



Vesalius College
Brussels

POL 225 G (06 ECTS)

Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism and (De-) Radicalization

Summer Semester

Vesalius College

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Course Time: Wed-Th 1400-1800Hr

Course Location: VeCo3

Office Hours: Wed-Th 1300-1400

Office Location: VeCo

Course Description

This course seeks to enhance students' understanding of ideological, strategic, and operational characteristics of global terrorism, radicalization and global jihad in the 21st Century. Students will define terms associated with the movement, and explore the development, motives, and tactics of radicalization and terrorism; with a specific focus on terrorist groups in the Middle East, Africa, and South-East Asia. We will evaluate the methods used by national and international actors to control its occurrence and effects, and the extent to which these methods succeed. Policy debates, statements, and theoretical literature from all actors, including jihadists themselves, will be introduced to create a comprehensive understanding of all perspectives involved in the movement. This course places heavy emphasis on the professional writing, briefing, conduct, and other skills needed for careers in the terrorism and the security field.

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Learning Outcomes

In this course, you will:

- Analyze how violent movements developed historically, organizationally, and ideologically.
- Analyze the history of revolutionary and terrorist groups, and the strategies that they employ to achieve their goals.
- Discover the history of efforts to counter these movements on the state level and international level.
- Gain knowledge about groups and conflicts that are currently active around the world, and the efforts made to counter them.
- Become familiarized with core texts in the field.
- Develop effective and professional oral and written skills necessary to communicate analysis of the current terrorism movement.

Grading Policy & Assignments

- All late assignments will be penalized one-third of a letter grade (i.e., from an A- to a B+) for each day or fraction of a day late. Exception: memos cannot be turned in late.
- No student can pass this course without completing all of the assignments.
- Students are responsible for retaining a copy of their assignments and grades until they have received a final grade.

Attendance

Students must attend every class session prepared to participate. Participation is a major part of your grade. Since class discussion will go well beyond the readings, absence severely diminishes what you learn from this course. I may call on you at any time, especially if your participation is lacking, so you need to be prepared every class.

Please attend class promptly; tardiness will diminish your class participation grade.

Excused absences require documentation from a health provider, employer or university official, such as your academic advisor, the dean, or the counseling center. If your absence is unexcused, you get a 0 for participation for that class. If your absence is excused, you get the number of points that you would have earned based on your average participation to date.

I issue early warnings to students who do not adequately participate in class in the initial weeks of class. Do not panic if you receive one. Early warnings let you know that I have noticed that you are not sufficiently contributing to the class and that you need to increase your participation going forward. Students often set participation patterns early in the semester. When these patterns do not set you up for success, I want to intervene early.

To avoid delays owing to technical difficulties, please back up or make hard copies of your papers as you work on them.

Assessment Schedule:

- 02 In-class tests 20% - These will be administered either with or without warning.
- Midterm 20%
- Final test 30% -
- Final Paper 30% - The final paper (3000 words) on a topic related to one of the three head topics of the course. The paper will be due on **June 22nd 2017** (one electronic copy and one hard copy to be handed over in the last class).

Written mid-term and final exams (50%)

The mid-term will be an in-class exam. The midterm exam (20%) will be held in the mid of the semester (W3). The content of the exam covers all the concepts you will have learnt before that date. The final exam (30%) will be held at the end of the course. It will include questions on the concepts that you will have learnt during the whole semester.

Both exams will have questions based on the assigned reading and lectures. These questions will control your ad hoc knowledge, your transversal analysis potential and your capability to produce essays on a given broad topic.

In both exams, close-ended as well as open-ended questions will be asked.

Assessment Criteria for the Exams are:

- Capacity to grasp and convey factual, conceptual and theoretical knowledge.
- Capacity to synthesize and apply concepts and theory to concrete cases.
- Capacity to develop a systematic argument based on theory and practice.
- Close-ended questions are “wright or wrong” questions. Note that your ability to explain and comment your choice will also be considered.
- Open-ended questions will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

	(0-1)	(2-3)	(4-5)
Structure of the answer and expression.	The answer is loosely structured and fails to provide most relevant information. Expression is poor and concepts are oversimplified.	The answer provides for most relevant information, but it is loosely structured. Overall good capacity to express complex concepts and correct language.	The answer addresses the question in a structured, and analytical manner. Excellent capacity to express originally, succinctly and correctly complex concepts.
Understanding of the concepts and use of theoretical knowledge	Concepts and knowledge are simply mentioned or not mentioned at all. Weak engagement with the course material.	One or more concepts and knowledge are confusing or oversimplified. Overall, the answer shows a consistent engagement with the reading material required for the course.	All concepts and knowledge reviewed are presented clearly in their full complexity. The answer is well embedded in the literature and shows evidence of further readings.

Critical thinking	The answer lacks any Critical reflection and independent thought.	Overall, the answer shows some evidence of critical thinking and independent thought.	The answer demonstrates an excellent level of critical thinking and an original application of independent thought.
Completeness	The answer is left in blank or fails dramatically to address the question.	The answer sufficiently addresses the question.	The answer correctly addresses all aspects and angles of the question and provides an answer with an excellent level of detail.

Written Paper

You are encouraged to carry out in-depth research of one key aspect covered in our course. A list of proposed topics will be distributed to the class, but students may come up with their own topics.

The paper is due during the final class. Students will have to bring a hard-copy to class, and turn a copy in electronically on Turnitin.

Please, submit an electronic copy on Turnitin.

When submitting to Turnitin, postings should be entitled by your surname and the issue covered (for example “Smith_Cuban Missile Crisis”). Extension will not be granted except for attested emergencies. Having a computer problem, attending to a wedding, or doing an internship are not considered as emergency situations. Students are responsible to start well in advance and backup their work. This policy will be strictly enforced.

NOTE: your essay only counts as Accepted if you handed in both a hard and electronic copy. Failure to do so will result in an ‘F’.

Papers should be submitted in Times New Roman font, 12 points type, 1,5 spaced with 2 cm margins. Papers should not exceed 3000 words, excluding the cover page and the bibliography. Longer papers will be penalized.

Papers will be structured in sections, distinguishable by clear headings and subtitles (see the table below for more details). Please, note that the title of each section is your compass to navigate both your topic and your selected theories.

Make sure that each section is coherent and that the argument draws on and follows the selected subtitle.

The paper should be structured as follows:

Introduction	The first part clearly identifies the puzzle of the research (<i>what does the paper seek to explain?</i>) and provides core factual background information on the selected topics (<i>What? When? Who?...</i>). This section should also give an overview of the entire paper.
Theoretical framework	The second part offers a first theoretical explanation (<i>why?</i>) for the selected issue/event/decision/foreign policy behavior. It summarizes the core assumptions of the selected approach. It offers a coherent explanation of the selected topic through the lens of this approach. This part should also provide justification for choosing this theoretical framework by explaining how it supports the research question. Studies that focused on similar research questions can be also used as justification for the selection.
Methodology	The third part presents the methodology applied in the research; the rationale for case selection; the data analyzed (...). This section should address the following questions: Why a particular methodology was selected? What units of analysis does it include and how does it link back to the theoretical framework? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen methods?
Analysis	The fourth part analyses the selected case study through your selected theoretical and methodological lens (...). This part reveals a personal and critical understanding of the sources & methodologies analyzed in the literature review. Points to the gap in the literature and/or the significance of the proposed study based on the research question. Integrates primary research findings with the secondary literatures in a coherent way. The analysis supports the research question.
Concluding remarks	A summary of your argument sustained by a critical analysis of both selected theories/concepts and events. This section links back to the introduction, addresses the research question and the main points discussed in the analysis section. This section also paves the way for further research, pointing to the gaps that this study highlights and explains what can be done to fill them.
Bibliography	The bibliography should include separate sections for primary and secondary sources. This section should include clear documentation of sources using Harvard style.

Grading form:

The following criteria will be applied in assessing your written work:

- Evidence of understanding of the concepts, theories and ideas developed in the course;
- Clear statements of guiding questions and subsequent conclusions;
- Empirical precision: correct interpretation and reproduction of factual information;
- Provision of a clearly focused topic, a logical and well-organized analysis;
- Capacity to analyze and to develop a critical assessment of both empirical as well as theoretical materials;
- Capacity to synthesize arguments and to apply theory to empirical information;
- Grammatically correct text; Language, style, clarity, organization of papers and work;
- Referencing, use of academic sources (academic journals, monographs);
- Clear documentation of your sources (see below for more details).

	(0-1)	(2-3)	(4-5)
Ability to summarize a complex factual background	Some factual information is missing or the topic is not clearly identified	Most relevant information is presented but the topic is not clearly identified	Key facts are presented in an original, succinct, and analytical manner.
Understanding and capacity to apply theoretical frameworks	Theories and concepts are simply mentioned. Cited theoretical information is not relevant to the topic analyzed. None of the explanations is convincing to explain the empirical case.	One theory or concept is confusing or oversimplified. Theories and concepts are not coherently related to the selected topic. Only one explanation is really convincing to explain the empirical case.	Both theories and concepts are presented clearly in their full complexity. Explanations are convincing if one shares their theoretical assumptions.
Critical thinking	The paper underlines poor critical thinking skills, and a very limited ability to assess major aspects, limitations of a given core concept.	The paper highlights some evidence of critical thinking skills, including a limited ability to assess major aspects, limitations of a given core concept.	The paper highlights excellent critical thinking skills, including the very good ability to assess major aspects, limitations of a given core concept.
Structure, bibliography and references	The paper is loosely structured. Language is poor. References are incomplete and quoted in an improper manner.	The argument is not developed in a coherent way; At least 5 <i>good</i> references (peer-reviewed articles or published books)	The argument is developed in a coherent and appropriate way; Language is overall correct; At least 7 good references covering factual background and theories.

System of bibliographic referencing

There are many systems for the citation of references. For this course, I expect you to use the Harvard style of referencing which is a name and date system.

In the Harvard system, the author's surname, year of publication and, for direct quotes, page numbers are **cited** in the text of your work. Full details of the books/articles are included in a **reference list** at the end of the assignment.

Students can find a detailed Harvard Guide at the following website:

<http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk/referencing/referencing.htm>. Please, also consult the following short guide for "Acknowledging, Paraphrasing, and Quoting Sources", available at: writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/Acknowledging_Sources.pdf

Harvard style of referencing - Examples:

In-text citation:

Both unities of discourses and objects are formed “by means of a group controlled decisions” (Foucault, 2011:32).

Habermas acknowledges the crucial function of language as a “medium of domination and social force” (1974:17, in Forchtner, 2011:9).

In your reference list:

How to quote books:

Held, D. (1980). *Introduction to Critical Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas*. Berkley: University of California Press.

How to quote chapters in edited books:

Wæver, O. (1995), ‘Securitization and Desecuritization’, in Ronnie, D. L. (ed.) *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 46-86.

How to quote articles:

Foucault, M. (1982), ‘The Subject and Power’. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4): 777-795.

How to quote electronic sources:

Thatcher M (1992), Europe’s Political Architecture, Speech in the Hague delivered on the 15th May 1992, available at the Margaret Thatcher Foundation:

<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/speeches/displaydocument.asp?docid=108296>, retrieved on 8 June, 2012.

Grading Scale of Vesalius College

Vesalius College grading policy, in line with the Flemish Educational norms, is now as stated follows:

Letter grade	Scale of 20	Scale of 100
A	17.0-20.0	85-100
A-	16.1-16.9	81-84
B+	15.3-16.0	77-80
B	14.5-15.2	73-76
B-	13.7-14.4	69-72
C+	13.1-13.6	66-68
C	12.3-13.0	62-65
C-	11.5-12.2	58-61
D+	10.7-11.4	54-57
D	10.0-10.6	50-53
F	0-9.9	0-49

Additional Course Policies

- Students that are not able to attend class should warn the instructor (personally or via e-mail). One not justified absence is tolerated. A second unjustified absence will lead to a sanction.
- Once class has started, please do not leave the classroom.
- Feel free to bring drinks to class, but no food, please.
- Using laptops during class is allowed. Having computers on during class can although be distracting to other students. You should not spend class time checking email/FB or doing homework for your other classes.
- **It goes without saying that all students are required to come to classes well-prepared with all of their reading assignments promptly and thoroughly completed.** Students are also encouraged to keep a reading-log with which they can structure their note-taking and deepen their understanding of the set texts.
- Soft copies of the written essays should be sent **NLT 22nd of June 2017**, before start of the class. The penalty for late submission is 25% of the whole value of the written assignment. Assignments that are more than a week late won't be graded. Respect all given deadlines.
- Grammar, spelling and punctuation count, so use the tools necessary to correct before handing in assignments

Academic Honesty Statement

Academic dishonesty is **NOT** tolerated in this course.

Academic honesty is not only an ethical issue but also the foundation of scholarship. Cheating and plagiarism are therefore serious breaches of academic integrity.

Following the College policy, cheating and plagiarism cases will be communicated in writing to the Associate Dean for Students and submitted to the Student Conduct Committee for disciplinary action.

If you refer to someone else's work, appropriate references and citations must be provided.

Course Schedule

The class schedule has been split into four thematic sections: “Introduction: Definitions, Actors, & Ideologies”, “Practices & Tactics of Terrorist Groups”, “Practices & Tactics of Countering Terror”, and “Analyses of Current Situations”. Please note that assignments are subject to change depending on the pace of the class and current events.

***Books/Sources:** All resources will be provided in PDF formats, or with links. You will not need to purchase any course materials.

Week	Subject	Teacher
Week 1	Introduction, Defining “terrorism” History of terrorist movements Narratives, ideologies & inspirations of violence as a tool	Serge Stroobants
Week 2	Mapping the actors in terrorism: sponsors, collaborators, sympathizers, antagonists How terrorist organizations form and survive	Serge Stroobants
Week 3	How organizations choose their targets, and how they measure success How the international community and media responds to terrorism Mid-term Exam	Serge Stroobants
Week 4	Counterterrorism efforts on a global scale Intelligence analysis & sharing U.S. policy & strategies reviewed	Serge Stroobants
Week 5	Analysis of Daesh in Syria & Iraq Analysis of Yemen & Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula	Serge Stroobants
Week 6	Analysis of Somalia & Al Shabbab Analysis of Nigeria & Boko Haram Preventative Practices	Serge Stroobants
Week 7	Final Exam	Serge Stroobants

I. Introduction: Definitions, Actors, & Ideologies

Class 1: Introduction & Defining Terrorism

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*: 13-41.
- Assaf Moghadam, Ronit Berger, and Polina Beliakova. "Say Terrorist, Think Insurgent: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol 8, No 5 (2014).
- U.S. Department of State, "Legislative Requirements and Key Terms", *Country Reports on Terrorism* (2005): 8-10.

Optional:

- Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoeffler, "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16:4 (2004): 777-794.

Class 2: Driving Ideologies, Politics & Religion

- David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004): 46-73.
- Richard English, *Terrorism: How to Respond*: 27-55.
- Stuart Gottlieb, *Debating Terrorism & Counterterrorism*: 1-30

Optional:

- Carolo Pisacane, *Propaganda by the Deed*, (1857).
<https://robertgraham.wordpress.com/2011/09/22/carolo-pisacane-propaganda-by-the-deed-1857/>
- Mikhail Bakunin, *Letters to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis*, (1870).
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1870/letter-frenchman.htm>

Class 3: Mapping Actors

- Daniel J. Byman, *The Changing Nature of State Sponsorship*: 3-23, 25-31, and 40-41.
- Geoffrey Jambere, Puay Hock Goh, Pranav Kumar & Fulgence Msafir, "The Finances of Lashkar-E-Taiba", *Combating Terrorism Exchange 1:1* (2011): 6-16
- Charles Townsend, "Methods which all civilized opinion must condemn: The League of Nations and international action against terrorism". *International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences*: 34-47.

Optional:

- Stevel Coll, "Anatomy of a Victory: CIA's Covert Afghan War".
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/07/19/anatomy-of-a-victory-cias-covert-afghan-war/1bd10b14-a0cc-441c-99cc-d2b5d1ba6e2d/>

II. Practices & Tactics of Terrorist Groups

Class Four: Needs & Conditions for Sustainable Terrorist Groups- The Afghan Taliban & the Haqqani Network

- Thomas Ruttig, “How It All Began: A Short Look at the Pre-1979 Origins of Afghanistan’s Conflicts. *Afghanistan Analysts Network*.
- Gilles Doronsoro, *The Taliban’s Winning Strategy in Afghanistan*: 12-29.
- Gretchen Peters, *Haqqani Network Financing: The Evolution of an Industry*: 32-66.

Optional:

- Kim Craigin, “Hizballah, the Party of God”: 37-54.
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG332.pdf

Class Five: Strategic Violence, Choosing Targets & Assessing Success

- Andrew H. Kydd, Barbara Walters, “The Strategies of Terrorism”, *International Security Vol. 31. No. 1 (Summer 2006)*: 56-78
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*: 229-256.

Assignment: Chose a terrorist attack (from any period, any group) and analyze why that respective group may have chosen that specific target. List possible advantages and disadvantages to choosing that target. This can be in note form, and you should not spend more than thirty minutes on this assignment.

III. Practices & Tactics of Countering Terror

Class Six: Immediate International & National Responses - Post-9/11

- The Heritage Foundation, “The U.S. and Int’l Responses to 9/11”.
<http://www.heritage.org/research/projects/enemy-detention/response-to-911>
- Tomasz Pludowski, *How the World’s News Media Reacted to 9/11*. Chapters TBD.
<http://www.marquettebooks.com/images/911Book.pdf>

Class Seven: Counterterrorism on a Global Scale & Intelligence Analysis

- Daniel O’Donnell, “International Treaties against terrorism and the use of terrorism during armed conflict and by armed forces”.
- Stuart Gottlieb, “Chapter 9: Can International Organizations Make a Difference in Fighting Terrorism?” *Debating Terrorism & Counter Terrorism*: 276-311.
- Kristin Archick, “U.S.-EU Cooperation Against Terrorism”: 1-13.
https://books.google.be/books?hl=en&lr=&id=y9zJdhsXkwUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=US+Counterterrorism+Strategy+human+rights&ots=LMbrSBuGAg&sig=XTmqic7_9eQdynZ-8fMsI0axGsk#v=onepage&q&f=false

Optional:

- UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2002).
[http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/specialmeetings/2012/docs/United%20Nations%20Security%20Council%20Resolution%201373%20\(2001\).pdf](http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/specialmeetings/2012/docs/United%20Nations%20Security%20Council%20Resolution%201373%20(2001).pdf)

Class Eight: U.S. Policy Towards Extremism & Strategy

- National Security Strategy of the United States (September 2002): 1-31.
<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>
- Ivan Greenberg, “From Surveillance to Torture: the evolution of US interrogation practices during the war on terror”: 1-15.
<http://goodtimesweb.org/analysis/2015/sj20157a.pdf>

IV. Analysis of Current Situations

Class Nine: Syria & Iraq - Daesh

- Cole Bunzel, “From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State” *The Brookings Institute* :4-37.
<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2015/03/ideology-of-islamic-state-bunzel/the-ideology-of-the-islamic-state.pdf>
- Kathleen J. McInnis, “Coalition Contributions to Countering the Islamic State” *Congressional Research Service*.
<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R44135.pdf>
- Economics of Peace, “Foreign Fighters in Iraq & Syria”, *Global Terrorism Index 2015*: 45-48.

Optional:

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Why Drones Fail: When Tactics Drive Strategy”.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/somalia/2013-06-11/why-drones-fail>
- Daniel Byman, “Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington’s Weapon of Choice”.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/somalia/2013-06-11/why-drones-work>

Class Ten: Yemen & Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Somalia & Al Shabbab, Nigeria & Boko Haram

- Interview with April Longley Alley and Zarchy Laub, “Who Are Yemen’s Houthis?”
<http://www.cfr.org/yemen/yemens-houthis/p36178>
- Council on Foreign Relations, “Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)”
<http://www.cfr.org/yemen/al-qaeda-arabian-peninsula-aqap/p9369>

Al Shabbab:

- Ken Menkhaus. “The Crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in Five Acts,” *African Affairs*, Vol 106, 2007, 357-390.
<http://users.polisci.wisc.edu/schatzberg/ps362/Menkhaus2007.pdf>
- International Crisis Group, *Counter-Terrorism in Somalia: Losing Hearts and Minds*, July 2005,
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/095-counter-terrorism-in-somalia-losing-hearts-and-minds.aspx>
- International Crisis Group, *Somalia: Al-Shabaab – It Will Be a Long War*, June 2014,
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/b099-somalia-al-shabaab-it-will-be-a-long-war.aspx>

Optional:

- “A Former al-Shaabab Member Tells His Story,”
<http://www.dw.de/a-former-al-shabab-fighter-tells-his-story/a-18129357>

Boko Haram:

- The International Crisis Group. *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency* :2-41.
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>
- John Campbell. *U.S. Policy to Counter Boko Haram*. Council on Foreign Relations: 3-18.
<http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/us-policy-counter-nigerias-boko-haram/p33806>

Class Eleven: Preventative Practices & Warning Signs

- Andrew Zammit & Muhammad Iqbal, “Indonesia’s New Counter-Terrorism Challenges,” Terrorism Monitor Volume: 13 Issue: 18 September 3, 2015,
http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=44335&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=d0733001ec5260e22fbdd0c5de5118b3
- Other readings TBD.

Class Twelve: Reserve

Final Exam.