

**Syllabus**  
**Domestic Terrorism and Violent Extremism**  
**CRIM 5710-031**  
Fall 2017

**General Course Information**

Instructor: Prof. Assaf Moghadam  
Course Chat schedule (optional): Wednesday evenings, 9-10pm EST  
E-Mail Address (for emergency only; please use Blackboard for regular communication):  
assaf\_moghadam@uml.edu

**Course Description**

This course examines the evolution and contemporary nature of domestic terrorist threats and violent extremist movements that the United States has confronted over the past several decades. Special attention is placed on right-wing militias, religious extremists, racial supremacist/hate groups, and extreme environmental and animal rights groups. Students will also learn about political and socioeconomic factors that enable a terrorist group's ideological resonance, prison radicalization, the role of the Internet in mobilizing individuals toward violent behavior, and the legal and criminal justice dimensions of responses to terrorism.

**Prerequisites for the Course:** None

**Course Thematic Structure:**

**Block I: Introduction.** The introductory block consists of two lessons that offer an overview of the basic terminology and concepts that we will use in class. In Week 1, we will discuss the key concepts used in this course, namely terrorism and violent extremism. Week 2 will offer a theoretical and conceptual discussion of the various actors that we will be discussing. They include movements, organizations, networks, and lone attackers.

**Block II: Domestic Terrorist and Violent Extremist Actors.** Weeks 3-10 will delve deeply into the various types of domestic terrorism and violent extremism in the United States. In discussing the variegated nature of the domestic terrorist and violent extremist threat in the United States, we will discuss such aspects as the organizational structure of these violent actors; their goals and ideology; recruitment and mobilization; and their tactics and strategies, among other issues. We will spend Weeks 3 and 4 discussing extremist actors on the left side of the political spectrum—left-wing extremism, and environmental and animal-rights extremism. We will then move over to the right side of the political spectrum and devote Weeks 5, 6, and 7 to cover the three dominant strands of far right extremism in the United States: Racism/White Supremacy; anti-Federalism and the Sovereign Citizen Movement; and Fundamentalism,

Christian Identity, and anti-abortion extremism. In Weeks 8, 9, and 10, we will examine militant Islamist extremism in the United States. Week 8 will cover the origins of Islamist extremism in the United States, with a particular focus on the Muslim Brotherhood. Week 9 will discuss domestic radicalization and jihadist terrorism, and Week 10 will address the export of American jihadists abroad. While the issue of U.S. foreign fighters is not domestic terrorism in the strict sense of the word, foreign fighters are often radicalized at home. In addition, the possible return to the United States of American foreign fighters presents a potential threat to the U.S. homeland that cannot be ignored.

**Block III: Countering Domestic Terrorism and Violent Extremism.** In the final section of the course, we will discuss how the threat of violent extremism and domestic terrorism in the United States can be confronted. This section starts with Week 11, which lays out some of the main dilemmas plaguing Western democratic counterterrorism efforts in general, and U.S. efforts to stem extremism and terrorism in particular. Week 12 will cover military, police, and other "offensive" measures of domestic counterterrorism, while Week 13 will examine current efforts to both prevent and counter radicalization and violent extremism, in what has been recently referred to as Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE). Finally, in Week 14 we will wrap up our discussion, reflect on the material covered in this course, and discuss where domestic terrorism and violent extremism may be headed in the future.

### **Course Materials:**

Required Book: There is no required textbook for this course.

Required Readings: All required readings will be available via the blackboard system, the UML Library, or accessible freely via the Internet.

Recommended Readings: Recommended readings are designed as suggestions for additional immersion in a topic that is of particular interest to the student. They are also designed as a starting point for students with a deeper research interest in the topic of that particular lesson. The two "Response Papers" that students must submit must each include at least one recommended reading. In addition, students should know that lecture notes draw in part from recommended readings.

### **Course Materials "Release" Day**

Each "week" of this course typically begins on a Monday (12:00 AM ET), and ends on a Sunday (11:59 PM ET), except for Week 1 of this course, which is a short week that runs from Wednesday, September 6 (12:00 AM ET) through Sunday, September 10 (11:59 PM ET).

The course calendar at the end of this syllabus provides additional details with regard to the course schedule. Your final exam will be assigned during Week 14. You can take your final exam at any point during that week. More details to follow

## Interaction Guidelines: Communication and Participation

*During the semester we will be using three methods of communication:*

- Mail (Note: This is not regular email. Mail messages stay inside Blackboard)
- Chat
- Discussion Board

**Mail (Mail on the course menu):**

- Use the Blackboard mail function to send messages concerning private or personal issues. Please note that you should NOT use your own personal email for any communication related to this course.
- Check Mail at least once a day.
- You can expect to receive a response within 24 hours.

Please use the Mail function on the course menu for all communications that are related to your participation in the course (request for assistance or clarifications regarding course assignments or lecture notes, issues with access to course materials, requests/questions related to the readings, etc.).

I will usually respond to all Mails within 24 hours. Since I will occasionally be sending schedule updates, information about my availability and other general notifications related to the course, please be sure to check your Mail box daily (if you check at the upper-left corner of your UML Online Learning page, you will see a “My Messages” area where new emails will show up).

**Chat (Chat on the Course Menu):**

Chat is an online meeting tool that allows us to address issues related to the course in real time. We will use text, audio, and screen sharing to communicate in the chat room. Make sure your computer has a mic and speakers, or that you have a headset with a mic.

- Weekly chats will be held Wednesdays between 9:00-10:00 pm (EST), using Blackboard Collaborate. Please note that **we will not hold a chat during Week 1**, since it's a very short week.
  - On a few occasions, I may need to hold the chat on another day of the week. If that is the case, I will notify students at least 48 hours in advance.
  - No chat sessions will be held during Week 1 (a short week!) and Week 12 (due to Thanksgiving).
- All chats will be recorded and made available on the course site throughout the duration of the course.
- Participation is voluntary and is not factored into the final grade, but I highly recommend it in order for you to get the most out of this course. I especially recommend participating in the first chat (in Week 2) as I assume several administrative questions will come up that will be of interest to everyone.
- Observe chat room etiquette:
  - Keep subject matter related to the course material.

- If you are using the text-based chat feature, when you are "talking" to someone in particular, please begin your statement with that person's name, followed by a colon. For example, if you wanted to ask John Smith a question, your statement would look something like: "John: what do you think about..."
- Of course, do not use profanity. If profanity or any type of harassment takes place, you will automatically be prohibited from entering any course related chat rooms in the future.
- During the chat, I will be happy to answer questions related to the readings and lecture notes. The chat will also provide an opportunity to discuss issues related to current affairs that are relevant to the themes of the course.

To enter the chat, please click the Chat link in the Course Menu on the left side of your screen, and then click on "Join Room." Each chat session will be recorded (archived).

**Discussion Board (Discussion Board on the Course Menu, aka 'Forum'):**

The discussion board will be used for two functions:

(a) During 10 out of the semester's 14 weeks, I will post an open question that is related to that week's course materials in a specific "forum questions" section. Each student will need to post a response (one paragraph) to this question. Students are also required to post a feedback to the response of at least one other student. In order to ensure that students can provide feedback, the initial response to the question should be posted by Thursday night, in order to give other students the opportunity to post a response by Sunday night.

The discussion board will facilitate an active discussion between all the students in the course, as well as serve as an exercise in critical thinking. Remember that in the online world, the discussion board is the classroom.

Your response to the question posted on the discussion room should be well thought out. In your posts, any information that you rely on that does not originate from you must be cited. When responding to other student/s, responses such as "I agree" or "good post" do not suffice. The point of the discussion board is to generate intelligent discussion.

To access the "forum questions" forum, click on the Discussion Board link in the Course Menu, and then on the appropriate forum.

Before you post your thoughts on discussion forums, I encourage you to do the following:

- Organize your thoughts so that they come across as coherent and structured
- Check your grammar and spelling. Poor writing tends to raise doubts about the quality of the analysis
- Support your opinions with evidence. Personal musings are not analysis. Back up your points with references to authorities in the field, or evidence you have encountered in your readings. It is also OK to rely on one's own experience if relevant, but generally, arguments should be backed up by referring to the scholarly literature.

- Be professional and show courtesy to others.

Apart from posting the discussion questions, I will post comments occasionally, when answering student questions; clarifying a particular point or when steering back discussions that are off-topic.

(b) The discussion board will also be a platform where you can post a question that you assume other students can answer, and not just your instructor. For example, asking if someone is familiar with a particular source, data, etc. The discussion board can also be a useful tool for sharing interesting data, or reading materials that you think can benefit all students. These posts should be posted in the weekly “questions/ sharing forum” which I will set up.

### **Netiquette**

Netiquette stands for Network Etiquette. It refers to proper behavior while interacting online. The golden rule of netiquette is essentially to treat people as you would want to be treated. Please be polite and considerate. Think about whether your comment could cause hurt feelings. Be careful about how your words can come across because misunderstandings can be common online. Feel free to use emoticons to show your tone.

### **Assignment Guidelines**

Each week will start on Monday and end on 11:59 pm Sunday (EST). The “Release day” of course materials, therefore, is the Monday of each week (except for Week 1, which will start on Wednesday). I would recommend setting aside 4-6 hours each week dedicated to the course.

- 1) Read online lecture notes each week.
- 2) Read assigned “required readings” each week.
- 3) Introduction/Icebreaker (Week 1, Ungraded Requirement)
- 4) Forum Participation (10 Weeks, as specified in course calendar below)
- 5) 2 Response Papers (Submission date based on student choice; submit between Weeks 2-12)
- 6) Essay (Week 13)
- 7) Final exam (Week 14)

#### *-Introduction / Icebreaker (Week 1, Ungraded Requirement)*

Please introduce yourself on the discussion board by stating your name, tell us a bit about yourself, why you chose to take this course, and what you would like to get out of it. This introduction also doubles as a practice session for using the Discussion Board. Your introduction is to take place in the Icebreaker/Introductions discussion forum. To post your introduction to the Discussion Board: 1. On the Course Menu on the left, click the Discussion Board tool. 2. Once you get to the discussion board, click the “Icebreaker/Introductions” forum. 3. Once in the forum, click “Create Thread” to post your introduction.

#### *- Forum Participation (10 X 2 = 20 points)*

During ten out of the semester's 14 weeks, an open question that is related to that week's topic will be posted on the discussion board. Each student will need to post a response to this question. A complete answer, which includes a clear and coherent idea and is supported by evidence, will be awarded all points (1.5 pts). Students are also required to post a feedback to the response of one of the other students. A constructive and coherent feedback will be awarded 0.5 point.

*- Response Papers (2 X 15= 30 points)*

Students will complete two short response papers during the semester and submit them via Blackboard's "Assignment drop box."

In each of the response papers, you will be asked to critically review three articles from the reading list of a particular week. At least one of the readings has to be from the **recommended** reading list of that particular week. Response papers cannot combine readings from different weeks.

Students can choose the topic/Week in which they would like to hand in the two Response Papers. Papers are due by the end of the Week in which the student chooses to submit her/his response paper. For example, if a student wants to write his/her response paper on "Left-Wing Extremism," the topic covered in Week 3 (September 18-24), then the student needs to submit the paper by 11.59 pm on Sunday, September 24.

Response paper # 1 can be submitted between Week 2 and Week 11. Response paper # 2 can be submitted between Week 3 and Week 12.

For more information and detailed instructions on the response papers, click on the "Assignments" link in the course menu on the left hand side of the course website, and then on "Response Paper 1" or "Response Paper 2."

*- Essay (25 points)*

Students will submit an essay about a contemporary domestic terrorist or extremist threat of their choosing. Topics have to be approved by the instructor. Approval should be requested via Blackboard mail no later than Sunday of Week 5 (October 8), and papers are due by the end of Week 13 (December 3, 11.59pm).

For more information and detailed instructions on the essay, click on the "Assignments" link in the course menu on the left hand side of the course website, and then on "Essay."

*- Final Exam (25 points)* – the final exam will include 50 multiple-choice questions and will include all issues covered during the course. You will have 60 minutes to complete the exam

(thus if you will be using external materials to answer the questions you will not be able to complete it on time). The exam can be taken any time during Week 14, which ends on December 10, 11.59pm.

### **Make Up Policy**

I understand that life "gets in the way" sometimes. If and when it does, please let me know in advance if you expect difficulties in submitting your assignment on time. A point (0.5 points for discussion forum posts) will be deducted from the assignment grade for each day it is late. The cutoff date (in which assignment cannot be submitted anymore), is five days after the original due day.

There is no make up date for the final exam unless arrangements have been made with the instructor.

### **Course Grades**

The course will consist of 100 points. The grade assignment is as follows:

#### **Assignment Points**

Forum participation: 20  
Response Paper 1: 15  
Response Paper 2: 15  
Essay: 25  
Final Exam: 25

**Total Points: 100**

#### **Final Letter Grade**

<b>Numeric Grade:</b>	<b>Letter Grade:</b>
98-100	A+
94-97	A
90-93	A-
87-89	B+
84-86	B
80-83	B-
77-79	C+
70-76	C
0-69	F

### **Academic Integrity Policy**

UMass Lowell Online students are expected to be honest and to respect ethical standards in meeting academic assignments and requirements. A student who cheats on an examination or assignment is subject to administrative dismissal. Please visit the [Academic Integrity](#) Web site for specific details regarding this policy.

**Student Disability Services**

UMass Lowell Online students requiring academic accommodations should contact [Student Disability Services](#) for assistance.

*Instructional Resources* – please feel comfortable to contact me with any issues related to the course, whether these are academic or technical issues. My objective is helping you to maximize your intellectual potential and to complete the course successfully. In addition, the Continuing Studies and Corporate Education provide technical help when you login to Blackboard. Please look for the UML Online Learning tab and UML Online Learning Tutorials and Tech Support, when you login to Blackboard.

**Schedule of Assignments:**

Week	Assignments	Assigned	Due Date
1	- Post Introduction/ Icebreaker on Discussion Board (Ungraded requirement)	Sep 6	Sep 10
2	- Forum # 1 - (Response Paper 1 – flexible submission date)	Sep 11	Sep 17
3	- Forum # 2 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Sep 18	Sep 24
4	- Forum # 3 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Sep 25	Oct 1
5	- Forum # 4 - Get approval for Final Essay - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Oct 2	Oct 8
6	- Forum # 5 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Oct 9	Oct 15



7	- Forum # 6 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Oct 16	Oct 22
8	- Forum # 7 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Oct 23	Oct 29
9	- Forum # 8 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Oct 30	Nov 5
10	- Forum # 9 - (Response Paper 1 or 2– flexible submission date)	Nov 6	Nov 12
11	- Forum # 10 - Last Week to submit Response Paper 1 - (Response Paper 2– flexible submission date)	Nov 13	Nov 19
12	- No assignment (Thanksgiving) - Last Week to submit Response Paper 2	Nov 20	Nov 26
13	- Essay	Nov 27	Dec 3
14	- Final Exam	Dec 4	Dec 10

**Course Calendar:**

**BLOCK I: INTRODUCTION**

**Week 1: Understanding Terrorism and Violent Extremism (Sep 6-10)**

**Assignments:**

- 1) *Post Introduction/Icebreaker on Discussion Board*

**Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 1
- 2) Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, rev. and exp. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 1-42.
- 3) Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics* 13.4 (July 1981), pp. 379-399.

- 4) Owen Frazer and Christian Nünlist, "The Concept of Countering Violent Extremism," CSS Analysis in Security Policy No. 183 (December 2015), pp. 1-3. URL: <http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSSAnalyse183-EN.pdf>

**Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Sources of Contemporary Terrorism," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 1-18.
- 2) J.M. Berger, "Nazis vs. ISIS on Twitter: A Comparative Study of White Nationalist and ISIS Online Social Media Networks," George Washington University Program on Extremism, September 2016. URL: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/downloads/Nazis%20v.%20ISIS.pdf>
- 3) Joseph K. Young and Michael K. Findley. 2011. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research," *International Studies Review*, 13: 411- 431
- 4) Andrew Gumbel, "The Domestic Terrorism Threat in the United States: A Primer," GWUPOE, December 2015. <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/downloads/Gumbel.pdf>
- 5) Homeland Security Advisory Council, CVE Working Group, Spring 2010. URL: [https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac\\_cve\\_working\\_group\\_recommendations.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac_cve_working_group_recommendations.pdf)
- 6) Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), "What is Countering Violent Extremism?" URL: <https://cve.fbi.gov/whatis/>
- 7) United States Agency for International Development (USAID), "The Development Response to Violent Extremism and Insurgency: Putting Principles into Practice," September 2011. URL: [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/Pdacs400.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pdacs400.pdf)
- 8) Executive Office of the President of the United States, "Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism In The United States," October 2016. URL: [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/2016\\_strategic\\_implementation\\_plan\\_empowering\\_local\\_partners\\_prev.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/2016_strategic_implementation_plan_empowering_local_partners_prev.pdf).
- 9) J.M. Berger, "Extremist Construction of Identity: How Escalating Demands for Legitimacy Shape and Define In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics," ICCT, The Hague, 21 April 2017. URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/extremist-construction-of-identity-how-escalating-demands-for-legitimacy-shape-and-define-in-group-and-out-group-dynamics/>

## **Week 2: Actor Spectrum: Movements, Organizations, Networks, and Lone Attackers (Sep 11-17)**

### **Assignments:**

- 1) Forum # 1 (Due Sep 14; response to student due Sep 17)
- 2) Response Paper # 1 (flexible submission date)

### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 2
- 2) Ramon Spaaij and Mark Hamm, "Key Issues and Research Agendas in Lone-Wolf Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38.3 (2015).
- 3) Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5.4 (Winter 1993).
- 4) Phil Williams, "Transnational Criminal Networks," in John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, eds., *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2001), pp. 61-97.

### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 20-29.
- 2) David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, "Mapping the Terrain," in David A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 3-16.
- 3) Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (London; Portland: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 13-31.
- 4) Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad: Understanding Cooperation among Terrorist Actors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 48-61.
- 5) Assaf Moghadam, Ronit Berger, and Polina Beliakova, "Say Terrorist, Think Insurgents: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, October 2014. URL: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/374>
- 6) Joel A. Capellan, "Lone Wolf Terrorist or Deranged Shooter? A Study of Ideological Active Shooter Events in the United States, 1970-2014," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38.6 (2015).

## **BLOCK II: DOMESTIC TERRORIST AND VIOLENT EXTREMIST ACTORS**

### **Week 3: Left-Wing Extremism (Sep 18-24)**

#### **Assignments:**

- 1) Forum # 2 (Due Sep 21; response to student due Sep 24)
- 2) Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)

#### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 3
- 2) Karl Seger, "Left-Wing Extremism: The Current Threat" (Washington, DC: Department of Energy Office of Safeguards and Security, April 2001). URL: <https://fas.org/irp/world/para/left.pdf>
- 3) Luca Falciola, "A Bloodless Guerrilla Warfare: Why U.S. White Leftists Renounced Violence against People During the 1970s," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28.5 (2016), pp. 928-949.
- 4) Richard Bach Jensen, "The Pre-1914 Anarchist 'Lone Wolf' Terrorist and Governmental Response," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26.1 (2014), pp. 86-94.
- 5) Martin Kaste and Kirk Siegler, "Fact Check: Is Left-Wing Violence Rising?" NPR, June 2016. URL: <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/16/533255619/fact-check-is-left-wing-violence-rising>

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Ehud Sprinzak, "The Psychopolitical Formation of Extreme Left Terrorism in a Democracy: The Case of the Weathermen," in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, 1998), pp. 65-85.
- 2) Randy Borum and Chuck Tilby, "Anarchist Direct Actions: A Challenge for Law Enforcement," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28.3 (2005), pp. 201-223.
- 3) Emmanuel Karagiannis and Clark M. McCauley, "The Emerging Red-Green Alliance: Where Political Islam Meets the Radical Left," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25.2 (2013), pp. 167-182.
- 4) Arnaud Blin, "The United States Confronting Terrorism," in Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, eds., *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 398-419.
- 5) Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2009), pp. 114-125.

### **Week 4: Environmental and Animal-Rights Extremism (Sep 25-Oct 1)**

#### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Forum # 3 (Due Sep 28; response to student due Oct 1)*
- 2) *Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)*

**Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 4
- 2) Paul Joosse, "Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion: The Case of the Earth Liberation Front," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19.3 (2007), pp. 351-368.
- 3) Stefan H. Leader and Peter Probst, "The Earth Liberation Front and Environmental Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15.4 (2003), pp. 37-58.
- 4) Horacio R. Trujillo, "The Radical Environmentalist Movement," in Brian A. Jackson et.al., *Aptitude for Destruction, Vol. 2: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2005), pp. 141-178. URL: [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\\_MG332.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG332.pdf)

**Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Sean P. Eagan, "From Spikes to Bombs: The Rise of Eco-Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 19.1 (1996), pp. 1-18.
- 2) Loadenthal, Michael. 2013. "The Earth Liberation Front: A movement Analysis," *Radical Criminology*, 2: 15-45
- 3) Robert Futrell and Pete Simi, "Free Spaces, Collective Identity, and the Persistence of US White Power Activism," *Social Problems*, 51.1 (2004).
- 4) Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler and Cas Mudde, "'Ecoterrorism': Terrorist Threat or Political Ploy?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37.7 (2014), pp. 586-603.
- 5) Gary Ackerman, "Beyond Arson: A Threat Assessment of the Earth Liberation Front," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15.4 (2003), 143-170.
- 6) Bron Taylor, "Religion, Violence and Radical Environmentalism: From Earth First! to the Unabomber to the Earth Liberation Front," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10.4 (1998), pp. 1-42.
- 7) Kurt Braddock, "The Utility of Narratives for Promoting Radicalization: The Case of the Animal Liberation Front," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 8.1 (2015), pp. 38-59.
- 8) Jennifer Varriale Carson, Gary LaFree, and Laura Dugan, "Terrorist and Non-Terrorist Criminal Attacks by Radical Environmental and Animal Rights Groups in the United States, 1970–2007," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24.2 (2012), pp. 295-319.
- 9) Daryl Johnston. *Right Wing Resurgence* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2012).

**Week 5: Racism and White Supremacy (Oct 2-8)**

### **Assignments:**

- 1) Forum # 4 (Due Oct 5; response to student due Oct 8)
- 2) Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)
- 3) Get instructor approval for final essay topic via Blackboard email

### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 5
- 2) Arie Perliger, "Challengers from the Sidelines: Understanding America's Violent Far Right," *Combating Terrorism Center*, West Point, January 15, 2013, pp. 3-27; 39-64. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/challengers-from-the-sidelines-understanding-americas-violent-far-right>.
- 3) Lorraine Bowman-Grieve, "Exploring "Stormfront": A Virtual Community of the Radical Right," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32.11 (2009), pp. 989-1007.
- 4) Martin Durham, "The American Far Right and 9/11," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15.2 (2003), pp. 96-111.
- 5) Southern Poverty Law Center, "Google and the Miseducation of Dylann Roof," January 18, 2017. URL: <https://www.splcenter.org/20170118/google-and-miseducation-dylann-roof> (also video).

### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "With Hate in their Hearts: The State of White Supremacy in the United States," July 13, 2015. URL: <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/state-of-white-supremacy>
- 2) Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism, rev. and exp. ed.*, pp. 101-118.
- 3) Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2009), pp. 126-141.
- 4) Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "White Supremacist Prison Gangs in the US." URL: [https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/CR\\_4499\\_WhiteSupremacist-Report\\_web\\_vff.pdf](https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/CR_4499_WhiteSupremacist-Report_web_vff.pdf)
- 5) James J.F. Forest, *The Terrorism Lectures*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Santa Ana, CA: Nortia, 2015), pp. 202-218.
- 6) Arie Perliger, "Homegrown Terrorism and Why the Threat of Right-Wing Extremism is Rising in America," *Newsweek*, June 4, 2017. URL: <http://www.newsweek.com/homegrown-terrorism-rising-threat-right-wing-extremism-619724>
- 7) Southern Poverty Law Center, "Terror from the Right," November 1, 2005. URL: <https://www.splcenter.org/20100126/terror-right>

- 8) START, "Key Concepts to Understanding Violent White Supremacy," April 2017. URL: [https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START\\_KeyConceptsToUnderstandViolentWhiteSupremacy\\_ResearchBrief\\_April2017.pdf](https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START_KeyConceptsToUnderstandViolentWhiteSupremacy_ResearchBrief_April2017.pdf)
- 9) Pieter Howes, "It's Definitive: White Supremacist Terrorism is a Far Greater, Far Deadlier Threat than ISIS," *Inquisitr*, June 13, 2017. URL: <http://www.inquisitr.com/opinion/4287131/its-definitive-white-supremacist-terrorism-is-a-far-greater-far-deadlier-threat-than-isis/>
- 10) Christopher Dickey, "Inside the Head of Dylann Roof, Jihadist for White Hate," *Daily Beast*, May 22, 2017. URL: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-head-of-dylann-roof-a-terrorist-paradigm>
- 11) ADL, "Hate on Display™: Hate Symbols Database." URL: <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols>
- 12) Southern Poverty Law Center, "Ku-Klux-Klan: A History of Racism" February 28, 2011. URL: <https://www.splcenter.org/20110301/ku-klux-klan-history-racism>
- 13) George Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

## **Week 6: Anti-Federalism and the Sovereign Citizen Movement (Oct 9-15)**

### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Forum # 5 (Due Oct 12; response to student due Oct 15)*
- 2) *Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)*

### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 6
- 2) Louis Beam, "Leaderless Resistance," *Seditionist* 12 (February 1992). URL: <http://www.louisbeam.com/leaderless.htm>.
- 3) Michael Barkun, "Violence in the Name of Democracy: Justifications for Separatism on the Radical Right," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 12.3-4 (2000), pp. 193-208.
- 4) Arie Perliger, "Challengers from the Sidelines," pp. 27-32; 64-71. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/challengers-from-the-sidelines-understanding-americas-violent-far-right>.
- 5) J. Oliver Conroy, "They Hate the US Government, and They're Multiplying: The Terrifying Rise of 'Sovereign Citizens'," *Guardian*, May 15, 2017. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/15/sovereign-citizens-rightwing-terrorism-hate-us-government>

### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Martin Durham, "Preparing for Armageddon: Citizen Militias, the Patriot Movement and the Oklahoma City Bombing," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8.1 (1996), pp. 65-79.
- 2) Jeffrey Kaplan, "Leaderless Resistance," in David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 260-273.
- 3) J.M. Berger, "Without Prejudice: What Sovereign Citizens Believe," GWUPOE, June 2016.  
URL:  
<https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/downloads/JMB%20Sovereign%20Citizens.pdf>
- 4) Mark Potok et. al. "The Second Wave: Return of the Militias" Southern Poverty Law Center. Montgomery, Alabama. August 2009
- 5) Daniel Levitas. *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* (Thomas Dunne, 2002).
- 6) Sarah Larimer and Abby Phillip, "Who are the Oath Keepers, and Why has the Armed Group Returned to Ferguson?," *Washington Post*, 11 August 2015.

## **Week 7: Fundamentalism, Christian Identity, and the Anti-Abortion Movement (Oct 16-22)**

### **Assignments:**

- 1) Forum # 6 (Due Oct 19; response to student due Oct 22)
- 2) Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)

### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 7
- 2) Arie Perliger, "Challengers from the Sidelines: Understanding America's Violent Far Right," Combating Terrorism Center, West Point, January 15, 2013, pp. 31-40; 71-83.  
URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/challengers-from-the-sidelines-understanding-americas-violent-far-right>.
- 3) J.M. Berger, "Alt-History," *Atlantic*, September 16, 2016. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/09/how-the-turner-diaries-changed-white-nationalism/500039/>
- 4) Mark Juergensmeyer, "Chapter 2: Soldiers for Christ," in Marg Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 28-45.
- 5) Martin Durham, "Christian Identity and the Politics of Religion," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 9.1 (2008), pp. 79-91.

### **Recommended Readings:**



- 1) Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: Ecco/Harper Collins, 2003), pp. 147-171.
- 2) J.M. Berger, "The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism's Deadly Bible," *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 7, no. 8 (2016). URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/the-turner-legacy-the-storied-origins-and-enduring-impact-of-white-nationalisms-deadly-bible/>
- 3) Jeffrey Kaplan, "The Context of American Millenarian Revolutionary Theology: The Case of the 'Identity Christian' Church of Israel," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5.1 (1993), pp. 30-82.
- 4) Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "Christian Identity." URL: <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/backgrounders/christian-identity>
- 5) Southern Poverty Law Center, "Ideologies." URL: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology>

## **Week 8: The Rise of Militant Islamism in the United States (Oct 23-29)**

### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Forum # 7 (Due Oct 26; response to student due Oct 29)*
- 2) *Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)*

### **Required Readings:**

- 1) *Lecture Notes Week 8*
- 2) Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press: 2010), pp. 166-198.
- 3) M.A. Muqtadar Khan, "Political Muslims in America: From Islamism to Exceptionalism," *Middle East Policy Council*, 23.1 (Spring 2015). URL: <http://www.mepc.org/political-muslims-america-islamism-exceptionalism>

### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) J.M. Berger, *Jihad Joe: Americans Who Go to War in the Name of Islam* (Washington, DC: Potomac, 2011), 1-49.
- 2) Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Vintage, 2006), pp. 9-27
- 3) Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (Ecco/Harper Collins, 2003), 172-187.
- 4) Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press: 2010), pp. 1-99.
- 5) Lorenzo Vidino, "Why the United States Should Be as Circumspect as the British about the Muslim Brotherhood," *Lawfare*, February 12, 2017. URL:

<https://www.lawfareblog.com/why-united-states-should-be-circumspect-british-about-muslim-brotherhood>

## **Week 9: Radicalization and Homegrown Jihadism (Oct 30-Nov 5)**

### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Forum # 8 (Due Nov 2; response to student due Nov 5)*
- 2) *Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)*

### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 9
- 2) Bruce Hoffman, "American Jihad," *National Interest* No. 107 (May/June 2010) pp. 17-27.
- 3) Risa Brooks, "Muslim 'Homegrown' Terrorism in the United States: How Serious Is the Threat?" *International Security* 36.2 (2011), pp. 7-47. URL: <http://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/Muslim%20Homegrown%20Terrorism%20in%20the%20United%20States.pdf>
- 4) Jason Burke, "The Myth of the 'Lone Wolf' Terrorist," *Guardian*, March 30, 2017. URL: [https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/mar/30/myth-lone-wolf-terrorist?CMP=share\\_btn\\_fb](https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/mar/30/myth-lone-wolf-terrorist?CMP=share_btn_fb)
- 5) Sam Mullins, "Lone-Actor vs. Remote-Controlled Jihadi Terrorism: Rethinking the Threat to the West," *War on the Rocks*, April 20, 2017. <https://warontherocks.com/2017/04/lone-actor-vs-remote-controlled-jihadi-terrorism-rethinking-the-threat-to-the-west/>

### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Peter Bergen, *United States of Jihad: Who are America's Homegrown Terrorists and How do we Stop Them?* (New York: Broadway, 2017), pp. 221-243.
- 2) Lorenzo Vidino, "The Evolution of the Post-9/11 Threat to the US Homeland," in Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares, eds., *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat: From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's Death* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 3-28.
- 3) Lorenzo Vidino and Seamus Hughes, "ISIS in America: From Retweets to Raqqa," Program on Extremism, George Washington University, December 2015. URL: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/downloads/ISIS%20in%20America%20-%20Full%20Report.pdf>
- 4) Daniel Byman, "How to Hunt a Lone Wolf," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2017.
- 5) Brian Michael Jenkins, "Stray Dogs and Virtual Armies: Radicalization and Recruitment to Jihadist Terrorism in the United States Since 9/11" (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2011). URL: [https://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/OP343.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP343.html).

- 6) "Make a Bomb in your Mom's Kitchen," *Inspire*, Issue 1. URL: <https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/aaqap-inspire-magazine-volume-1-uncorrupted.pdf>
- 7) Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "The ISIS Impact on the Domestic Islamic Extremist Threat: Homegrown Islamic Extremism, 2009–2015," 2016. URL: [https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/CR\\_4473\\_HomegrownExtremismReport-2009-2015\\_web2.pdf](https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/CR_4473_HomegrownExtremismReport-2009-2015_web2.pdf)

### **Week 10: Americans Fighting Abroad (Nov 6-12)**

#### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Forum # 9 (Due Nov 9; response to student due Nov 12)*
- 2) *Response Paper 1 or 2 (flexible submission date)*

#### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 10
- 2) Seamus Hughes and Bennett Clifford, "First He Became an American—Then He Joined ISIS," *Atlantic*, May 25, 2017. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/05/first-he-became-an-americanthen-he-joined-isis/527622/>
- 3) Rukmini Callimachi, "ISIS and the Lonely American," *New York Times*, June 27, 2015. URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/28/world/americas/isis-online-recruiting-american.html? r=0>
- 4) Scott Shane, "The Lessons of Anwar al-Awlaki," *New York Times*, August 27, 2015. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/30/magazine/the-lessons-of-anwar-al-awlaki.html>

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) J.M. Berger, *Jihad Joe: Americans Who Go to War in the Name of Islam* (Washington, DC: Potomac, 2011), 151-175.
- 2) Peter Bergen, *United States of Jihad: Who are America's Homegrown Terrorists and How do we Stop Them?* (New York: Broadway, 2017), pp. 1-44; 131-220.

## **BLOCK III: COUNTERING DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM**

### **Week 11: Domestic Counterterrorism: Democratic Dilemmas (Nov 13-19)**

#### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Forum # 10 (Due Nov 16; response to student due Nov 19)*

- 2) *Final date to submit Response Paper # 1*
- 3) *Response Paper # 2 (flexible submission date)*

**Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 11
- 2) Rosa Brooks, "The Threat is Already Inside," *Foreign Policy*, 15 November 2015. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/20/the-threat-is-already-inside-uncomfortable-truths-terrorism-isis/>.
- 3) Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, pp. 96-113.
- 4) John Mueller, "Getting Real on The Terrorism Threat to the United States," *War on the Rocks*, August 23, 2016. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2016/08/getting-real-on-the-terrorism-threat-to-the-united-states/>
- 5) Brian Michael Jenkins, "Taking the 'Terror' out of Terrorism Requires Outsmarting Fear," RAND Blog, March 16, 2017. URL: <http://www.rand.org/blog/2017/03/taking-the-terror-out-of-terrorism-requires-outsmarting.html>.

**Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, *Bin Laden's Legacy: Why We're Still Losing the War on Terror* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2011), pp. 67-92; 201-232.
- 2) Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction," in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *The Consequences of Counterterrorism* (New York: Russell Sage, 2010), pp. 1-32.
- 3) John Finn, "Counterterrorism Regimes and the Rule of Law," in Crenshaw, ed., *The Consequences of Counterterrorism*, pp. 33-93.
- 4) Martha Crenshaw, "Terrorism, Strategies, and Grand Strategies," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 74-96.
- 5) Boaz Ganor, *The Counterterrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction, 2005).

**Week 12: Domestic Counterterrorism: Offensive Approaches (Nov 20-26)**

**Assignments:**

- 1) *No forum due to Thanksgiving*
- 2) *Final date to submit Response Paper # 2 (due Nov 26, 11.59pm)*

**Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 12
- 2) Mark Mazzetti, Charlie Savage, and Scott Shane, "How a U.S. Citizen Came to be in America's Cross Hairs," *New York Times*, March 9, 2013. URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/10/world/middleeast/anwar-al-awlaki-a-us-citizen-in-americas-cross-hairs.html> .
- 3) Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorist Instruments," in Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), 73-129.

**Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Daniel Byman, *The Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad* (Washington, DC: Wiley & Sons, 2008), pp. 83-130.
- 2) Timothy Hoyt, "Military Force," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 162-185.
- 3) Paul R. Pillar, "Intelligence," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 115-139.
- 4) Lindsay Clutterbuck, "Law Enforcement," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 140-161.

**Week 13: Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) (Nov 27-Dec 3)**

**Assignments:**

- 1) Essay (Due Dec 3, 11.59pm)

**Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 13
- 2) William Braniff, "Recasting and Repositioning CVE as a Grand Strategic Response to Terrorism," START, November 14, 2017. URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/news/recasting-and-repositioning-cve-grand-strategic-13response-terrorism>
- 3) Robin Simcox, "The Roots of a Failing War against Extremism, at Home and Abroad," War on the Rocks, June 9, 2017. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/the-roots-of-a-failing-war-against-extremism-at-home-and-abroad/>
- 4) J.M. Berger, J.M. "Making CVE Work: A Focused Approach Based on Process Disruption", *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 7, no. 5 (2016).

URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/making-cve-work-a-focused-approach-based-on-process-disruption/>

- 5) Lorenzo Vidino and Seamus Hughes, "How to Stop ISIS from Recruiting American Teens," *Washington Post*, June 17, 2015. URL: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/17/how-to-stop-isis-from-recruiting-american-teens/?utm\\_term=.7b9e06725b08](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/17/how-to-stop-isis-from-recruiting-american-teens/?utm_term=.7b9e06725b08)

### **Recommended Readings:**

- 1) Kamran Bokhari, "Countering Violent Extremism and American Muslims," Program on Extremism, George Washington University, October 2015. URL: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/downloads/CVE%20Bokhari.pdf>
- 2) Seamus Hughes, "Islamic State is Successfully Radicalizing Americans. How do We Stop Them?" *Los Angeles Times*, May 18, 2016. URL: <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-hughes-stop-isis-recruit-radicalization-20160517-snap-story.html>
- 3) Michael Williams, John Horgan, and William Evans, "The Critical Role of Friends in Networks for Countering Violent Extremism: Towards a Theory of Vicarious Help-Seeking," *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* (2015), pp. 1-21
- 4) 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>.
- 5) 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>
- 6) Daniel Byman, *The Five Front War*, pp. 148-152.

### **Week 14: Course Wrap-Up and Final Exam (Dec 4-10)**

#### **Assignments:**

- 1) *Final Exam*

#### **Required Readings:**

- 1) Lecture Notes Week 14

- 2) Michael J. Mooney, "A Military Assessment of the Islamic State's Evolving Theory of Victory," *War on the Rocks*, June 26, 2017. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/a-military-assessment-of-the-islamic-states-evolving-theory-of-victory/>
- 3) Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens and Seamus Hughes, "The Threat to the United States from the Islamic State's Virtual Entrepreneurs," *CTC Sentinel* 10.3 (March 2017). URL: <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-threat-to-the-united-states-from-the-islamic-states-virtual-entrepreneurs>
- 4) Thomas Hegghammer, "The Future of Jihadism in Europe: A Pessimistic View," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10.6 (December 2016). URL: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/566/html>