Counterterrorism

University of Georgia
Department of International Affairs
Spring 2021

Instructor Information
Professor Justin Conrad
Center for International Trade and Security
120A Holmes-Hunter
Email: Justin.Conrad@uga.edu
Office Hours: By appointment

Course Information
Course: INTL 8292
Time: Tuesdays, 3:30-6:15 p.m.
Location: Candler 214
Social Distance Capacity: 9
Zoom link: https://zoom.us/my/conraduga

---

1 Course Description

This course surveys the evolution of counterterrorism strategies and tactics as a response to modern terrorist campaigns. The course considers the logic and strategy of terrorism, and systematically examines the efficacy of various counterterrorism responses. The course begins with a focus on the history of U.S. counterterrorism efforts, but then takes a comparative approach to understanding the causes and consequences of a range of policies used around the world. Students will examine how terrorists' organizational structures, means of financial and diplomatic support, and use of communications networks influence their resiliency to counterterrorism efforts. Students will also have the opportunity to apply lessons learned to understanding specific counterterrorism campaigns, such as those waged by Israel and Colombia.

2 Course Texts

The following texts are **required**:

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. (2009). *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns.* Princeton University Press.

Katz, Samuel M. (2016). *The Ghost Warriors: Inside Israel's Undercover War Against Suicide Terrorism.* Penguin Random House.

Mueller, John and Mark Stewart. (2016). *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism.* Oxford University Press.

The following text is **recommended**:

Pherson, Randolph H, Walter Voskian, Jr and Roy Sullivan. (2017). *Analytic Briefing Guide.* Globalytica.

3   Evaluation

- Discussion Leadership (50 pts)

- Participation (60 pts)

- Short Papers (100 pts)

- Final Paper (100 pts)

- Final Presentation (50 pts)

TOTAL POINTS = 360

3.1   Grading Scale

A	90-100
B	80-89
C	70-79
D	60-69
F	59 and below

3.2   Student Responsibilities

Discussion Leadership
Value: 1 x 50 PTS, 50 PTS total

Each of you will be assigned a seminar to lead. On the day preceding the seminar, you will email the class a set of discussion questions. Topics may include both substantive and methodological issues. As the course progresses, we will be reading more and more empirically-based research. So in addition to your own questions, you should be prepared to lead discussion on the following topics:

- What question motivates the research?

- What is the goal of the researcher? Description, explanation, prediction?

- What is the theory? Is it clear?

- Are the concepts in the theory clearly defined?

- What is the unit of analysis?

- Are the key actors in the theory individuals, groups, states, or something else? Does it matter?

- What are the observable implications of the theory?

- Which implications does the researcher test? What is the central empirical strategy? Is it a qualitative or quantitative design? Is it cross-sectional or a time-series analysis?

- Does this strategy adequately test the theory?

- Are the theoretical concepts validly measured?

- How are the cases selected? Are they an appropriate comparison?

Participation
Value: 12 x 5 PTS, 60 PTS total

All students are required to have completed the required readings for each week before class begins, and everyone should be prepared to discuss the readings during class. Intelligent participation will be highly valued throughout your professional career and you should practice this ability now. I expect you to provide evidence that you have done the readings in a thoughtful and careful manner. After each class meeting I will assign a participation grade that takes into account the frequency and quality of your contributions. The following scale will be used for scoring your participation:

- 5: The student made a very strong contribution to the class. Comments were thoughtful and constructive.

- 3-4: The student contributed meaningfully to the course. Comments went beyond simply repeating the assigned material, but did not demonstrate strong insights.

- 1-2: The student did not contribute meaningfully. Comments were limited to repeating the assigned material rather than making connections or extensions, or were inaccurate.

- 0: The student did not speak in class.

Short Papers
Value: 4 x 25 PTS, 100 PTS total

You will produce five short (750-1000 words) papers during the semester. In each paper, you will apply course material and concepts to contemporary counterterrorism challenges. These papers are written in response to a set of provided questions and require you to demonstrate knowledge of weekly course material coupled with your own thoughts and interpretations. Short papers are due by midnight, the day before class.

Final Paper
Value: 1 x 100 PTS, 100 PTS total

You will produce a 15 to 20-page research design paper on a topic engaging terrorism and counterterrorism. Instructor approval of topics will be required early in the semester. You are expected to work on your paper over the course of the semester.

Final Presentation
Value: 1 x 50 PTS, 50 PTS total

In the last weeks of class, you will present your papers in 10-12 minute presentations. We will stop after each presentation and take time to provide feedback. Grades will be based on the quality of both your presentation and your answers to questions afterward.

3.3 COVID-19 Procedures and Policies

Course Plan
Our classroom for the semester is limited by social distance guidelines to a maximum of 9 people at any given time. We will develop a schedule so that roughly half of the class can attend in-person each week while the other half will connect synchronously through Zoom. This will give each student the opportunity to attend an in-person session every other week of the semester. Some additional items:

- Each week's class will be recorded and will be made available online for a limited (TBD) period of time.

- If you are attending an in-person session, please bring a laptop with the ability to connect to Zoom.

- If you are connecting through Zoom remotely, please make sure that your workspace is free from distractions.

Face Coverings
Effective July 15, 2020, the University of Georgia - along with all University System of Georgia (USG) institutions - requires all faculty, staff, students and visitors to wear an appropriate face covering while inside campus facilities/buildings where six feet social distancing may not always be possible. Face covering use is in addition to and is not a substitute for social distancing. Anyone not using a face covering when required will be asked to wear one or must leave the area. Reasonable accommodations may be made for those who are unable to wear a face covering for documented health reasons. Students seeking an accommodation related to face coverings should contact Disability Services at https://drc.uga.edu/.

DawgCheck
Please perform a quick symptom check each weekday on DawgCheck - on the UGA app or website - whether you feel sick or not. It will help health providers monitor the health situation on campus: https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/

What do I do if I have symptoms?
Students showing symptoms should self-isolate and schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5 p.m.). Please DO NOT walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies.

What do I do if I am notified that I have been exposed?
Students who learn they have been directly exposed to COVID-19 but are not showing symptoms should self-quarantine for 14 days consistent with Department of Public Health (DPH) and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines. Please correspond with your instructor via email, with a cc: to Student Care & Outreach at sco@uga.edu, to coordinate continuing your coursework while self-quarantined. If you develop symptoms, you should contact the University Health Center to make an appointment to be tested. You should continue to monitor your symptoms daily on DawgCheck.

How do I get a test?
Students who are demonstrating symptoms of COVID-19 should call the University Health Center. UHC is offering testing by appointment for students; appointments may be booked by calling 706-542-1162. UGA will also be recruiting asymptomatic students to participate in surveillance tests. Students living in residence halls, Greek housing and off-campus apartment complexes are encouraged to participate.

What do I do if I test positive?
Any student with a positive COVID-19 test is required to report the test in DawgCheck and should self-isolate immediately. Students should not attend classes in-person until the isolation period is completed. Once you report the positive test through DawgCheck, UGA Student Care and Outreach will follow up with you.

4 Administrative Policies

4.1 Academic Integrity

Each student in this course is expected to abide by UGA's Academic Honesty Policy and the university's Student Honor Code. In short, this means that cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students violating the Academic Honesty Policy in this course will receive a minimum penalty of a grade of zero for the assignment or test in question and may receive an "F" in the course and referral to the Academic Honesty Policy.

4.2 Prohibition on Recording Lectures

In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center, students may not make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course. Students who have a recording accommodation agree in writing that they:

- Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.

- Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.

- Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.

- Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.

- Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.

- Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

4.3 Students with Disabilities

If you plan to request accommodations for a disability, please register with the Disability Resource Center (DRC). The DRC can be reached by visiting Clark Howell Hall, by calling 706-542-8719 (voice) or 706-542-8778 (TTY), or by visiting http://drc.uga.edu

4.4   Mental Health and Wellness Resources

If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit https://sco.uga.edu. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services. UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga) or crisis support (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies). If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center. Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

4.5   Diversity and Inclusion

The University of Georgia is committed to maintaining a fair and respectful environment for living, work and study. To that end, and in accordance with federal and state law, University System of Georgia policy, and University policy, the University prohibits harassment of or discrimination against any person because of race, color, sex (including sexual harassment and pregnancy), sexual orientation, gender identity, ethnicity or national origin, religion, age, genetic information, disability, or veteran status by any member of the University Community on campus, in connection with a University program or activity, or in a manner that creates a hostile environment for any member of the University Community.

5 Course Schedule

This schedule is a guide for the course and is subject to change at my discretion.

Week 1: Course Introduction
Note: Entire class will meet remotely this week via the Zoom link.

Week 2: Terrorism and Counterterrorism

Readings:
Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press), Ch. 1 (pg. 1-41).

McCann, Wesley S. and Nicholas Pimley. 2018. Mixed mandates: Issues concerning organizational and statutory definitions of terrorism in the United States. *Terrorism and Political Violence* DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1404457.

Paul R. Pillar, Counterterrorist instruments, in *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy* (Washington: Brookings, 2001).

Wray, Christopher. 2020. *Worldwide Threats to the Homeland.* Statement Before the House Homeland Security Committee. September 27.

Week 3: The Evolution of Counterterrorism

DUE: Short Paper #1

Readings:
Cruickshank, Paul. 2018. A view from the CT foxhole: Nicholas Rasmussen, former Director, National Counterterrorism Center. *CTC Sentinel* 11(1): 12-17.

Byman, Daniel. 2017. Explaining Al-Qaeda's decline. *Journal of Politics* 79(3): 1106-1117.

Phillips, Brian. 2017. Deadlier in the U.S.? On lone wolves, terrorist groups, and attack lethality. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29: 533-549.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends* (Princeton University Press), Introduction (pg. 1-14).

Wright, Lawrence. 2002. The Counter-Terrorist. *New Yorker.* January 14.
https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/01/14/the-counter-terrorist

Week 4: U.S. Counterterrorism Bureaucracy

DUE: Proposed Research Question and Hypothesis

Readings:
Clarke, Susan E. and Chenoweth, Erica, 2006. The politics of vulnerability: Constructing local performance regimes for homeland security. *Review of Policy Research*, 23(1), pp.95-114.

Kettl, D.F., 2003. Contingent coordination: Practical and theoretical puzzles for homeland security. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 33(3), pp.253-277.

Mueller, John and Stwart, Mark. 2016. *Chasing Ghosts* (Oxford University Press), Ch. 1 (pg 13-52) and Ch. 5 (pg 133-149).

McCarthy, Michael T. USA Patriot Act. *Harvard Journal on Legislation* (2002): 435-453.

May, P.J., Jochim, A.E. and Sapotichne, J., 2011. Constructing homeland security: An anemic policy regime. *Policy Studies Journal*, 39(2), pp.285-307.

Wise, C.R. and Nader, R., 2002. Organizing the federal system for homeland security: Problems, issues, and dilemmas. *Public Administration Review*, 62(s1), pp.44-57.

Week 5: The Counterterrorism Spectrum I

DUE: Short Paper #2

Readings:
Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends* (Princeton University Press), Chapter 5 (pg. 115-146).

Lyall, Jason, 2009. Does indiscriminate violence incite insurgent attacks? Evidence from Chechnya. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(3), pp.331-362.

Lyall, Jason, 2010. Are coethnics more effective counterinsurgents? Evidence from the second Chechen war. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1), pp.1-20.

Dugan, Laura and Chenoweth, Erica, 2012. Moving beyond deterrence: The effectiveness of raising the expected utility of abstaining from terrorism in Israel. *American Sociological Review*, 77(4), pp.597-624.

Nagl, John A., Amos, James F., Sewall, Sarah and Petraeus, David H., 2008. *The US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual.* (University of Chicago Press), Chapter 1 (pg. 12-42).

Week 6: The Counterterrorism Spectrum II

Readings:
Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends* (Princeton University Press), Chapter 1 (pg. 14-34).

Price, Bryan, 2012. Targeting top terrorists: How leadership decapitation contributes to counterterrorism. *International Security*, 36(4), pp.9-46.

Tominaga, Yasutaka, 2018. Killing two birds with one stone? Examining the diffusion effect of militant leadership decapitation. *International Studies Quarterly.*

Johnston, Patrick. 2012. Does decapitation work? Assessing the effectiveness of leadership targeting in counterinsurgency campaigns. *International Security*, 36(4), pp.47-79.

Jordan, Jenna. 2014. Attacking the leader, missing the mark: Why terrorist groups survive decapitation strikes. *International Security*, 38(4), pp.7-38.

Shane, Scott. 2015. The lessons of Anwar al-Awlaki. *New York Times.* August 27. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/30/magazine/the-lessons-of-anwar-al-awlaki.html.

Week 7: The Counterterrorism Spectrum III

DUE: Short Paper #3

Readings:
Zegart, Amy. 2007. *Spying Blind* (Princeton University Press), Chapter 1 (pg. 1-11).

Walsh, James Igoe. 2010. *The International Politics of Intelligence Sharing* (Columbia University Press), pg. 1-25.

Maddrell, Paul. 2009. Failing intelligence: US intelligence in the age of transnational threats. *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 22(2), pp.195-220.

Jensen, Richard Bach, 2017. The secret agent, international policing, and anarchist terrorism: 1900-1914. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(4), pp.735-771.

Waxman, M.C., 2009. Police and national security: American local law enforcement and

counterterrorism after 9/11. J. *Nat'l Sec. L. Policy*, 3, p.377.

Shaffer, Ryan, 2018. Perspectives and challenges in the policing of terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(1), pp.174-180.

Mueller, John and Stewart, Mark. 2016. *Chasing Ghosts* (Oxford University Press), Ch. 6 (pg 149-169).

Conrad, Justin and Spaniel, William, 2021. *Militant Competition: How Terrorists and Insurgents Advertise with Violence and How They Can Be Stopped* (Cambridge University Press), Ch. 4 (pg. 79-108).

Week 8: The Counter Terrorism Spectrum IV

Readings:
Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends* (Princeton University Press), Chapter 2 (pg. 35-72).

Berrebi, Claude, 2007. Evidence about the link between education, poverty and terrorism among Palestinians. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 13(1).

Fearon, James, 2008. Economic development, insurgency, and civil war. *Institutions and Economic Performance*, pp. 292-328.

Walter, Barbara F., 1997. The critical barrier to civil war settlement. *International Organization*, 51(3), pp.335-364.

Collier, Paul and Hoeffler, Anke, 2004. Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), pp.563-595.

Week 9: Organizational Structure

DUE: Short Paper #4

Readings:
Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends* (Princeton University Press), pg. 94-104.

Krebs, Valdis. 2002. Uncloaking terrorist networks. *First Monday*, 7(4).
http://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/941/863

Ressler, Steve. 2006. Social network analysis as an approach to combat terrorism: Past, present, and future research. *Homeland Security Affairs*, 2(2).

Abrahms, Max and Conrad, Justin, 2017. The strategic logic of credit claiming: A new theory for anonymous terrorist attacks. *Security Studies*, 26(2), pp.279-304.

Kilberg, Joshua, 2012. A basic model explaining terrorist group organizational structure. *Studies in Conflict Terrorism*, 35(11), pp.810-830.

Alakoc, Burcu Pinar, 2017. Competing to kill: Terrorist organizations versus lone wolf terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(3), pp. 509-532.

Week 10: Terrorist Use of the Internet and Cyberterrorism

Readings:
Denning, Dorothy E., 2012. Stuxnet: What has changed? *Future Internet*, 4(3), pp. 672-687.

Denning, Dorothy E., 2007. A view of cyberterrorism 5 years later. *Internet Security: Hacking, Counterhacking, and Society*, pp.123-139.

Cavelty, Myriam Dunn, 2008. Cyber-terror: looming threat or phantom menace? The framing of the US cyber-threat debate. *Journal of Information Technology Politics*, 4(1), pp.19-36.

Sardarnia, Khalil and Safizadeh, Rasoul, 2017. The internet and its potentials for networking and identity seeking: A study on ISIS. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, pp. 1-18.

Mitts, Tamar. 2020. Countering violent extremism and radical rhetoric. *International Organization*, Forthcoming.

Holt, Thomas J., Jin Ree Lee, Joshua D. Freilich, Steven M. Chermak, Johannes M. Bauer, Ruth Shillair Arun Ross. 2020. An exploratory analysis of the characteristics of ideologically motivated cyberattacks. *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Week 11: Countering State Sponsorship

DUE: Short Paper #5

Readings:
Kupperman, R.H., Van Opstal, D. and Williamson Jr, D., 1982. Terror, the strategic tool: Response and control. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 463(1), pp.24-38.

Karlén, Niklas, 2017. Turning off the taps: The termination of tate sponsorship. *Ter-*

rorism and Political Violence, pp.1-26.

U.S. Department of State. 2019. State sponsors of terrorism. *Country Reports on Terrorism 2019*. Chapter 2. https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2019/

Conrad, Justin, 2011. Interstate rivalry and terrorism: An unprobed link. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(4), pp.529-555.

Sick, Gary, 2003. Iran: Confronting terrorism. *Washington Quarterly*, 26(4), pp.83-98.

O'brien, Sean P., 1996. Foreign policy crises and the resort to terrorism: A time-series analysis of conflict linkages. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40(2), pp.320-335.

Week 12: Counterterrorism and Liberty

Readings:
Walsh, James I. and Piazza, James A., 2010. Why respecting physical integrity rights reduces terrorism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(5), pp.551-577.

Mueller, John and Stewart, Mark. 2016. *Chasing Ghosts* (Oxford University Press), Ch. 2 (pg 53-89) and Ch. 7 (pg 169-199).

Dreher, Axel, Gassebner, Martin and Siemers, Lars H., 2010. Does terrorism threaten human rights? Evidence from panel data. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 53(1), pp.65-93.

Gross, Michael L., Canetti, Daphna and Vashdi, Dana R., 2016. The psychological effects of cyber terrorism. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 72(5), pp.284-291.

Daxecker, Ursula E. and Hess, M.L., 2013. Repression hurts: coercive government responses and the demise of terrorist campaigns. *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(3), pp.559-577.

Schiemann, John W. 2017. Interrogating torture. *Journal of Politics*, 79(4), pp. 1469-1483.

Week 13: Comparing Counterterrorism Campaigns

Readings:
Gerring, John, 2004. What is a case study and what is it good for?. *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), pp.341-354.

Seawright, John and Gerring, Jason, 2008. Case selection techniques in case study research: A menu of qualitative and quantitative options. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), pp.294-

308.

Pape, Robert A., 2003. The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 97(3), pp.343-361.

Ashworth, Scott, Clinton, Joshua D., Meirowitz, Adam and Ramsay, Kristopher W., 2008. Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 102(2), pp.269-273.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends* (Princeton University Press), Chapter 7 (pg. 167-197).

Freilich, Charles David. 2017. Israel's counter-terrorism policy: how effective? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(2), pp.359-376.

Delgado, Jorge E. 2017. The Colombian case: Rebranding counterinsurgency as counterterrorism. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Counterterrorism Policy* (pp. 295-312). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Katz, Samuel M. 2016. *The Ghost Warriors: Inside Israel's Undercover War Against Suicide Terrorism* (Penguin Random House).

Week 14: Final Presentations

Week 15: Final Presentations

FINAL PAPERS DUE: WEDNESDAY, MAY 5

6 Syllabus Changes

The policies, assignments and readings contained in this syllabus are subject to change with advance notice.