

New York University
Wagner Graduate School of Public Service
PADM-GP 2421
Global Center 379

Terrorism and Counterterrorism Policy

Professor Timothy Naftali
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Fall 2016
Puck 3009
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 11 am-Noon or by email appointment

Course Objectives:

- a) To develop an understanding of the history of counterterrorism policy (especially US policy)
- b) To develop an understanding of the lifecycles of different historical terrorist organizations and the effectiveness of countermeasures
- c) To learn and understand the various instruments for conducting counterterrorism policy
- d) To acquire an understanding of the current geopolitical and local (target state) political context in which US counterterrorism policy is developed
- e) To acquire an understanding of the current terrorist threat (ISIS/ISIL)
- f) To explore various policy options to counter contemporary terrorist threats.
- g) To learn how to write a good analytical policy memo

Course Requirements:

- 1) Three short (3-page) papers: (15% x 3) 45%
- 2) Class Participation: 15%
- 3) Final (10-page) Long Paper: 40%

Course Policies:

1. Short Paper Guidelines:

Over the course of the semester, the students will be required to write 3 three-page reaction papers to the reading. The instructor will offer five opportunities to write these papers. If the student elects to write on more than three only the top three grades will count. The topics or questions of each paper and its format, which the instructor will provide the students ahead of time, will reflect the cases or issues discussed in the class for which it is assigned. Papers must be double-spaced, with one-inch margins and numbered pages. They may be emailed to the instructor and are due before the start of the class where the issue in question will be discussed.

2. Long Paper guidelines:

The long paper will be a ten-page analytical study of the lifecycle of an historical terrorist group that includes an evaluation of the effectiveness of state counterterrorism strategies/policies. The student will determine the focus of the paper in consultation with the instructor.

3. Moses Center for Students with Disabilities:

If you are student with a disability who is requesting accommodations, please contact New York University's Moses Center for Students with Disabilities. You must be registered with CSD to receive accommodations. Information about the Moses Center can be found at www.nyu.edu/csd. The Moses Center is located at 726 Broadway (second floor).

4. Religious holidays:

NYU's policy is to accommodate students' observances of religious holidays. In order to receive accommodation, you must notify the instructor during the first two weeks of the semester of any planned absences related to religious observance. Further details on NYU's policies may be found at: <https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/university-calendar-policy-on-religious-holidays.html>.

5. Academic honesty:

Intellectual integrity is the university's most fundamental commitment. Plagiarism of any kind will be penalized to the fullest possible extent, without warning or exception.

The most common causes of plagiarism are not deliberate dishonesty, but stress and uncertainty. You are encouraged to begin assignments well in advance of the deadline, and to check with the instructor if you have any questions. Whenever you draw upon somebody else's words or ideas to make a point, give them credit in a note. If you have questions about documentation requirements, don't guess –just ask.

For further details on university policy, strictly adhered to in this class, see <http://cas.nyu.edu/page/ug.academicintegrity>.

Course materials

All books with an asterisk have been ordered to the NYU Bookstore on Broadway and their purchase is recommended. Materials found on the course website are indicated by a “+”.

* = NYU Bookstore

+ = Course Website

September 6: Origins of Terrorism/Counterterrorism

Required Reading:

- 1) Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, (2007), pp. 175-196; 208-217+
- 2) Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism* (2005), 1-53+

September 13: Revolutionary Left-Wing Terrorism in Cold War Europe

Required Reading (Pick One):

- a) Donatella della Porta: *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (1995), 9-54; 83-149+
- b) Stefan Aust, *Baader-Meinhof: The Inside Story of the R.A.F.* (2008), 6-176; 218-228; 305-319; 350-354; 372-420; 432-437+

September 20: The Origins of Modern Terrorism and US Counterterrorism

- 1) Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (revised edition, 2006), 13-129*
- 2) Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism* (2005), 54-149*

September 27: Black September and Israel: Did the Tactics Work?

- 1) Bruce Hoffman, "All you Need is Love: How the Terrorists Stopped Terrorism," *The Atlantic*, December 2001
<http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/2001/12/hoffman>
- 2) Simon Reeve, *One Day in September: The Full Story of the 1972 Munich Olympics Massacre and the Israeli Revenge Operation "Wrath of God,"* (2000), 1-124; 160-217; 239-254+

October 4: Reagan and Counterterrorism: Confronting the Problem

Required Reading:

- 1) Libya 1985-87, documents from the Reagan Presidential Library +
- 2) Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism*, New York: Basic Books, 2005, 150-201*
- 3) Robert Gates, *Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War* (2014), 177-193+

First Response Paper Due: October 4

October 11: Hezbollah: Unintended Consequences and Terrorism as Strategy

Required Reading:

- 1) Andrew McCarthy and Fawaz Gerges, "Does Islam Play a Unique Role in Modern Religious Terrorism?" Chapter of *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives, Contexts, and Responses* (2010), pp. 100-130+
- 2) Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah* 11-101*

Second Response Paper Due: October 11

October 18: Hamas

Required Reading:

- 1) Karin von Hippel, Stuart Gottlieb, "Does Poverty Serve as a Root Cause of Terrorism?" Chapter of *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives, Contexts, and Responses* (2010), pp. 34-66
- 2) Jean-Pierre Filiu, *Gaza: A History* (2014), pp. 223-340+
- 3) Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terror in the Service of Jihad* (2006), 8-168*

October 25: Case Studies of Terrorism that Stopped

Required Reading:

1) Seth G. Jones and Martin C. Libicki, "How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering Al Qaida," Rand (2008), pp. 1-43+

Pick one:

a) Yoram Schweitzer and Noam Ophir, "The Rise and Fall of the International Terrorism Strategy of George Habash's "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and its Factions"

b) Andrew Black, "Why do Terrorists Stop?: The Case of the Armed Islamic Group [GIA]"

c) Jonathan Stevenson, "Case Study: The Provisional Irish Republican Army"

d) Peter Waldmann, "The Tupamaros (Uruguay) and the M-19 (Colombia)"

Third Response Paper Due: October 25

November 1: Al Qaeda (Pre 9/11)

Required Reading:

1) Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism*, New York: Basic Books, 2005, 264-274*

2) *9/11 Commission Report* (2004), pp. 108-143; 174-214; 254-277+

3) Henry J. Crumpton, Jr., *The Art of Intelligence: Lessons from a Life in the CIA's Clandestine Service* (2012), 121-160+

November 8: Afghanistan

Required Reading:

1) David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Middle of a Major One* (2008), xiii-xix; preface, prologue, 1-114 *

2) Fotini Christia & Michael Semple, "How to Flip the Taliban," and Steven Simon, "Is

Nation Building Doomed?" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2009+

November 15: Iraq—Creating Terrorism?

Required Reading:

- 1) F. Gregory Gauss III and Jennifer Windsor, "Can Spreading Democracy Help Defeat Terrorism?" Chapter of *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives, Contexts, and Responses* (2010) 235-271+
- 2) Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, 115-185*
- 3) Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (2007), 149-269*
- 4) Robert Gates, *Duty*, pp. 25-79; 223-238+

Fourth Response Paper Due: November 15

November 22: Some Techniques of Post-9/11 CT: How Effective?

Required Reading:

Drones—Targeted Assassinations

- 1) Max Fisher, "Does Killing Terrorist Leaders Make Any Difference? Scholars are Doubtful," August 30, 2016.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/world/middleeast/syria-killing-terrorist-leaders.html>
- 2) Gates, *Duty*, p. 128-133; 297-303; 538-546+
- 3) Leon Panetta, *Worthy Fights: A Memoir of Leadership in War and Peace*, New York: Penguin Press, 2014, pp. 289-331; 385-392+

De-Radicalization

- 1) John Hughes, *Islamic Extremism and the War of Ideas: Lessons from Indonesia* (2010), pp. 37-125+
- 2) Samuel James Rascoff, "Establishing Official Islam? The Law and Strategy of Counter-Radicalization," *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 64(1), pp. 137-161 (2012)
- 3) Joshua Snider, "Beyond Performativity: Islamic State (ISIL) and Indonesia's Counter-

radicalization Challenge,” Middle East Institute (2016)
<http://www.mei.edu/content/map/beyond-performativity-islamic-state-isil-and-indonesia>.

4) Irfan Abubakar, “Effective Strategic Communication in Countering Radicalism in Indonesia,” (2016) <http://apcss.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Countering-radicalism-2016.pdf>.

Enhanced Interrogation Techniques

1) Timothy Naftali: “Did the CIA Go Rogue After 9/11?” Slate December 9, 2014
http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/12/senate_intelligence_report_on_cia_torture_america_s_spy_agency_lied_to_the.html.

2) George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (2011), 152-183 +

3) George Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm: My Years at the CIA*, (2007), 229-257+

Recommended Reading:

Selections from the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report on the Central Intelligence Agency’s Detention and Interrogation Program:
<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/12/09/world/cia-torture-report-document.html>.

November 29: Yemen

Required Reading:

1) Victoria Clark, *Yemen: Dancing on the Heads of Snakes* (2010), 1-175.*

2) Michael Morell, *The Great War of Our Time: The CIA’s Fight Against Terrorism—from al Qa’ida to ISIS*, vii-xvi, 141-42, 177-210, 307-309*

3) Henry A. Crumpton, *The Art of Intelligence: Lessons from a Life in the CIA’s Clandestine Service*, 309-324.+

4) Sarah Philips, “How US Strategy could Empower AQAP in Yemen,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 2015 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2015-08-30/assisting-al-qaeda>.

5) Human Rights Watch, Yemen, Events of 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/yemen>.

6) 2016 Yemen Crisis Situation Report, AEI, July 2016,

<http://www.criticalthreats.org/yemen/yemen-crisis-situation-reports-july-6-2016>.

Fifth Response Paper: Due November 29

December 6: ISIS/ISIL/Daesh

Required Reading:

- 1) Daniel Byman, *Al Qaeda, The Islamic State, and the Global Jihadist Moment: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2015), pp. 187-232.
- 2) Fawaz A. Gerges, *ISIS: A History* (2016), pp. 98-201+
- 3) David Kilcullen, *Blood Year: The Unravelling of Western Counterterrorism* (2016), 1-5, 101-165, 197-232+