline; delves into historical and contemporary case studies; and highlights relevant policy discussions. Topics include state terrorism and state sponsorship; the rise and decline of terrorist groups; terrorist tactics and innovation; leadership and targeted killings; informal terrorist networks; foreign fighters; ideology and martyrdom; radicalization and countering violent extremism; terrorist entrepreneurs; individual terrorism and 'lone wolves'; and cooperation and competition between terrorist actors.

Course Format and Structure:

The format of this course is a lecture, worth 3 academic credits. Classes meet twice per week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 11:40-12:55.

The course is structured into five blocks. The first four blocks examine different types of terrorist actors, while the last block explores their interactions. Block I covers state involvement in terrorism. Block II focuses on formal terrorist organizations. Block III examines informal networks, and Block IV covers individual terrorists. Block V addresses relationships of competition and cooperation between these various actors.

Course Requirements:

Attendance:

Attendance of all sessions is required, except for health problems and absences on religious holidays for observant students.

Course Preparation:

Students must read the required readings in preparation for each session and participate in class discussions. Recommended readings are optional, but lectures draw in part from those readings.

Graded Requirements:

Graded requirements for the course include three short response papers that students choose out of five options. The response papers are due in hard copy at the beginning of the final class of the respective block (15% of the grade for each of the three papers, 45% of the grade in total). In addition, there will be an in-class midterm exam (25%) as well as a final examination (30%).

Response Papers:

Students choose to write three out of five possible response papers. Each of the five options covers a block of the course.

The topics of the response papers are as follows:

Paper 1: Should states be considered terrorist actors?

Paper 2: Are organizational approaches to the study of terrorism still relevant today?

Paper 3: Identify an informal terrorist network of your choice and analyze its emergence and/or modus operandi based on the conceptual discussions of informal networks in class. What, if any, are the limitations of the conceptualization, when compared to the example you provide?

Paper 4: Do you think that individual terrorism is “the wave of the future”? Why, or why not?

Paper 5: Using the frameworks in Block 5, examine a case study of terrorist competition or cooperation of your choice. In your paper, you can focus on either the causes of that competition/cooperation, or on the way in which this competition/cooperation plays out.

Additional Response Paper Submission Instructions:

- The purpose of the response papers is for students to demonstrate their understanding of the material discussed in class, and to offer a critical discussion of that material.
- Response papers are "open book," meaning that students are allowed to use their class notes, and to consult the readings from the syllabus. It is permissible to consult

additional reading materials not included in the syllabus, but it is not necessary to do so in order to do well in the papers.

- Response papers are individual assignments that students have to prepare by themselves. This means that students may not hire third parties to write their exams on their behalf. It also means that students may not work in teams, and students may not consult each other on how to answer or approach the exam questions. Students are, however, permitted to share class notes.
- Papers are due in hard copy at the beginning of each last class of the respective block. Late submission policies apply. There is a 5% reduction for each 24 hour period of late submission.
- Answer the questions in no more than 3 pages (not including cover page, endnotes, and bibliography). Papers should be written in Calibri or Times New Roman font, 12 pt, double-spaced, and standard width margins.
- All sources used must be properly documented. Students may use any citation style of their choice, but need to be consistent throughout the paper. Whenever possible, students should cite class readings in their answer, as opposed to making references to in-class discussion.
- Sources that students should consult include required readings; class notes; recommended readings are optional, but I encourage students to make use of them.
- Papers are graded based on the following criteria:
 - Substance of the answers – Does the substance of the answer accord with the material covered in class and the readings?
 - Logic – Are the answers logical and coherent? Are the answers structured in a logical and coherent fashion?
 - Clarity - Does the student articulate his/her points clearly?
 - Sources and referencing - Does the student cite the sources used appropriately? Does the student use a reasonable amount of sources? Has the student made a reasonable effort to rely on readings, rather than “class discussion,” whenever possible?
 - Adherence to guidelines - Did the student adhere to all the guidelines of the exam (page limitation, formatting, bibliography, etc.)?
- All papers must include a cover page and a bibliography. The cover page should list the course name, date, and the student’s ID number. Bibliographies must include all sources used in the paper (and only those).

Faculty Statement on Academic Integrity and Disability Accommodations:

The course endorses the Columbia Faculty Statement on Academic Integrity, which can be found here:

<http://www.college.columbia.edu/faculty/resourcesforinstructors/academicintegrity/statemen>
t and is also reprinted below. It also endorses fully the Columbia University Undergraduate

Guide to Academic Integrity, which is accessible at the following URL:

<https://www.college.columbia.edu/academics/academicintegrity>. The course also supports the Columbia Faculty Statement on Disability Accommodations, which can be accessed here: <http://www.college.columbia.edu/rightsandresponsibilities>.

The intellectual venture in which we are all engaged requires of faculty and students alike the highest level of personal and academic integrity. As members of an academic community, each one of us bears the responsibility to participate in scholarly discourse and research in a manner characterized by intellectual honesty and scholarly integrity.

Scholarship, by its very nature, is an iterative process, with ideas and insights building one upon the other. Collaborative scholarship requires the study of other scholars' work, the free discussion of such work, and the explicit acknowledgement of those ideas in any work that inform our own. This exchange of ideas relies upon a mutual trust that sources, opinions, facts, and insights will be properly noted and carefully credited.

In practical terms, this means that, as students, you must be responsible for the full citations of others' ideas in all of your research papers and projects; you must be scrupulously honest when taking your examinations; you must always submit your own work and not that of another student, scholar, or internet agent.

Any breach of this intellectual responsibility is a breach of faith with the rest of our academic community. It undermines our shared intellectual culture, and it cannot be tolerated. Students failing to meet these responsibilities should anticipate being asked to leave Columbia.

Class Readings:

INTRODUCTION

Sep 5: Terrorism and Terrorist Actors

Required Readings:

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, revised and expanded edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), Chapter 1.

Recommended Readings:

- Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," in Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism*, pp. 34-50.

- Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad: Understanding Cooperation Among Terrorist Actors* (Columbia University Press, 2017), Ch. 2.
- Joseph K. Young, "Measuring Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2016).
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Sources of Contemporary Terrorism," in Audrey K. Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 19-45.
- Anthony Richards, "Conceptualizing Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37.3 (March 2014), pp. 213-36.

BLOCK I: STATES

Sep 7: State Terrorism

Required Readings:

- Michael Stohl, "The State as Terrorist: Insights and Implications," *Democracy & Security* 2 (2006): 1-25.
- (Skim) Amnesty International, "'It Breaks the Human': Torture, Disease and Death in Syria's Prisons," 2016. Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde24/4508/2016/en/>

Recommended Readings:

- Niklas Karlen, "Turning off the Taps: The Termination of State Sponsorship," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 2017: 1-26.
- Ruth Blakeley, "State Terrorism in the Social Sciences: Theories, Methods and Concepts," in Richard Jackson, Eamon Murphy, and Scott Poynting, eds., *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 12-27.
- Richard Jackson, Eamon Murphy, and Scott Poynting, "Introduction: Terrorism, the State and the Study of Political Terror," in Richard Jackson, Eamon Murphy, and Scott Poynting, eds., *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 1-11.
- Daniel Byman, "Outside Support for Insurgent Movements," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36.12 (2013).
- Brynjar Lia, "Understanding Jihadi Proto-States," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9.4 (2015). <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/441/html>
- Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), pp. 157-96.
- Edward F. Mickolus, "What Constitutes State Support to Terrorists?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 1, No. 3 (1989).

Sep 12: Why States Sponsor Terrorism

Required Readings:

- Jeffrey M. Bale, "Terrorists as State 'Proxies': Separating Fact from Fiction," in Michael A. Innes, ed. *Making Sense of Proxy Wars: The Politics of Armed Surrogacy* (Potomac, 2012).
- Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-52

Recommended Readings:

- Boaz Ganor, "Countering State-Sponsored Terrorism," ICT Papers # 1, March 1997.
- Paul Staniland, "Militias, Ideology, and the State," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015).\
- Sarah Kreps and Daniel Byman, "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State Sponsorship of Terrorism," *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 11, no. 1 (February 2010), pp. 1-18.
- Niklas Karlen, "Turning off the Taps: The Termination of State Sponsorship," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 2017: 1-26.

Sep 14: How States Sponsor Terrorism

Deadline for Students choosing to Submit Response Paper 1

Required Readings:

- Elizabeth Grimm Arsenault and Tricia Bacon, "Disaggregating and Defeating Terrorist Safe Havens," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38.2 (2015).
- Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad*, Ch. 8.

Recommended Readings:

- Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections*, 53-116; 219-258.
- Grant Wardlaw, "Terror as an Instrument of Foreign Policy," in David Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, revised edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
- Geraint Alun Hughes (2014) Syria and the Perils of Proxy Warfare, *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 25.3 (2014), 522-538.
- Daniel Byman, "Unlikely Alliance: Iran's Secretive Relationship with Al-Qaeda," IHS Defense, Risk, and Security Consulting, 2012. Available at <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/iran-al-qaeda-byman.pdf>.

- Michael S. Smith II, "The Al-Qa'ida-Qods Force Nexus: Scratching the Surface of a 'Known Unknown'," *Kronos*, 2011. Available at [http://www.kronosadvisory.com/Kronos AQ QF Nexus REDACTED.pdf](http://www.kronosadvisory.com/Kronos_AQ_QF_Nexus_REDACTED.pdf).

BLOCK II: ORGANIZATIONS

Sep 19: Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Terrorist Organizations

Required Readings:

- Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (London; Portland: Frank Cass, 2001), 13-31.
- Max Abrahms, "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy," *International Security* 32.4 (Spring 2008), pp. 78-105.

Recommended Readings:

- Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism," in Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism*, pp. 111-24.
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Organizational Approach," in Martha Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes and Consequences* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 69-87
- Gordon McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 6 (June 2003), pp. 473-507.
- Bruce Hoffman and Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attack," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 27.4 (2004), 243-81.
- Barbara Walter and Andrew Kydd, "Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31.1
- Peter R. Neumann and M.L.R. Smith, *The Strategy of Terrorism: How it Works, and Why it Fails* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 31-75.
- Eitan Azani, "The Hybrid Terrorist Organization: Hezbollah as a Case Study," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36.11 (November 2013), pp. 899-916.
- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security*, 31.2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.
- Peter Krause, "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate," *Security Studies* 22.2 (2013), pp. 259-294.

Sep 21: Terrorist or Insurgent Groups?

Required Readings:

- Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5.4 (Winter 1993)
- Assaf Moghadam, Ronit Berger, and Polina Beliakova, "Say Terrorist, Think Insurgents: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, October 2014

Recommended Readings:

- Stathis Kalyvas, "Is ISIS a Revolutionary Group and if Yes, What are the Implications?" *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9.4 (2015).
<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/442>
- Virginia Page Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes," *International Organization* 69.3 (June 2015): 519–56
- Jessica Stanton, "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War," *Journal of Politics* 75 (2013): 1009-1022).
- James Khalil, "On the Futility of Distinguishing Between Terrorists and Insurgents," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36.5 (2013): 419-430.
- Michael J. Boyle, "Do Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency Go Together?" *International Affairs* 86.2 (2010): 333-353.

Sep 26: How Terrorist Groups Emerge

Required Readings:

- Stefan Malthaner and Peter Waldmann, "The Radical Milieu: Conceptualizing the Supportive Social Environment of Terrorist Groups," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37 (2014): 979-98.
- Michael G. Findley and Joseph K. Young, "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem," *Perspectives on Politics* 10.2 (June 2012).

Recommended Readings:

- Donatella Della Porta, "Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy," in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 105-159.
- Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Arie Perliger, *Political Parties and Terrorist Groups*, 2nd ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 17-74.
- David D. Laitin and Jacob N. Shapiro, "The Sources of Terrorism: An Ecological and Organizational Perspective," in Philip Keefer and Normal Loayza, eds, *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Konrad Kellen, "Ideology and Rebellion: Terrorism in West Germany," in Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism*, pp. 43-58.

- Denis Aksoy David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright, "Terrorism in Dictatorships," *Journal of Politics* 74.3 (July 2012).
- Denis Aksoy and David B. Carter, "Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2013), pp. 1-24.
- Ehud Sprinzak, "From Messianic Pioneering to Vigilante Terrorism: The Case of the Gush Emunim Underground," in David Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 194-216

Sep 28: Structure, Bureaucracy, and Logistics

Required Readings:

- Brian A. Jackson, "Groups, Networks, or Movements: A Command-and-Control Driven Approach to Classifying Terrorist Organizations and its Application to Al Qaeda," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29.3 (2006), 241-62.
- Aymenn al-Tamimi, "A Caliphate under Strain: The Documentary Evidence," *CTC Sentinel*, April 22, 2016

Recommended Readings:

- Christoph Reuter, "The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State," SPIEGEL ONLINE. Available at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html>
- Aymenn Jawad al-Tamimi, "The Evolution in Islamic State Administration: The Documentary Evidence," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9.4 (2015). <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/447>.
- Aymenn Jawad al-Tamimi, "The Archivist: Unseen Islamic State Financial Accounts for Deir az-Zor Province," Jihadology.Net. Available at <http://jihadology.net/2015/10/05/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-financial-accounts-for-deir-az-zor-province/>.
- Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida may be Less Threatening than Many Think," *International Security* Vol. 33, No. 2 (2008), 7-44.
- Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 1-62.
- Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "The Changing Nature of Suicide Attacks: A Social Network Perspective," *Social Forces* 84.4 (June 2006), pp. 1987-2008.

- Jacob N. Shapiro, "Bureaucratic Terrorists: Al Qa'ida in Iraq's Management and Finances," in Brian Fishman, ed., "Bombers, Bank Accounts and Bleedout: Al Qa'ida's Road In and Out of Iraq" (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, 2008).
- Jacob N. Shapiro and David A. Siegel, "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations," *World Politics* 64.1 (January 2012), pp.39-78.
- Scott Helfstein and Dominick Wright, "Covert or Convenient? Evolution of Terror Attack Networks," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55.5 (2011): 785-813.
- Aaron Zelinsky and Martin Shubik, "Research Note: Terrorist Groups as Business Firms: A New Typological Framework." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21.2 (2009), pp. 327-336.

Oct 3: Leadership and Leadership Decapitation

Required Readings:

- Bryan C. Price, "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *International Security* 4.36 (2012).
- Will McCants, The Believer, *The Brookings Essay*, 1 September 2015. Available at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/thebeliever>.
- Jenna Jordan, "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes," *International Security* 38, No. 4 (Spring 2014): 7-38.

Recommended Readings:

- David C. Hofmann and Lorne L. Dawson, "The Neglected Role of Charismatic Authority in the Study of Terrorist Groups and Radicalization," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37.4 (2014): 348-368.
- Jenna Jordan, "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes," *International Security* 38.4 (Spring 2014): 7-38.
- Max Abrahms and Jochen Mierau, "Leadership Matters: The Effects of Targeted Killings on Militant Group Tactics," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, September 2015.
- Austin Long, The Islamic State's War Machine," *Lawfare*, 28 September 2014. Available at <http://www.lawfareblog.com/2014/09/the-foreign-policy-essay-the-islamic-states-war-machine/>.
- Susanne Martin and Arie Perliger, "Turning to and from Terror: Deciphering the Conditions under which Political Groups Choose Violent and Nonviolent Tactics," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6.4-5 (2012). Available at <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/215/431>
- Max Abrahms and Karolina Lula, "Why Terrorists Overestimate the Odds of Victory," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6.4-5 (2012). Available at <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/216/434>.

- J. Tyson Chatagnier, Alex Mintz, and Yair Samban, "The Decision Calculus of Terrorist Leaders," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6.4-5 (2012). Available at <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/220/442>
- Gregory D. Miller, "Terrorist Decision Making and the Deterrence Problem," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36.2 (February 2013).

Oct 5: Recruitment and Training

Required Readings:

- Donatella della Porta, "Recruitment Processes in Clandestine Political Organizations: Italian Left-Wing Terrorism," in Victoroff and Kruglanski, eds., *Psychology of Terrorism*, pp. 307-316.
- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signaling and Rebel Recruitment Tactics," *Journal of Peace Research* 50.1 (2013), pp. 3-16.

Recommended Readings:

- Bridget Moreng, "ISIS' Virtual Puppeteers: How They Recruit and Train 'Lone Wolves'," *Foreign Affairs*, September 21, 2016.
- Mia Bloom, "Constructing Expertise: Terrorist Recruitment and 'Talent Spotting' in the PIRA, Al Qaeda, and ISIS," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2016.
- Abdullah Warius and Brian Fishman, "A Jihadist's Course in the Art of Recruitment," *CTC Sentinel*, 15 February 2009. Available at <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/a-jihadist%E2%80%99s-course-in-the-art-of-recruitment>
- Leah Farrall, "Forward Focus: Assessing Al-Qaeda's in-Theater Capabilities," *HIS Defense Security and Risk Consulting*, January 2012. Available at <http://allthingsct.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/janes-article-2012.pdf>
- Brian A. Jackson, "Training for Urban Resistance: The Case of the Provisional Irish Republican Army," in Forest, ed., *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, pp. 119-35.
- James Brandon, "The Danger of Prison Radicalization in the West," *CTC Sentinel* 2.12 (December 2009). Available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-danger-of-prison-radicalization-in-the-west>.
- Fernando Reinares, "Jihadist Radicalization and the 2004 Madrid Bombing Network," *CTC Sentinel* 2.11 (November 2009). Available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/jihadist-radicalization-and-the-2004-madrid-bombing-network>
- Aaron Y. Zelin, "The State of Global Jihad Online: A Qualitative, Quantitative, and Cross-Lingual Analysis," *New America Foundation*, January 2013, pp. 1-24. Available at

http://www.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Zelin_Global%20Jihad%20Online_NAF.pdf

- Mohammed M. Hafez, "The Ties that Bind: How Terrorists Exploit Family Bonds," *CTC Sentinel*, February 2016. <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-ties-that-bind-how-terrorists-exploit-family-bonds>

Oct 10: Ideology and Martyrdom

Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks," *International Security* 33.3 (Winter 2008/2009), pp. 46-78
- Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015. Available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>.
- Cole Bunzel, "Jihadism on its Own Terms: Understanding a Movement," Hoover Institution, May 2017. http://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/jihadism_on_its_own_terms.pdf.pdf

Recommended Readings:

- Timothy Williams and Rhiannon Neilsen, "'They will Rot the Society, Rot the Party, and Rot the Army': Toxification as an Ideology and Motivation for Perpetrating Violence in the Khmer Rouge Genocide?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 2016
- J.M. Berger, Alt-History, "Foreign Policy," September 16, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/09/how-the-turner-diaries-changed-white-nationalism/500039/>
- Benjamin Acosta and Steven J. Childs, "Illuminating the Global Suicide-Attack Network," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36.1 (January 2013), pp. 49-76
- Assaf Moghadam, "The Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology," *CTC Sentinel* 1.3 (February 2008). Available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-salafi-jihad-as-a-religious-ideology>.
- Charlie Winter, "Documenting the Virtual Caliphate," Quilliam Foundation, 2015. <http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/FINAL-documenting-the-virtual-caliphate.pdf>.

- Mohammed M. Hafez, "Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq: How Jihadists Frame Suicide Terrorism in Videos and Biographies," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19.1 (2007), pp.95-115
- Joas Wagemakers, "The Concept of Baya in the Islamic State's Ideology," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9.4 (2015).
<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/448>
- Victor Asal and R. Karl Rethemeyer, "The Nature of the Beast: Terrorist Organizational Characteristics and Organizational Lethality," *Journal of Politics* 70.2 (2008), 437-49.
- David A. Snow and Robert C. Byrd, "Ideology, Framing Processes, and Islamic Terrorist Movements," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 12.2 (2007), pp. 119-136.
- CJM Drake, "The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10.2 (1998), pp. 53-85.
- Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca, "The Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19.3 (2007), pp. 289-206.

Oct 12: Tactics and Innovation

Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, "How Al Qaeda Innovates," *Security Studies* 22.3 (2013)
- David L. Knoll, "How ISIS Endures by Innovating: The Group's True Center of Gravity," *Foreign Affairs*, September 30, 2016.

Recommended Readings:

- Louise Kettle and Andrew Mumford, "Terrorist Learning: A New Analytical Framework," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2017).
- Paul Gill, John Horgan, Samuel T. Hunter, and Lily D. Cushenberry, "Malevolent Creativity in Terrorist Organizations," *Journal of Creative Behavior* 47.2 (2013), pp. 125-51
- Magnus Ranstorp and Magnus Normark, "Introduction," In Magnus Ranstorp and Magnus Normark, eds., *Understanding Terrorism Innovation and Learning: Al-Qaeda and Beyond* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2015).
- Sarah E. Knight, Carys Keane, and Amy Murphy, "Adversary Group Decision-Making Regarding Choice of Attack Methods: Expecting the Unexpected," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29.4 (2017): 713-34.
- [://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09546553.2015.1064398?needAccess=true](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09546553.2015.1064398?needAccess=true)
- Paul Gill, "Tactical Innovation and the Provisional Irish Republican Army," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2016

- Brian Jackson and David Frelinger, "Rifling Through the Terrorists' Arsenal: Exploring Groups' Weapon Choices and Technology Strategies," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31.7 (2008), pp.583-604.
- Adam Dolnik, *Understanding Terrorist Innovation* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1-57
- Maria Rasmussen and Mohammed M. Hafez, eds., "Terrorist Innovation in Weapons of Mass Effect," pp. 2-26. Available online at <http://www.nps.edu/Academics/Centers/CCC/Research/2010%20019%20Terrorist%20nnovations%20in%20WME.pdf>.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism, revised and expanded edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 229-256.
- Michael C. Horowitz, "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 64.1 (Winter 2010), pp. 33-64

Oct 17: Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups

[Deadline for Students choosing to Submit Response Paper 2](#)

Required Readings:

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *International Security* 31.1 (2006), 7-48.
- Roundtable on "How Terrorism Ends," H-Diplo | ISSF Roundtable, Volume II, No. 8 (2011). Available at <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-2-8.pdf>

Recommended Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, "Failure and Disengagement in the Red Army Faction," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 35.2 (February 2012).
- Benjamin Acosta, "Live to Win Another Day: Why Many Militant Organizations Survive yet Few Succeed," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37.2 (February 2014), pp. 135-61.
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- Dipak Gupta, *Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence*, pp. 161-80.
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- Rogelio Alonso, "Why do Terrorists Stop? Analyzing why ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) Members Abandon or Continue with Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34.9 (September 2011), pp. 696-716.

BLOCK III: INFORMAL NETWORKS

Oct 19: In-Class Midterm Examination

Oct 24: In-Class Movie: The Jihadis Next Door

Oct 26: Informal Networks

Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad: Understanding Cooperation among Terrorist Actors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 50-61.
- Phil Williams, "Transnational Criminal Networks," in *Networks and Netwars*, ed., John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001).
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- Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "The Changing Nature of Suicide Attacks: A Social Network Perspective," *Social Forces* 84.4 (June 2006), pp. 1987-2008.
- Francesc Badia, "Small- World Networks, Violence, and Global Distress," in *Terrorism, Security, and the Power of Informal Networks*, ed. David Martin Jones, Ann Lane, and Paul Schulte (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010)
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- Thomas Hegghammer, "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting," *American Political Science Review* 107.1 (2013).
- Daniel Byman, "The Homecomings: What Happens When Arab Foreign Fighters in Iraq and Syria Return?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38.8 (2015).

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- Brian Dodwell, Daniel Milton, Don Ressler, "The Caliphate's Global Workforce: An Inside Look at the Islamic State's Foreign Fighter Paper Trail," 18 April 2016. <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-caliphates-global-workforce-an-inside-look-at-the-islamic-states-foreign-fighter-paper-trail>
- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," *International Security* 35.3 (Winter 2010/2011).
- Kristin M. Bakke, "Help Wanted? The Mixed Record of Foreign Fighters in Domestic Insurgencies," *International Security* 38.4 (Spring 2014).
- Europol, "Europol TE-SAT 2016: EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report," The Hague, Netherlands, 2016), pp. 26-29.

Nov 2: Pathways to Radicalization

Required Readings:

- Fathali M. Moghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration," in Bruce Bongar, Lisa Brown, Larry Beutler, James Breckenridge, and Philip Zimbardo, eds., *Psychology of Terrorism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 69-80.
- Mohammed Hafez and Creighton Mullins, "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 38, no. 11 (2015).

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- Ehud Sprinzak, "The Psychopolitical Formation of Extreme Left Terrorism in a Democracy: The Case of the Weathermen," in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 65-85.

Nov 9: Deradicalization and CVE

[Deadline for Students choosing to Submit Response Paper 3](#)

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- Lorenzo Vidino and Seamus Hughes, "Countering Violent Extremism in America," George Washington University Program on Extremism, June 2015. URL: <https://cchs.gwu.edu/sites/cchs.gwu.edu/files/downloads/CVE%20in%20America%20.pdf>
- Andrew Glazzard and Eric Rosand, "Is it All Over for CVE?" Lawfare, 11 June 2017. <http://www.lawfareblog.com/it-all-over-cve>
- Robin Simcox, "The Roots of a Failing War against Extremism, At Home and Abroad, *War on the Rocks*, 9 June 2017. <https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/the-roots-of-a-failing-war-against-extremism-at-home-and-abroad/>

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- Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "Defeating Ideologically Inspired Violent Extremism: A Strategy to Build Strong Communities and Protect the U.S. Homeland," March 2017. URL: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/Transition2017-CVE-6.pdf>.
- Amy-Jane Gielen, "Countering Violent Extremism: A Realist Review for Assessing What Works, for Whom, in What Circumstances, and How?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2017).
- Simon Cottee, "Terrorists are Not Snowflakes," *Foreign Policy*. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/27/terrorists-are-not-snowflakes/>
- Peter R. Neumann, "Victims, Perpetrators, Assets: The Narratives of Islamic State Defectors," ICSR, 12 October 2015. URL: <http://icsr.info/2015/10/icsr-report-victims-perpetrators-assets-narratives-islamic-state-defectors/>
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Turning Point: A New Comprehensive Strategy for Countering Violent Extremism," URL: <https://www.csis.org/features/turning-point>

BLOCK IV: INDIVIDUALS

Nov 14: Individual Terrorism and Leaderless Resistance

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Recommended Readings:

- Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (Ecco/Harper Collins, 2003), 172-187.

- Abu Musab al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call*, in Brynjar Lia, Architect of Global Jihad: The Life of Al-Qaida Strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri (Columbia University Press, 2008), 363-368; 391-413; 436-439.
- Clare Ellis, "With a Little Help from my Friends: An Exploration of the Tactical Use of Single-Actor Terrorism by the Islamic State," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10, No. 6 (December 2016).
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- Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Nathaniel Barr, "The Myth of Lone Wolf Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*, July 26, 2016.
- Ramon Spaaij, "The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33.9 (2010).
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- Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 253-65.
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- Daniel Byman, "Why Lone Wolves Fail," *Foreign Policy*, June 15, 2016. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/15/why-lone-wolves-fail/>.
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- Clare Ellis, Raffaello Pantucci, Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn, Edwin Bakker, Benoit Gomis, Simon Palombi, Melanie Smith, "Analysing the Processes of Lone-Actor Terrorism: Research Findings," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10.2 (2016). <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/499>
- George Michael, "Counterinsurgency and Lone Wolf Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26.1 (2014).
- Gabriel Weimann, "Lone Wolves in Cyberspace," *Journal of Terrorism Research* 3.2 (2012). <http://itr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/itr.405/>
- Patrick D. Ellis, "Lone Wolf Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Examination of Capabilities and Countermeasures," in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 26, Issue 1 (2014), pp. 221-225.
- Andrew Tobin, "Israel Has Had Success against 'Lone Wolf' Terrorists - Here's How," *Times of Israel*, July 28, 2016. <http://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-has-had-success-against-lone-wolf-terrorists-heres-how/>

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Recommended Readings:

- Sherzod Abdukadirov, "Terrorism: The Dark Side of Social Entrepreneurship," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 7 (2010).
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- Peter Neumann, *Radicalized*. Pp. TBD

- Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe*, pp. TBD

BLOCK V: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AND WITHIN ACTORS

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Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam and Brian Fishman, "Jihadi 'Endogenous' Problems," in Moghadam and Fishman, eds. *Fault Lines in Global Jihad: Organizational, Strategic, and Ideological Fissures* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011), 1-22.
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Recommended Readings:

- Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, "Terrorist Tug-of-War: ISIS and al Qaeda Struggle for al Shabab's Soul," *Foreign Affairs*, 8 October 2015. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/kenya/2015-10-08/terrorist-tug-war>
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- Vahid Brown, "Cracks in the Foundation: Leadership Schisms in Al-Qa'ida, 1989-2006" (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, 2006), 1-23. Available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/cracks-in-the-foundation-leadership-schisms.pdf>.
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Organizational Approach," in Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism*, 82-85.
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- Marc Lynch, "Jihadis and the *ikhwan*," in Moghadam and Fishman, eds., "Self-Inflicted Wounds," pp. 155-82. Available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Self-Inflicted-Wounds.pdf>.
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- Justin Conrad and Kevin Greene, "Competition, Differentiation, and the Severity of Terrorist Attacks," *Journal of Politics* 77, No. 2 (April 2015): 546-561.
- Brian J. Phillips, "Enemies with Benefits? Violent Rivalry and Terrorist Group Longevity," *Journal of Peace Research* 52, no. 1 (2015).

Nov 30: Why Terrorist Actors Cooperate

- Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad*, Ch. 1.
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- Vahid Brown, "Al-Qa'ida Central and Local Affiliates," in Assaf Moghadam and Brian Fishman, "Self-Inflicted Wounds," 69-99. Available at <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/self-inflicted-wounds>
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Dec 5: How Terrorist Actors Cooperate

Required Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad*, Ch. 4
- Tricia Bacon, "Alliance Hubs: Focal Points in the International Terrorist Landscape," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8.4 (2014). Available at <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/357>

Recommended Reading:

- Don Rassler and Vahid Brown, "The Haqqani Nexus and the Evolution of Al Qa'ida" (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, 2011). Available online at: <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-haqqani-nexus-and-the-evolution-of-al-qaida>

Dec 7: The Islamic State and the Rise of Complex Terrorist Actors

Deadline for Students choosing to Submit Response Paper 5

Required Readings:

- Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens and Seamus Hughes, "The Threat to the United States from the Islamic State's Virtual Entrepreneurs," *CTC Sentinel* 10, no. 3 (March 2017). <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-threat-to-the-united-states-from-the-islamic-states-virtual-entrepreneurs>
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