

*Syllabus (as of 22 November 2021)*

**YSS3321- "Terrorism & Insurgencies in Contemporary World Politics"**

**Semester 2 - Academic Year 2021-2022**

Dr. Jean-Loup Samaan, Senior Research Fellow, Middle East Institute NUS

Seminars: Tuesday 18:00-19:30 & Friday 18:00-19:30 (Room Y-PgRm1)

Office Hours: Tuesday 16:00-18:00 (location to be determined; email in advance for confirmation)

**Course Overview:**

This course designed for undergraduate students aims to strengthen the knowledge of participants on one of the major issues in international affairs: why and how non-state organizations resort to violence in order to achieve political objectives? More specifically, it looks at two main forms of political violence, terrorism and insurgencies, and explore their historical manifestations. To this aim, the first six sessions cover the main theoretical questions: how to define terrorism and insurgencies? How to characterize their causes, ideologies, tactics? The second part of the course (six sessions) would then explore case studies from different regions (Europe, Asia, Middle East, Africa, Latin America) to enable students to identify similarities and differences in the ways terrorist and insurgent organizations have grown. The final session would wrap up the main lessons and discuss the issue of how terrorism ends and how states (as well as international organizations) design their responses to address this security issue.

**Learning Outcomes:**

1. Gain a thorough understanding of the various forms of terrorism and insurgencies across different regions;
2. Assess their distinct causes and effects of terrorism and other forms of political violence;
3. Compare the different ways states and international organizations have addressed these forms of political violence;
4. Develop analytical skills to write and present evidence-based assessments;

**Assessment:**

Class Participation: Contribution to the group discussions and exercises (15%)

Written assignments: One final 4 000-word essay (50%) due by the beginning of Week 12

In-class exercises: One 15-min presentation on a topic assigned (35%)

**Absence Policy**

Students are expected to attend all classes, and to notify the professor in advance if you will be absent. If you have required fieldwork/class trips for another course, you should discuss this potential absence with the professor in advance. It is your responsibility to get class notes from

your peers and be prepared to rejoin the class after your absence. You will not be penalized for absences if you receive a Medical Certificate or AD Note.

### **Late Submission Policy**

Students are expected to plan and manage their workloads, and to ensure they do not lose work through IT malfunction or inadequate advance planning. Your assignment will be considered late if it misses the deadline without you having secured prior permission. For every late assignment, there will be a penalty, as your grade will go down by half a letter grade per day if you do not submit by the deadline. You will not be penalized for late submission of work if you receive a Medical Certificate or AD Note.

### **Intellectual Property and Privacy**

Our academic model encourages open and penetrating discussion of what can sometimes be challenging materials. Additionally, we seek to cultivate an intellectual space in which, as stated in the Faculty Statement on the Freedom of Expression, “there are no questions that cannot be asked, no answers that cannot be discussed and debated.” This kind of intellectual exploration requires trust and privacy. Therefore, students may not record and/or distribute course discussions, lectures, lecture slides or handouts, readings, videos, or any course related materials without prior permission of the instructor. This includes audio recording, video, transcription, and photography. Lectures and seminars that are delivered in-person, online, or as a pre-recorded videos should never be recorded or distributed beyond the course for which it was intended. Any notes which a student takes for their own learning and retention should not be shared beyond the Yale-NUS community. Students are encouraged to reflect upon and share their own learning experiences and ideas in whatever forum they wish. However, they should not share course content produced by their professors or their peers (e.g. a peer’s essay, comments made in class, posts to the weekly Canvas discussion thread) without prior permission through any channels including social media.

Important Notes: Violation of this policy is addressed in the student Code of Conduct and could result in disciplinary and/or legal consequences. As per Clause F2(a) of Policies Relating To Yale-NUS College Intellectual Property, copyright to an Authored Work shall be owned by the University Member who authored it. Authored Work could include syllabi, tests, examination scripts, study guides, responses on Canvas discussion thread, lecture notes and teaching materials, including lectures recorded on audio and/or visual recordings.

### **Academic Integrity Policy**

Yale-NUS College expects its students to abide by the highest standards of academic integrity as a matter of personal honesty and communal responsibility. Acting with academic integrity requires that (a) students do their own work, (b) students not interfere with the work of others, (c) students accurately and honestly represent the content of their work, and (d) students properly attribute others’ work. Violations of the College’s academic integrity standards undermine both the community and the individual growth of students. Accordingly, they will be addressed with the utmost seriousness and sanctions ranging from grade penalties to expulsion. Examples of violations of academic integrity include plagiarism, copying or sharing homework answers, submitting work completed for one course as ‘new’ work for another course, or fabricating or falsifying research data.

For more information, please visit the Student Services website, Policies and Procedures section: <https://studentlife.yale-nus.edu.sg/policies/academic-integrity/>. The Yale-NUS Library provides resources on citations and plagiarism here: <http://library.yale-nus.edu.sg/avoiding-plagiarism/>.

## Class Climate Policies

*Inclusive and Non-Discriminatory Language:* Faculty and students will endeavor to learn and respect each other's names and preferred pronouns. While we aim to harness and learn from the diverse experiences and identities in our classroom, we will avoid expecting individual students to represent their entire country, culture, gender identity, to name a few.

*Language & Conduct:* Non-discriminatory language and conduct are expected in all aspects of this course, e.g., during in-class discussion and via the weekly Canvas discussion threads. Students should not use racist, sexist, ableist or other discriminatory language in class discussions or written work. Instead, students should be mindful of the diverse scholarly views and be respectful of the various identities present in the class, including but not limited to gender, sex, sexuality, (dis)abilities, socioeconomic class, religion, race, nationalities, language. If you have suggestions to improve class climate and inclusivity, please engage with the professor during office hours, via email, or submit anonymous feedback through Canvas. It can be uncomfortable to talk to a professor about these issues, but it is important that the professor receives timely and constructive feedback with any concerns observed in class that may be disruptive to the class climate and overall learning experience. If you feel uncomfortable speaking with the professor directly or want to consult with another faculty member about difficulties you are facing in the class, please reach out to your Assistant Dean, who can advise you on the process for referring complaints relating to content or behavior that causes offence to the College administration.

*Access Needs:* If you have any physical, psychiatric or learning conditions that may impact your performance in this course, please reach out to your Assistant Dean for advice and referral to further resources.

*Class Discussions:* Some students will be more comfortable or assertive speaking in class than others. Students who tend to speak more frequently, louder, and longer are encouraged to make room in the conversation for other voices and develop their listening skills. At the same time, students who are more reserved about speaking during class are encouraged to participate vocally or in other formats. Please come talk to the professor if participation or classroom discussion dynamics are challenging for you.

## Health and Wellness Policies

Overall personal safety and wellness is of the utmost importance. If you are experiencing undue stress and are concerned that your level of contribution to the class is being affected, please feel free to approach the professor. If you feel that you might benefit from private counselling, please contact your residential staff, Assistant Dean or the Yale-NUS Counselling Centre. For more information on the Counselling Centre, visit <https://studentlife.yale-nus.edu.sg/counselling/>.

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## Course Schedule

### **First Part: Building An Analytical Framework**

#### **Week 1: Defining Terrorism and Insurgency**

*How do we define terrorism? Is there a general consensus by the international community? What are the main differences between terrorism and insurgency?*

Readings:

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 3rd ed, 2017, Columbia University Press: chap.1 "Defining Terrorism", pp.1-45.
- Steven Metz, "Rethinking Insurgency" in: Paul Rich, Isabelle Duyvesteyn (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*, London, Routledge, 2012.

#### **Week 2: The Historical Evolution of Terrorism and Insurgencies**

*Is terrorism a new phenomenon? How did it evolve over time? What have been the reasons behind the emergence of insurgencies?*

Presentation: The French Revolution and the Reign of Terror

Readings:

- David Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism" in: Audrey Kurth Cronin, James Ludes, *Attacking terrorism: elements of a grand strategy*, Georgetown University Press, 2004.
- Tom Parker, Nick Sitter, "The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It's Not Waves, It's Strains", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2016, Vol.28, No.2, pp.197-216.
- Mao Tse-Tung, "Problems of War and Strategy: China's Characteristics and Revolutionary War", 6 November 1938 in: Mao Tse-Tung, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Volume II, 1965.

#### **Week 3: The Root causes of terrorism**

*Why do individuals join terrorist organizations? How can we define the phenomenon of radicalization? What are the remedies?*

Presentation: Current deradicalization programs, principles, and examples

Readings:

- Arie W. Kruglanski, Shira Fishman, "The Psychology of Terrorism: "Syndrome" Versus "Tool" Perspectives", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2006, Vol.18, No.2, pp.193-215.
- Florence Gaub, "The Cult of ISIS", *Survival*, 2016, Vol.58, No.1, pp.113-130

#### **Week 4: The Political Economy of Terrorism and Illicit Networks**

*How does globalization enable the financing of terrorism? What are the ways to address this issue? Is there a specific financial model to terrorist organizations?*

Presentation: What are the tools of international governance against the financing of terrorism?

Readings:

- Jodi Vittori, *Terrorist Financing and Resourcing*, Palgrave, 2011: chaps 4 & 5
- Patrick B. Johnston, Jacob N. Shapiro, Howard J. Shatz, Benjamin Bahney, Danielle F. Jung, Patrick K. Ryan and Jonathan Wallace, *Foundations of the Islamic State: Management, Money, and Terror in Iraq, 2005-2010*, RAND Corporation, 2016: chap 3 "The Organizational Economics of Insurgency and Terrorism"

#### **Week 5: Terrorism and Insurgencies as Military Strategies**

*Is terrorism an effective strategy? What is the essential objective? the primary tactics?*

Presentation: The "Munich Massacre" (1972 Olympic Games), history and legacy

Readings:

- Max Abrahms, "What Terrorist Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy", *International Security*, Spring 2008.
- Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Bombings", *American Political Science Review*, 2003, Vol.97, No.3.
- Ruth Margolies Beitler, "The intifada: Palestinian adaptation to Israeli counterinsurgency tactics", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol.7, No.2, pp.49-73.

#### **Week 6: Terrorists, Insurgents and the New Medias**

*Did the rise of new Medias change the communication of terrorist groups and insurgencies? How can this be addressed?*

Presentation: Is there a responsibility of social network companies in preventing terrorist use of their platforms?

Readings:

- Hillel Nosssek, "'News media'-media events: Terrorist acts as media events", *Communications*, 2008, Vol.33, No.3.
- Jytte Klausen, "Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2015, Vol.38, No.1, pp.1-22.

*(TOPICS FOR WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS RELEASED BY INSTRUCTOR)*

### ***Second Part: Case Studies***

## **Week 7: The IRA and the Northern Ireland Issue**

*What were the root causes behind the growth of the IRA? How did the organization evolve? What are the lessons from the Northern Irish context?*

Presentation: The "Bloody Sunday" (1972), history and legacy

Readings:

- M.L.R. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland? The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement*, Routledge, 1997: chap 1
- Jim Storr, "Irish Republican Insurgency and Terrorism 1969-2007" in: Beatrice Heuser, Eitan Shamir (eds.), *Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies. National Styles and Strategic Cultures*, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

## **Week 8 The FARC in Colombia**

*What were the root causes behind the growth of the FARC? How did the organization evolve? What are the lessons from the Colombian context?*

Presentation: The Colombian Peace Agreement of 2016, context, and implications

Readings:

- Kyle Johnson & Michael Jonsson, "Colombia: Ending the Forever War?", *Survival*, 2013, Vol.55, No.1, pp.67-86.
- Jake Rollow, "Colombia's Conflict Lessons", *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 31, No.3, Fall 2014, pp.86-97.
- International Crisis Group, "The Day After Tomorrow: Colombia's FARC and the End of the Conflict", December 2014. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/andes/colombia/day-after-tomorrow-colombia-s-farc-and-end-conflict>

## **Week 9: Hezbollah & Hamas**

*What were the root causes behind the growth of groups like Hezbollah and Hamas? How did these organizations evolve? What are the lessons from the Levant?*

Presentation: The origins of Hezbollah

Readings:

- Judith Palmer Harik, Margaret Johannsen, "Hezbollah and Hamas: Islamic insurgents with nationalist causes" in: Paul Rich, Isabelle Duyvesteyn, *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*, London, Routledge, 2012.
- Daniel Sobelman, "Learning to Deter: Deterrence Failure and Success in the Israel-Hezbollah Conflict, 2006–16", *International Security*, Volume 41, Number 3, Winter 2016/2017, pp. 151-196.

## **Week 10: From Al Qaeda to Daesh**

*What were the root causes behind the growth of Al Qaeda? How did the organization evolve? How different was the rise of Daesh? What are the relations between both groups? What are the differences between these groups and those studied during weeks 7, 8 & 9?*

Presentation: The origins of Al Qaeda

Readings:

- Fawaz Gerges, *ISIS: A History*, Princeton University Press, 2016, chaps 2 & 8
- Tore Refslund Hamming, "The Al Qaeda–Islamic State Rivalry: Competition Yes, but No Competitive Escalation", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2020, Vol.32, No.1, pp.20-37.

**Week 11: Terrorism and counterterrorism in South Asia**

*What were the root causes behind terrorist groups in South Asia? How did the India-Pakistan conflict impact the rise of terrorism? What are the lessons from the South Asian context?*

Presentation: The Mumbai attacks of 2008, terrorist tactics and India's response

Readings:

- Stephen Tankel, "Beyond the Double Game: Lessons from Pakistan's Approach to Islamist Militancy", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol.41, No.4, 2018.
- Marvin Weinbaum, "Insurgency and Violent Extremism in Pakistan", *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol.28, No.1, 2017.
- Arundhati Bhattacharyya, "India's Counterterrorism Policy: Tackling Terrorism Within State Boundaries" in: *Palgrave Handbook of Global Counterterrorism Policy*, 2017.

**Week 12: Terrorism and Insurgency in the Sahel (2013-2021)**

*What were the root causes behind the growth of Jihadi organizations in the Sahel? Why did France intervene in Mali in 2013? What are the lessons from the Sahelian context?*

Presentation: Causes and consequences of French intervention in Mali, 2013

Readings:

- Christopher Chivvis, *The French War on Al Qaeda in Africa*, Cambridge, 2015: chaps 1 & 8
- Alexander Thurston, *Jihadists of North Africa and the Sahel: Local Politics and Rebel Groups*, Cambridge University Press, 2020: chap 5

**Week 13: How does terrorism end?**

*Are there commonalities in the cases we studied throughout the semester? Can you identify patterns in the way violent armed organizations evolve? Are there good practices in government responses?*

Readings:

- Audrey Kurth Cronin "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups", *International Security*, Vol. 31, No.1, Summer 2006, pp. 7-48.
- Joseba Zulaika & Imanol Murua, "How terrorism ends – and does not end: the Basque case", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 2017, Vol.10, No.2, pp.338-356.