



# Course program and reading list

Semester 2 Year 2023

**School:** Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy B.A

## Introduction to Security Studies and Counter Terrorism

### Lecturer:

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Course No.:	Course Type :	Weekly Hours :	Credit:
3746	Lecture	4	4

Course Requirements :	Group Code :	Language:
Final Paper	232374600	English

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### Course Description

This course introduces students to international security studies (Part I) and counter-terrorism (Part II). Part I of the course is taught by Prof. Assaf Moghadam, and is divided into three blocks. Block I begins by placing security studies in the broader context of the dominant theories of international relations. It then examines key concepts and aspects of both traditional and non-traditional security. Block II provides an overview of key security challenges in the international system, from conventional and nuclear security challenges on one end of the spectrum to proxy wars, insurgency, and information warfare on the other end. Block III surveys the role that force plays within international relations. Using a blend of theory and case studies, the class will explore different functions of force; ideological, religious, and other drivers of violence; and the role of international organizations in managing conflict. Block III ends with a look toward the

future of international security, where we will revisit concepts discussed in class to analyze present-day security problems.

Part II of the course introduces students to the study of terrorism and counter-terrorism and is taught by Prof. Boaz Ganor. Part II is divided into several blocks. In Block VI, we will study the definition of terrorism, analyze different terrorist typologies and actors. Block V will look at terrorist strategy and tactics – including use of traditional and social media, terror as psychological warfare and different terrorist modus operandi. In Block VI, we will touch upon different aspects of counter-terrorism.

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## Course Goals

Block I covers the International System and Theories of International Relations. It seeks to establish a basic understanding of international security within the broader context of international relations. To that end, the class will be introduced to the concept of the international system; read and discuss some of the foundational theories of international relations; and become acquainted with the most prominent theorists. The class will then define, compare, and contrast the various aspects of traditional and non-traditional security.

Block II examines security challenges within the international system. In this block, we will review specific security issues within the international system in greater depth. The first two sessions of the block will cover conventional and nuclear strategy and warfare, respectively. This discussion is then followed by three blocks on irregular warfare. The first two sessions on Irregular Warfare will define the topic and review various types of conflicts within which Irregular Warfare is employed, as well as the evolution of the tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs) commonly seen within these types of conflict. The third session on Irregular Warfare will review prominent case studies. The final session in this block will discuss cyberspace, information warfare, and alternate types of warfare that have witnessed the use of advanced technologies.

Block III focuses on the role of force in international relations. In this block, we will review the types of force (e.g., "hard" vs. "soft") used throughout history and into the present. To illustrate the discussion, we will cover a number of case studies. The last session in this block will focus on the prevalence of international organizations as the primary decision-makers on the use of force (or lack thereof). This section will also review concepts such as Collective Security, Just War Theory, and the differences between Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement, each illustrated with examples and case studies. In the ultimate session, the class will engage with contemporary topics and issues in international security. The discussion will highlight contemporary security problems, and students will apply theories and concepts used in class to the analysis of these problems. These topics are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor, based on developments in the news cycle.

In Block IV, students will study the definitions of terrorism and analyze different terrorist typologies and actors. It seeks to provide the students with a theoretical approach to the

study of terrorism. For that purpose, we will study a proposed definition of terrorism, analyze its advantages and disadvantages, as well as the challenges in achieving an internationally accepted definition of terrorism. We will also propose several typologies to study different terrorist actors (global jihadi terrorism, far right terrorism, lone actor terrorism and state sponsored terrorism). At the end of the block, students will be able to characterize different types of terrorism and analyze their common denominators and difference as well as understand the dilemmas surrounding the definition of terrorism.

Block V will look at terrorist strategy and tactics – including terrorism as a psychological warfare and its use of traditional and social media. We will study different terrorist tactics – including suicide terrorism, hostage barricade and kidnapping as well as Mega Terrorist Attacks (cyber and CBRN). At the end of the block, students will be able to recognize terrorism rationality (cost–benefit analysis from their perspective) and different terrorist tactics.

Block VI will serve as an introduction to counter–terrorism. We will look at the counter–terrorist equation (Countering Terrorism= Countering Motivation x Countering Capabilities), analyze the democratic dilemmas in counter terrorism, and briefly review the different counter–terrorism pillars.

## Grading

<b>Assignment</b>	<b>Submission Deadline</b>	<b>Percentage of Final Grade</b>
Simulation Memo 1	May 28 <sup>th</sup> (end of the day)	10 %
Take-Home Exam Pt. 1	June 18 <sup>th</sup> (end of the day)	40 %
Simulation Memo 2	July 9 <sup>th</sup> (end of the day)	10 %
Take-Home Exam Pt. 2	August 1 <sup>st</sup> (end of the day)	40 %

\* Additional Information will be provided in course and on Moodle throughout the course.

## Additional Notes

### **Course Structure:**

### **PART I: INTRODUCTION TO SECURITY STUDIES**

***Assaf Moghadam***

### **BLOCK I: THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND APPROACHES TO SECURITY**

Lesson 1: The International System and Theories of International Relations

Lesson 2: Traditional Security

Lesson 3: Nontraditional Security

## **BLOCK II: SECURITY CHALLENGES WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

Lesson 4: Conventional Strategy and Warfare

Lesson 5: Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence

Lesson 6: Irregular Warfare I: Introduction

Lesson 7: Irregular Warfare II: Tactics and Strategies

Lesson 8: Cyber-Security and Information Warfare

Lesson 9: Ideology, Religion, and Conflict

## **BLOCK III: FORCE AND DIPLOMACY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Lesson 10: The Use of Force and Diplomacy

Lesson 11: Alliances, Intervention, and Peacekeeping

Lesson 12: Simulation Exercise, Pt. 1

## **PART II: INTRODUCTION TO COUNTER-TERRORISM**

***Prof. Boaz Ganor***

## **BLOCK IV: DEFINITIONS, TYPOLOGIES AND ACTORS**

Lesson 13: Simulation Exercise Pt. 2

Lesson 14: Terrorism Definitions

Lesson 15: Terrorism Typologies

Lesson 16: Lone Actor Terrorism

Lesson 17: Far Right Terrorism

## **BLOCK V: TERRORISM – STRATEGY AND TACTICS**

Lesson 18: Modern Terrorism Strategy – Part 1

Lesson 19: Modern Terrorism Strategy – Part 2

Lesson 20: Suicide Terrorism

Lesson 21: Hostage Barricade and Kidnapping

Lesson 22: Mega Terrorist Attacks

## **BLOCK VI: COUNTER-TERRORISM**

Lesson 23: Counter Terrorism

Lesson 24: Summary



## Reading List

Course Textbooks:

- Paul D. Williams and Matt McDonald, eds., *Security Studies: An Introduction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> (London; New York: Routledge, 2018)
- Peter Hough, Andrew Moran, Bruce Pilbeam, and Wendy Stokes, *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> (London; New York: Routledge, 2021)
- Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, 5<sup>th</sup> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 3<sup>rd</sup> (New York: Columbia University Press 2017)
- Boaz Ganor, *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle – A Guide for Decision Makers* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005)

## **PART I: INTRODUCTION TO SECURITY STUDIES**

***Prof. Assaf Moghadam***

### **BLOCK I: THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND APPROACHES TO SECURITY**

#### **Lesson 1 (March 22): The International System and Theories of International Relations**

Topics Covered:

- Introduction to the International System
- Evolution of the International System
- Why is theory important?
- Realism and Neorealism
- Liberalism and Neoliberalism
- Constructivism

Required Readings:

- Hough, et.al., Ch. 2

Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Chs. 1-3
- Collins, Chs. 2, 3, 6

**Lesson 2 (March 22): Traditional Security**

Topics Covered:

- Defining Security
- The Security Dilemma and Power
- States and Non-State Actors
- Causes of War

Required Readings:

- Collins, Ch. 1

Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Introduction, Chs. 9-10
- Hough, et.al., Ch. 1, 7
- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2005), pp. 39-75
- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1978), pp. 167-214
- Charles L. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1997), pp. 171-201.

**Lesson 3 (March 29): Nontraditional Security**

Topics Covered:

- What is Non-Traditional Security?
- Human Security
- Gender security
- Critical Approaches to Security Studies
- Environmental Security
- Health
- Migration

Required Readings:

- Collins, Ch. 10

Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Chs. 4, 5, 7, 15, 32-36
- Collins, Chs. 7, 11-12, 16, 23, 25
- Hough, et.al., Chs. 3-6, 15, 18-19, 21

- Joshua W. Busby, *States and Nature: The Effects of Climate Change on Security* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2022), Chs. 1-2

## **BLOCK II: SECURITY CHALLENGES WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

### **Lesson 4 (March 29): Conventional Strategy and Warfare**

#### Topics Covered:

- Inter-State Warfare and Great Power Competition
- Defining strategy
- Evolution of conventional warfare
- Tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs)
- The Grey Zone

#### Required Readings:

- Collins, Ch. 13

#### Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Chs. 9, 12
- Hough et.al., Ch. 7

### **Lesson 5 (April 19): Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence**

#### Topics Covered:

- Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)
- WW2 (Hiroshima, Nagasaki)
- The Cold War and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Contemporary Proliferation: DPRK, Iran, Pakistan, Russia
- Nuclear Proliferation and Non-State Actors

#### Required Readings:

- Hough, et.al., Ch. 9

#### Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Ch. 22
- Hough, et.al., Ch. 9
- Collins, Ch. 20

### **Lesson 6 (April 19): Irregular Warfare I: Introduction**

#### Topics Covered:

- Civil Wars
- Proxies

- Insurgencies / Guerillas
- Conflict studies
- The Rise of Networked Non-State Actors

Required Readings:

Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Chs. 14, 25, 28, 30
- Hough, et.al., Ch. 8
- John Mackinlay, *The Insurgent Archipelago* (London: Hurst, 2009), 15-26.
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: PSI, 2006), pp. xii-x, 1-10.
- Seth G. Jones, *Three Dangerous Men: Russia, China, and the Rise of Irregular Warfare* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2021), pp. 1-24.

**Lesson 7 (May 3): Irregular Warfare II: Tactics and Strategies**

Topics Covered:

- Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures
- Drivers and Motivations

Required Readings:

- Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 4 (1993), pp. 213-51.

Recommended Readings:

- Seth G. Jones, *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 35-82.
- Williams & McDonald, Chs. 26-27
- Hough, et.al., Chs. 11, 14
- Collins, Ch. 21
- Assaf Moghadam, Ronit Berger, and Polina Beliakova, "Say Terrorist, Think Insurgent: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5

**Lesson 8 (May 3): Cyberspace and Information Warfare**

Topics Covered:

- Introduction to Cyberspace as a theatre of war
- Fake news
- Disinformation
- Psychological Warfare

Required Readings:

- Collins, Ch. 27



Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Ch. 37
- Hough, et.al., Ch. 22

**Lesson 9 (May 10): Ideology, Religion, and Conflict**

Topics Covered:

- Ideology and its Functions
- Religious Ideology
- Intra-Euro struggles (Thirty-Years War: Catholics vs Protestants.)
- WW2 - The Rise of Fascism and Authoritarianism
- Cold War – Communism and Democracy
- Jihad
- Far-right extremism

Required Readings:

- Monica Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Michael Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton), Ch. 1

Recommended Readings:

- Hough, et.al., Ch. 12

**BLOCK 3: FORCE AND DIPLOMACY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Lesson 10 (May 10): The Use of Force and Diplomacy**

Topics Covered:

- The Four Functions of Force
- Shadow Wars
- Re-emergence of conventional Great Power Competition (Russia-Ukraine)
- Diplomacy

Required Readings:

- Collins, Ch. 19

Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, 13
- Hough, et.al., Chs. 24-25

**Lesson 11 (May 17): Alliances, Intervention, and Peacekeeping**

Topics Covered:

- Globalization and the international system
- Concept of collective security
- International Organizations
- International Law and Diplomacy
- IHL and Just War Theory
- Peacekeeping and Peace enforcement
- War Crimes and Genocide (Bosnia, Rwanda)
- Sovereignty, intervention, R2P ("responsibility" or "right" to protect?)

Required Readings:

- Collins, Ch. 22

Recommended Readings:

- Williams & McDonald, Chs. 18-21
- Hough, et.al., Chs. 23-25

**Lesson 12 (May 17): Simulation Exercise, Part 1**

Required Readings:

- Material will be distributed

**PART II: INTRODUCTION TO COUNTER-TERRORISM**

***Prof. Boaz Ganor***

**BLOCK IV: DEFINITIONS, TYPOLOGIES AND ACTORS**

**Lesson 13 (May 24) Introduction - Terrorism, National Security, and the Evolution of Global Jihad**

Topic Covered

- The Afghan War and al Qaeda
- The "Arab Spring" and ISIS
- Hybrid terrorist organizations
- The ISIS model
- The implications of the Syrian civil war
- US foreign policy and counter-terrorism
- Iran's global terror network

Required Readings:

- Hoffman, Bruce and Ware, Jacob, The Terrorist Threats and Trends to Watch Out for in 2023 and Beyond, CTC Sentinel, Vol. 15, Issue 11, November/December 2022. Available at: <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-terrorist-threats-and-trends-to-watch-out-for-in-2023-and-beyond/>

Recommended Readings:

- Colin Clarke, Twenty Years After 9/11: What Is the Future of the Global Jihadi Movement?, CTC Sentinel, Vol. 14, Issue 7, September 2021. Available at: <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/twenty-years-after-9-11-what-is-the-future-of-the-global-jihadi-movement/>
- Ganor, Boaz, Four Questions on ISIS: A "Trend" Analysis of the Islamic State, Perspectives on Terrorism, Volume 9:3, 2015. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297381>
- Wood, Graeme What ISIS Really Wants, the Atlantic – Available at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

### **Lesson 14 (May 24) Terrorism Definitions**

Topic Covered

- The need for a definition
- Terrorism as a strategy, not a goal
- A proposed definition
- Ends and means in asymmetric warfare
- Terrorism vs. Hate crime
- Definition of terrorism: pros and cons
- Class exercise (not graded)

Required Readings:

- Ganor, Ch 1

Recommended Readings:

- Schmid, Alex, The Revised Academic Consensus on the Definition of Terrorism, Perspectives on Terrorism, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2012

### **Lesson 15 (May 31) Terrorism Typologies**

Topic Covered

- Classification of terrorism perpetrators
- Classification of terror attacks
- Comparison of terror attacks typologies
- Level of Involvement in Terrorism
- State Sponsored Terrorism

### Required Readings:

- Ganor Boaz, "A typology of Terrorist Attacks - The 32 Profiles Model", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, (2021), DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2020.1868095

### Recommended Readings:

- Daniel Byman, "Understanding, and Misunderstanding, State Sponsorship of Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2020, pp. 1-19.
- Thomas Hegghammer, "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting," *American Political Science Review* 1 (2013).

## **Lesson 16 (May 31) Lone Actor Terrorism**

### Topic Covered

- Lone Actor modus operandi
- Lone Actor motivations
- Lone Actor rationality
- Case study: Lone Actor attacks in Israel (2015-2017)
- Lone Actor and social media
- The bathtub model

### Required Readings:

- Ganor Boaz, "Understanding the Motivations of Lone Wolves Terrorists: The 'Bathtub' Model", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Volume 15:2, (2021), pp. 23-32. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27007294>

### Recommended Readings:

- Merari, Ariel & Boaz Ganor, "Interviews with, and test of, Palestinian Independent Assaultants", *Terrorism & Political Violence*, (2020)
- Rukmini Callimachi, "Not 'Lone Wolves' After All: How ISIS Guides World's Terror Plots from Afar," *New York Times*, February 4, 2017. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/04/world/asia/isis-messaging-app-terror-plot.html>
- 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)

## **Lesson 17 (June 7) Far Right Terrorism**

### Topic Covered

- Hate and ideology
- Far right extremism: the hate spectrum
- The Christchurch Attack: Case Study
- Manifestos and far right terrorism

- Modus Operandi
- Islamist vs. Far Right Terrorism: similarities and differences
- Non-legitimacy hierarchy

Required Readings:

- "White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement" (2019). The Soufan Center. Available at: <https://thesoufancenter.org/research/white-supremacy-extremism-the-transnational-rise-of-the-violent-white-supremacist-movement/>

Recommended Readings:

- Koehler, Daniel (2019): "The Halle, Germany, Synagogue Attack and the Evolution of the Far-Right Terror Threat". CTC Sentinel, Vol. 12, Issue 1. Available at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/halle-germany-synagogue-attack-evolution-far-right-terror-threat/>
- Miller-Idriss, Cynthia (2020): Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right. USA, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Mudde, Cas (2019): The Far Right Today. UK, Cambridge: Polity Press

**BLOCK V: TERRORISM – STRATEGY AND TACTICS**

**Lesson 18 (June 7) Modern Terrorism Strategy - Part 1**

Topic Covered

- Strategy of Modern Terrorism
- Terrorism and the media
  - The journalist dilemma
  - The live coverage dilemma
  - The re-run dilemma

Required Readings:

- Hoffman, Ch. 6 and 7

Recommended Readings:

- Ganor, Ch. 8 and 9

**Lesson 19 (June 14) Modern Terrorism Strategy - Part 2**

Topic Covered

- Terrorism as a Psychological Warfare
- The personalization of the attack
- Terrorism, irrational fear and rational anxiety
- Public resilience

Required Readings:

- Alex Schmid, Terrorism as Psychological Warfare, Democracy and Security, Vol. 1, No. 2 (August-December 2005). Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48602562>

Recommended Readings:

- Weimann, Gabriel (2006): Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, The New Challenges (USA, Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace Press. Available at: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2010/05/terror-internet>

**Lesson 20 (June 14) Suicide Terrorism**

Topic Covered

- Evolution of bombing tactics
- Benefits of using suicide terrorism
- Processes of suicide terrorism
- Profile of suicide attackers
- Countering suicide terrorism

Required Readings:

- Crenshaw, Martha. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay." Security Studies, Volume, 16, Issue 1, January 2007

Recommended Readings:

- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks," International Security 33.3 (Winter 2008/2009)

**Lesson 21 (June 21) Hostage Barricade and Kidnapping**

Topic Covered

- Hostage barricade vs. kidnapping attacks
- Negotiation: dilemmas, benefits and costs
- The Israeli Policy as a Case Study
- The Rabin doctrine

Required Readings:

- Ganor, Boaz, "Israel's Policy in Extortionist Attack (Abduction and Hostage Barricade Situation), Perspectives on Terrorism, Volume 11, No. 11, 2017. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297891>

Recommended Readings:

- Jenkins, Brian, "Terrorism and Kidnapping", RAND Corporation, 1974. Available at: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/P5255.html>

## **Lesson 22 (June 21) Mega Terrorist Attacks**

### Topic Covered

- Motivations for mega terrorist attacks
- Post Modern Terrorism: Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN)
- Types of non-conventional attacks: limited vs. unlimited
- Cyber-Terrorism
- Lessons Learned from COVID-19

### Required Readings:

- John Parachini, "Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective," Washington Quarterly (Fall 2003), available at: [https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/twq/fall2003/twq\\_fall2003c.pdf](https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/twq/fall2003/twq_fall2003c.pdf)

### Recommended Readings:

- Update on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on terrorism, counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism, Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED), United Nations, Available at: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/ctc/content/update-impact-covid-19-pandemic-terrorism-counter-terrorism-and-countering-violent-extremism>
- Rolf Mowatt-Larssen, "Al Qaeda Weapons of Mass Destruction Threat: Hype or Reality?", Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, January 2010. Available at: <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/al-qaeda-weapons-mass-destruction-threat-hype-or-reality>
- Gabriel Weimann, Cyberterrorism: How Real is the Threat? Special Report of the United States Institute for Peace, December 2004. Available at: <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr119.pdf>

## **BLOCK VI: COUNTER-TERRORISM**

### **Lesson 23 (June 28) Counter Terrorism**

#### Topic Covered

- The counter-terrorism equation
- Dilemmas in counter-terrorism decision-making
- Democratic Dilemma in counter-terrorism

#### Required Readings:

- Ganor, Ch. 2 and 6

#### Recommended Readings:

- Ganor, Boaz, "Terrorist Organization Typologies and the Probability of a Boomerang

Effect", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, (April 2008), pp. 269–283

- Ganor, Boaz, "Targeted Killings: Ethical & Operational Dilemmas", *Terrorism & Political Violence*, (2021), DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2021.1880234

## **Lesson 24 (June 28) Simulation Exercise, Part 2**

### Topic Covered

- Class summary
- Discussion on the final exam
- Simulation Exercise

### Required Readings:

Material will be distributed