

School of Public Policy University of Maryland  
Terrorism and Democracy – PUA 722

Stansfield Turner

Fall 2005  
Tuesdays 1:30 – 4:00

1. Course Objective: To understand how our government makes decisions for dealing with crises, most specifically how it selects between the options available for deterring terrorists or for dealing with acts of terrorism that take place. One means of doing this is to study what former US presidents have done to deter terrorism or to grapple with it. Their actions reflected pressures and constraints inherent in our democratic society. Study of past practices should help us understand better how the national security decision process operates in practice, not just in theory.

2. Course Style: This is a seminar course. Students will be expected to learn primarily through reading and writing, augmented by active participation in class discussions. They will be required to develop well-reasoned recommendations on what to do in various circumstances of terrorism, as though they were advisors to a senior advisor to a president. What will count is how well they can support their recommendations, not whether the instructor agrees with them or whether the authors of the readings would concur.

3. Course Requirements: Specifically, there will be:

- Required readings of about 200 pages per week.
- Two short, cogent memoranda, such as a president or his top advisors might be willing to read, in which the student spells out recommended actions. These should be about four double-spaced pages in length (1200-1500 words). Copies are to be distributed to the professor, executive assistant Pat Moynihan ([patmoyn@aol.com](mailto:patmoyn@aol.com)), research assistant Marianna Yamamoto ([mmmy@umd.edu](mailto:mmmy@umd.edu)), and all class members by email by noon of the Friday prior to the class.
- Two oral critiques of other students' memoranda.
- A proposal for a research paper, with tentative bibliography (research proposal should not exceed one page; bibliography should not exceed two pages).
- A research paper which will afford each student the opportunity to explore in depth some aspect of terrorism that particularly interests him or her. The research paper should be between 2200-2500 words (not including bibliography).
- A final, take-home examination.
- 13 seminar discussions.

*Participation in class:* This is not a lecture course. It is a graduate-level discussion seminar course. It is vital to what you will eventually gain from the course and for your grade that you participate actively in the classroom discussion each week. Discussion is 20 percent of the total grade. This is the place to try out your ideas, to challenge, and to question. It is an opportunity to go against the conventional wisdom and make up your own minds. So, from day one, speak up and engage actively in discussions.

4. Required books and readings:

- Stansfield Turner, *Terrorism and Democracy*, 1991 (professor will provide on a temporary basis).
- Selected case studies (available through the Internet; cost \$2.75-\$3.50 per case study).
- All other course readings are available on a CD, and students may bring in their own CD and make one copy.

5. Grading:

Memoranda	30%
Research Paper	25%
Class Participation	20%
Final Exam	25%

6. Consultation: My office is in room 4113E. On days that I am not on campus, I am available for questions or consultation by email: [admturner@aol.com](mailto:admturner@aol.com) or phone (202) 266-5441.

7. Schedule:

**Segment I: Terrorism, and the Tools to Prevent/Deter/Respond to Terrorist Attacks (Classes 1-4)**

**Class #1- September 6: Introduction**

*Topics:* Introduction & mechanics

**Memoranda questions for Class 2 assigned.**

**Class #2- September 13: What is Terrorism?**

*Topics:* The definition and history of terrorism

**Each student should come prepared with a definition of terrorism in mind.**

**Student critiques of memoranda begin.**

**Memoranda questions for first half of course assigned.**

**Class #3- September 20: Analyzing Terrorism**

*Topics:* Objectives of terrorism/terrorist acts

“Justifications” given for using terrorism

Typologies of terrorism

**Student typologies.**

**Class #4- September 27: Preventing/Deterring Terrorism, and Responding to Terrorist Attacks**

*Topics:* Tools to prevent/deter terrorism

**Research proposals due.**

**Segment II: The American Historical Experience (Classes 5-11)**

**Class #5- October 4: The American Experience 1776-1976 (Washington-Ford)**

*Topics:* The early American experience:

George Washington and the Barbary pirates

Thomas Jefferson and the pirates

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century experience: Theodore Roosevelt and the bandit Raisuli

The mid-20<sup>th</sup> century experience:

Lyndon Johnson and the USS *Pueblo*

Richard Nixon and Dawson Field

Gerald Ford and the SS *Mayaguez*

**Class #6- October 11: Jimmy Carter**

*Topic:* The Iranian hostage crisis

**Memoranda questions for second half of course assigned.**

**Class #7- October 18: Ronald Reagan**

*Topics:*

Carter's Deal and Reagan's promise  
Bombing of the Marine Barracks in Lebanon  
The Fadlallah affair  
TWA Flight 847  
SS *Achille Lauro*

**Class #8- October 25: Reagan Cont.; George H. W. Bush (Bush41)**

*Topics:* Reagan: Iran-Contra (and the Beirut hostages)

Bombing of Libya  
Bush41: The Beirut hostages (Cont.)  
The Persian Gulf War hostages  
Pan Am Flight 103 (1988-2005)

**Class #9- November 1: Bill Clinton**

*Topics:* World Trade Center 1 (WTC-1)

Oklahoma City and the increase in ideological terrorism  
Khobar Towers, and TWA Flight 800  
African Embassy bombings and missile strikes  
USS *Cole* bombing

**Class #10- November 8- George W. Bush (Bush43) No class. Students to do assigned readings and work on research paper.**

*Topic:* 9/11 (WTC-2) and responses

**Class #11- November 15- George W. Bush: Cont.**

*Topics:*

The invasion of Iraq  
The consequences of 9/11  
The Bush43 administration's strategy to combat terrorism

**Segment III: The Future Threat, and Responding in a Democracy**  
**(Classes 12-14)**

**Class #12- November 22: Case Study Review; Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction**

*Topics:* Review of Case Studies ("Reviewing the Presidents")  
WMD Terrorism (nuclear/radiological, chemical, and biological)

**Class #13- November 29: Whither the Threat?**

*Topic:* Future threats

**Research papers due.**

**Class #14 - December 6: Whither Our Response in a Democracy?**

*Topics:* Preserving civil liberties and national values while fighting terrorism  
The political processes involved

**Final exam distributed and due not later than 12 noon Tuesday, December 13.**

## Assignments

### Segment I: Terrorism, and the Tools to Prevent/Deter/Respond to Terrorist Attacks (Classes 1-4)

#### Class #1- September 6: Introduction

*Topics:* Introduction & mechanics

#### Required readings:

- “Writing a Memorandum for PUA 722, *Terrorism & Democracy*,” August 2003.
- White House Memorandum, “Organization of the National Security Council System,” February 13, 2001, Federation of American Scientists, <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-1.htm> [July 3, 2003].
- “Presidential Transition Update,” DFI International, March 5, 2001, p. 8.
- Christopher C. Shoemaker, Chapter III, “The Functional Requisites,” in *The National Security Council Staff: Structure and Functions*, Land Warfare Paper No. 3, Association of the United States Army (AUSA), December 1989, pp. 15-33.

#### Recommended readings:

##### - Background of the NSC:

- “History of the National Security Council 1947-1997,” August 1997, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/NSChistory.htm> [July 3, 2003].

##### - Clinton/Bush43 NSC staff organization:

- Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, *A New NSC for a New Administration*, Policy Brief #68, Brookings, DC, November 2000.

#### Memoranda questions for Class 2 assigned.

**Class #2- September 13: What is Terrorism?**

Topics: The definition and history of terrorism

**Required Readings:**

- Internal Memorandum: PUA 722, "Introduction to Terrorism."
- Alex P. Schmid, "Four Views of Terrorism," in "The Problems of Defining Terrorism," *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, Chicago, 1997, pp. 16-21.
- Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, "Table of Definition Elements," *Political Terrorism*, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 5-6.
- Paul Wilkinson, "The Strategic Implications of Terrorism," CIAO Working Paper, June 2000, <http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/wip05/index.html> [June 23, 2005].
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Columbia University Press, NY, 1998, pp. 15-37.
- Paul R. Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Brookings, DC, 2001, pp. 12-29, 41-51.
- Bruce Hoffman, "Holy Terror: The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Oct.-Dec. 1995, pp. 271-284.
- Martha Crenshaw, *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Conn., 1983, pp. 5-37.
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," in Charles W. Kegley, ed., *International Terrorism*, St. Martin's Press, 1990, pp. 113-126.
- Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, Ch 4, pp. 34-42.
- Alan Powell, "Freedom Squelches Terrorist Violence," *Harvard University Gazette*, Nov. 4, 2004.

**Each student should come prepared with a definition of terrorism in mind.**

**Student critiques of memoranda begin.**

**Memoranda questions for first half of course assigned.**

**Class #3- September 20: Analyzing Terrorism**

Topics: Objectives of terrorism/terrorist acts  
“Justifications” given for using terrorism  
Typologies of terrorism

**Required Readings:**

- C. J. M. Drake, Ch 2, “Terrorist Typologies,” in *Terrorists’ Target Selection*, Palgrave, NY, 1998, pp. 5-23.
- FBI Director Louis J. Freeh, “Threat of Terrorism to the United States,” U.S. Senate Committees on Appropriations, Armed Services, and Select Committee on Intelligence, May 10, 2001.
- Paul Wilkinson, Ch 3, *Terrorism Versus Democracy*, Frank Cass, London, 2002, pp. 41-77.
- Bruce Hoffman, “The Modern Terrorist Mindset: Tactics, Targets and Technologies,” CIAO working paper, October 1997.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 1998, pp. 185-196.
- Paul Wilkinson, “The Media and Terrorism: A Reassessment,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Summer 1997, pp. 51-64.
- Alex P. Schmid, “Terrorism and the Media: Freedom of Information vs. Freedom from Intimidation,” in Lawrence Howard, ed., *Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses*, Praeger, Westport, Conn., 1990, pp. 95-117.
- Jeremy Shapiro and Benedict Susan, “The French Experience of Counter-Terrorism,” *Survival*, Spring 2003, pp. 67-97.
- Readings on terrorism in Algeria, in *Int’l Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997, pp. 165-167, 425-429, 634-635.
- Edward F. Mickolus, “How Do We Know We’re Winning the War Against Terrorists? Issues in Measurement,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, May 2002, pp. 151-160.
- Paul Wilkinson, “Ethical Defences of Terrorism- Defending the Indefensible,” *Terrorism & Political Violence*, January 1989, pp. 7-20.
- Robert K. Fullinwider, “Terrorism, Innocence, and War,” *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly*, Fall 2001, pp. 9-16.
- *Country Reports on Terrorism 2004*, US State Department, April 2005, pp. 1-8, scan rest.
- *A Chronology of Significant International Terrorism for 2004*, National Counterterrorism Center, April 2005, pp. v-ix, scan rest.

**Student typologies: Each student is to come to class prepared to put on the blackboard his/her own typology of terrorism- that is, into what categories should we divide terrorism in order to define it or discuss it logically?**

**Class #4- September 27: Preventing/Deterring Terrorism, and Responding to Terrorist Attacks**

Topics: Tools to prevent/deter terrorism

**Required Readings:**

**General readings:**

- *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda: Terrorism: Threat Assessment, Countermeasures and Policy*, Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 6, Number 3, November 2001.
- Stansfield Turner, "Stansfield Turner on *Terrorism & Democracy: Ten Steps to Fight Terrorism within Endangering Democracy*," Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM) Pamphlet, Oct. 2001, <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/turner.htm> [August 15, 2005].
- Paul Wilkinson:
  - Chs 7 & 12, *Terrorism Versus Democracy*, 2002, pp. 137-157, 218-233.
  - "Politics, Diplomacy and Peace: Processes: Pathways Out of Terrorism," *Terrorism & Political Violence*, Winter 1999, pp. 66-82.
  - "The Role of the Military in Combatting Terrorism in a Democratic Society," *Terrorism & Political Violence*, Autumn 1996, p. 1-11.
- David Tucker, "Responding to Terrorism," *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 1998, pp. 103-117.
- Michael Howard, "What's in a Name? How to Fight Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan.-Feb. 2002.
- Gen. Dennis J. Reimer, "Six Months Later," <http://www.mipt.org/sixmonthslater.asp> [June 21, 2005].

**Political Tools:**

- *Negotiating Treaties/Conventions/Agreements:* "Major Multilateral Terrorism Conventions," International Information Programs, US State Department, August 9, 2002.
- *Resolving problems:* Jimmy Carter, *The Blood of Abraham*, 1985, pp. 195-208.
- *International organizations:*
  - "Report of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism," A/57/273-S/2002/875, August 6, 2002, pp. 7-13.
  - "The Bucharest Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism," Ninth OSCE Ministerial Council Meeting, December 2001, pp. 8-13.

**Military Tools:**

- Richard F. Grimmett, CRS Report, "U.S. Use of Preemptive Military Force," April 11, 2003.
- Elizabeth B. Bazan, CRS Report, "Assassination Ban and E.O. 12333: A Brief Summary," Jan. 4, 2002
- Margot Patterson, "Assassination as a Weapon," *National Catholic Reporter*, September 6, 2002.

**Economic tools:**

- Rensselear Lee, CRS Report, "Terrorist Financing: The U.S. and International Response," Dec. 6, 2002.
- Curt Tarnoff and Larry Nowells, CRS Report, "Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy," January 19, 2005, pp. 1-12.

**Intelligence tools:** Richard A. Best, CRS Issue Brief, "Intelligence Issues for Congress," May 24, 2005.

**Research proposals, with tentative bibliography, for research paper due for professor's approval. Provide a hard copy to professor in class, and an electronic copy to professor, executive assistant, and research assistant.**

**Segment II: The American Historical Experience (Classes 5-11)**

**Class #5- October 4: The American Experience 1776-1976 (Washington-Ford)**

*Topics:* The early American experience:

George Washington and the Barbary pirates

Thomas Jefferson and the pirates

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century experience: Theodore Roosevelt and the bandit Raisuli

The mid-20<sup>th</sup> century experience:

Lyndon Johnson and the USS *Pueblo*

Richard Nixon and Dawson Field

Gerald Ford and the SS *Mayaguez*

**Required Readings:**

- Turner, Ch 2, *Terrorism and Democracy*, pp. 5-18.

**George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and the Barbary pirates:**

- "Treaties with the Barbary Pirates," in *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, Vol. 2, Hunter Miller, ed., GPO, 1931, pp. 297-305.

**Theodore Roosevelt and the bandit Raisuli:**

- Barbara W. Tuchman, "Perdicaris Alive or Raisuli Dead," *American Heritage*, August 1959, pp. 18-21 and 98-101.

- "The Release of Raisuli's Captives," *Times (London)*, June 27, 1904.

**Lyndon Johnson and the USS Pueblo:**

- Lyndon Baines Johnson, *Vantage Point*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971, pp. 532-537.

- Henry Kissinger, *White House Years*, Little Brown & Co., 1979, pp. 600-609.

- *New York Times* stories on the capture of the USS *Pueblo*:

- Neil Sheehan, "North Korea Seizes Navy Ship, Holds 83 on Board as U.S. Spies; Enterprise Is Ordered to Area," January 24, 1968.

- William Beecher, "Perplexing Questions," January 24 1968.

- "Excerpts from Panmunjom Exchange," January 26, 1968.

- Michael Stern, "Rusk Is Insistent on Ship's Release," January 26, 1968.

- Peter Grose, "Intelligence Data Called a Goal of Ship Seizure," January 26, 1968.

- *New York Times* stories on the release of the crew of the USS *Pueblo*:

- Peter Grose, "82 in Pueblo Crew Freed; U.S. Gives North Koreans 'Confession,' Disavows It," Dec. 23, 1968.

- "Statement Signed at Panmunjom, Rusk's Explanation and McCloskey's Remarks," Dec. 23, 1968.

- "U.S.S. Pueblo," *Nixon on the Issues*, Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee, 1968, pp. 61-62.

- "Inquiry into the U.S.S. Pueblo and EC-121 Plane Incidents," Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, July 28, 1969, pp. 1619-1626, 1668-1673, 1682-1694.

**Richard Nixon and Dawson Field:** Edward F. Mickolus, *Transitional Terrorism: A Chronology of Events, 1968-1979*, Greenwood Press, 1980, pp. 208-214.

**Gerald Ford and the SS Mayaguez:**

- Chris Lamb, "Belief Systems and Decision Making in the *Mayaguez* Crisis," *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 1984-1985, pp. 681-702.

- David Brittan and Ernest May, "The *Mayaguez* Incident," John F. Kennedy School of Government Case Study 443, 1982, <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/>

**Class #6- October 11: Jimmy Carter**

*Topic:* The Iranian hostage crisis

**Required Readings:**

- Turner, Chs 1, 3-17, pp. 1-4, 19-145.
- Gregory F. Treverton and James Klocke, "The Fall of the Shah of Iran," Pew Case Study 311, 1988, <http://www.guisd.org/>
- Howard Husock and Pamela Varley, "Siege Mentality: ABC, the White House and the Iran Hostage Crisis," John F. Kennedy School of Government Case Study 823, 1988, <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/>

**Memoranda questions for second half of course assigned.**

**Class #7- October 18: Ronald Reagan**

*Topics:*

- Carter's Deal and Reagan's promise
- Bombing of the Marine Barracks in Lebanon
- The Fadlallah affair
- TWA Flight 847
- SS *Achille Lauro*

**Required Readings:**

**General Reading:**

- Jeffrey D. Simon, *The Terrorist Trap*, Indiana University Press, 2001, Ch 5, pp. 167-217.
- Brian Michael Jenkins, "Combatting Terrorism Becomes a War," *Rand*, May 1984.
- National Security Decision Directive Number 207, "The National Program for Combatting Terrorism," January 20, 1986.

**Carter's Deal and Reagan's Promise**

- Turner, Chs 18-19, pp. 146-160.

**The Beirut Barracks Bombing:**

- Turner, Chs 20-22, pp. 161-181.
- David C. Martin and John Walcott, *Best Laid Plans: The Inside Story of America's War Against Terrorism*, Harper & Row, 1988, pp. 125-160.

**Fadlallah Affair:**

- Turner, Ch 23, pp. 182-187.
- Robin Wright, *Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam*, Simon & Schuster, 1985, pp. 90-97.

**TWA Flight 847:**

- Turner, Ch 24, pp. 188-198.
- Wright, *Sacred Rage*, pp. 273-278.

**SS Achille Lauro:**

- Turner, Ch 25, pp. 199-206.
- Martin, pp. 235-257.

**Class #8- October 25: Reagan Cont.; George H. W. Bush (Bush41)**

Topics: Reagan: Iran-Contra (and the Beirut hostages)  
Bombing of Libya  
Bush41: The Beirut hostages (Cont.)  
The Persian Gulf War hostages  
Pan Am Flight 103 (1988-2005)

**Required readings:**

**Reagan:**

**Iran-Contra (and the Beirut Hostages):**

- Turner, Ch 26, pp. 207-214; Ch 28, pp. 224-227.
- Lieutenant Colonel Chris Ladd, "Iran-Contra: Rationality and the NSC Staff Gone Awry," in *Policy Making & Implementation Case Studies Book*, Naval War College, March 2000, pp. 77-86.
- Martin, pp. 323-368.

**The Bombing of Libya:**

- Turner, Ch 27, pp. 215-223.
- Stansfield Turner, "Second Thoughts about Libya," *Washington Post*, May 11, 1986, p. D3.
- Richard J. Norton, "The 1985-1986 Confrontation with Libya: Operation El Dorado Canyon," in *Policy Making & Implementation Case Studies Book*, Naval War College, March 2000, pp. 19-47.
- Martin, pp. 309-322.

**George H. W. Bush:**

**The Beirut Hostages Cont.:**

- Simon, *The Terrorist Trap*, pp. 219-224, 234-241
- Memo from research ass't to Stansfield Turner, "How Did the Hostages in Lebanon Get Freed?"

**Persian Gulf War Hostages:**

- Memo from research ass't to Stansfield Turner, "George H. W. Bush & the Persian Gulf Hostages."

**Pan Am Flight 103 (1988-2004):**

- Simon, *The Terrorist Trap*, pp. 224-234.
- *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1991*, US State Department, Appendices C and D, pp. 69-79.
- Keesing's Record of World Events:
  - "Opening of Lockerbie Trial," May 2000
  - "Lockerbie Trial Verdicts," January 2001
  - "Lockerbie Settlement," August 2003
  - "Lifting of UN Sanctions– Visit by Spanish Prime Minister," September 2003
  - "Agreement to Dismantle Weapons of Mass Destruction," December 2003
  - "Agreement on Disarmament Process," January 2004
  - "Progress of Disarmament Process," February 2004
  - "Lifting of US Trade Embargo," September 2004
  - "Lockerbie Developments," May 2005.

**Class #9- November 1: Bill Clinton**

Topics: World Trade Center 1 (WTC-1)  
Oklahoma City and the increase in ideological terrorism  
Khobar Towers, and TWA Flight 800  
African Embassy bombings and missile strikes  
USS *Cole* bombing

**Required readings:** - Memo from research ass't to Stansfield Turner, "Terrorism during the Clinton Administrations 1993-2000," with enclosure.

**1993 World Trade Center 1 (WTC-1):**

- Dave Williams, "The Bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City," *International Criminal Police Review*, No 469-471, 1998.
- "Terrorism in New York: Looking for Links," *New York Times*, June 27, 1993, p. 28.

**1995 Ideological Terrorism- Oklahoma City +**

- "The Oklahoma City Bombings and the Militias," *Int'l Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997, pp. 561-566.
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 1998, pp. 120-129; review class 2 reading, "Holy Terror..."

**1996 Khobar Towers, and TWA Flight 800:**

- *Significant Incidents of Political Violence Against Americans: 1996*, US State Department, p. 30.
- "Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman Finds Khobar Towers Bombing 'Not the Result of an Intelligence Failure,'" U.S. Senator Arlen Specter Press Release, Sept. 12, 1996.

**1998 African Embassy Bombings and Missile Strikes:**

- Osama bin Laden, "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders," World Islamic Front Statement, 23 Feb 1998.
- Sub-Saharan Africa, *Political Violence Against Americans: 1998*, US State Department, pp. 22-30.
- Richard L. Russell, "American Military Retaliation for Terrorism: Judging the Merits of the 1998 Cruise Missile Strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan," 2000, Pew Case Study 238, <http://www.guisd.org/>
- Raphael F. Perl, CRS Report, "Terrorism: U.S. Response to Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania: A New Policy Direction?" September 1, 1998.
- USINFO Special Report 8/21: "U.S. Air Strikes Against Afghanistan, Sudan: Mixed Views on Washington's Action," Aug. 21, 1998. <http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pdq/pdq.htm> [Aug. 16, 2003].

**National Commission on Terrorism (2000).** Raphael F. Perl, CRS Report, "National Commission on Terrorism Report: Background and Issues for Congress," February 6, 2001.

**2000 USS Cole:** Raphael Perl and Ronald O'Rourke, CRS Report, "Terrorist Attack on USS Cole: Background and Issues for Congress," January 30, 2001.

**The use of retaliatory force: Yemen strike (George W. Bush- Nov. 2002).**

- Walter Pincus, "U.S. Strike Kills Six in Al Qaeda; Missile Fired by Predator Drone; Key Figure in Yemen Among Dead," *Washington Post*, November 5, 2002, p. A1.
- David Johnston and David E. Sanger, "Fatal Strike in Yemen Was Based on Rules Set Out by Bush," *New York Times*, November 6, 2002, p. A16
- Dana Priest, "CIA Killed U.S. Citizen in Yemen Missile Strike; Action's Legality, Effectiveness Questioned," *Washington Post*, November 8, 2002, p. A1.

**Class #10- November 8- George W. Bush (Bush43) No class. Students to do assigned readings and work on research paper.**

Topic: 9/11 (WTC-2) and responses

**Required Readings:**

**What happened:**

- "September 11 and Review of Terrorism in 2001," in *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 2001*, US State Department, May 2002, pp. 1-3.
- Keesing's Record of World Events. "Anthrax attacks," Oct 2001; "Further anthrax deaths," Nov 2001.
- "The International Toll of September 11, 2001," International Information Programs, US State Department, <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/terrormap.htm> [April 25, 2002].

**Responses:**

- Keesing's Record of World Events, "International Response," September 2001.
- "NATO's Response to Terrorism: Statement Issued at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council," Dec. 6, 2001, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2001/p01-159e.htm> [August 19 2002].
- "11 September 2001: The Response," Research Paper 01/72, International Affairs & Defence Section, House of Commons Library, October 3, 2001, pp. 21-32, 51-52, 71-79.
- Darryl Fears, "Hate Crimes Against Arabs Surge, FBI Finds," *Washington Post*, Nov. 26, 2002, p. A2.
- "Poll: Majority of Muslims View U.S. Unfavorably," February 26, 2002, <http://www.cnn.com/2002/US/02/26/gallup.moslems/> [August 16, 2002].

**The decisionmaking process:** Dan Balz and Bob Woodward, *Washington Post* series of eight articles Jan.-Feb. 2002, beginning with "America's Chaotic Road to War; Bush's Global Strategy Began to Take Shape in First Frantic Hours After Attack," January 27, 2002, p. A1.

**The tools chosen and used Sep-Dec 2001:** Memorandum from research ass't to Stansfield Turner, "Compilation of the Tools That the US Government Chose to Use Sep-Dec 2001." (scan)

**Legislation:** Charles Doyle, CRS Report, "The USA Patriot Act: A Sketch," April 18, 2002.

**Military force:** "Operation *Enduring Freedom* and the Conflict in Afghanistan: An Update," Research Paper 01/81, Int'l Affairs & Defence Section, House of Commons Library, Oct. 31, 2001, pp. 9-19.

**Physical security measures:**

- John Moteff, Claudia Copeland, and John Fischer, CRS Report, "Critical Infrastructures: What Makes an Infrastructure Critical?" January 29, 2003.
- Executive summary, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*, Office of Homeland Security, July 2002, pp. vii- xiii.

**Intelligence:** "Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities Before and After the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001--Abridged Findings and Conclusions," Report of the U.S. Select Committee on Intelligence and U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Dec. 2002.

**Class #11- November 15- George W. Bush: Cont.**

*Topics:*

- The invasion of Iraq
- The consequences of 9/11
- The Bush43 administration's strategy to combat terrorism

**Required Readings:**

**The Invasion of Iraq:**

**- Decision to invade:**

- William Hamilton, "Bush Began to Plan War Three Months after 9/11," *Washington Post*, April 17, 2004, p. A1.
- Carl Conetta, PDA Briefing Memo #27, "Disarming Iraq: What Did the UN Missions Accomplish?" April 25, 2003, <http://www.comw.org/pda/fulltext/0304bm27.pdf> [July 29, 2003].
- Alfred B. Prados, CRS Report, "Iraq: Divergent Views on Military Action," January 31, 2003.
- David M. Ackerman, "International Law and the Preemptive Use of Force Against Iraq," April 11, 2003.

**- Military action:**

- Keesing's Record of World Events: "US-led Invasion," March 2003; "Fall of Saddam," April 2003.
- Robert Novak, "Hard Times Ahead for U.S. Army," *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 23, 2003.

**The Consequences of 9/11:**

- Gail Makinen, CRS Report, "The Economic Effects of 9/11: A Retrospective Assessment," September 27, 2002, pp. 1-6 (Overview).
- Michael Howard et al; "One Year On," *National Interest*, Fall 2002, p. 5.
- Jessica T. Mathews, Policy Brief 18, "September 11, One Year Later: A World of Change," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002, <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief18.pdf>
- Gawdat Bahgat, "Oil and Militant Islam: Strains on U.S.-Saudi Relations," *World Affairs*, Winter 2003, pp. 115-122.
- James S. Robbins, "Bin Laden's War," 2002, in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., 2004, pp. 392-404. [Particularly review the chart on page 398.]
- "Full Transcript of bin Ladin's Speech," October 30, 2004, <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/79C6AF22-98FB-4A1C-B21F-2BC36E87F61F.htm> [July 4, 2005]

**The Bush43 administration's strategy to combat terrorism:**

- GAO Report GAO-03-519T, "Combating Terrorism: Observations on National Strategies Related to Terrorism," Statement of Raymond J. Decker, Director, Defense Capabilities and Management, March 3, 2003.
- Michael O'Hanlon, prepared testimony in "Combating Terrorism: A Proliferation of Strategies," Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security et al., House of Representatives, March 3, 2003, pp. 102-114.

**Segment III: The Future Threat, and Responding in a Democracy**  
**(Classes 12-14)**

**Class #12- November 22: Case Study Review; Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction**

*Topics:* Review of Case Studies (“Reviewing the Presidents”)

WMD Terrorism (nuclear/radiological, chemical, and biological)

**Required Readings:**

**Case Study Review:** Grading the presidents exercise sheet- students are to review the case studies in Segment II, and come to class with their comments and proposed “grades” for each president.

**Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction:**

- Stansfield Turner, *Caging the Nuclear Genie*, Westview Press, 1998, Chs 1-3, pp. 7-50; App A+B, pp. 125-144.
- John D. Steinbruner, *Principles of Global Security*, Brookings, DC, 2000, Ch 5, “Preventing Mass Destruction,” pp. 175-193.
- Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists*, Harvard University Press, 1999, Ch 8, pp. 128-160.
- Steve Bowman, CRS Report, “Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Terrorist Threat,” March 2002.
- Carl E. Behrens, CRS Report, “Nuclear Nonproliferation Issues,” June 3, 2005.
- John D. Steinbruner and Elisa D. Harris, “Controlling Dangerous Pathogens,” *Issues in Science and Technology*, Spring 2003, pp. 47-54.
- “National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction,” *Arms Control Today*, Jan.-Feb. 2003.
- Jonathan B. Tucker, “Preventing the Misuse of Pathogens: The Need for Global Biosecurity Standards,” *Arms Control Today*, June 2003, pp. 3-10.
- George Bunn and Fritz Steinhausler, “Guarding Nuclear Reactors and Material from Terrorists and Thieves,” *Arms Control Today*, October 2001.
- Jonathan Medalia:
  - CRS Report, “Terrorist ‘Dirty Bombs’: A Brief Primer,” April 1, 2004.
  - CRS Report, “Nuclear Terrorism: A Brief Review of Threats and Responses,” February 10, 2005.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, CRS Report, “Terrorist Motivations for Chemical and Biological Weapons Use: Placing the Threat in Context,” March 28, 2003.
- Adam Dolnik, “All God’s Poisons: Re-evaluating the Threat of Religious Terrorism with Respect to Non-Conventional Weapons,” in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, 2004, pp. 159-179.

**Note: Additional readings may be assigned to Segment III.**

**Class #13- November 29: Whither the Threat?**

Topic: Future threats

**Required Readings:**

- Paul R. Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, pp. 57-69.
- Richard K. Betts, "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 2002.
- John Steinbruner, preface to the second paperback edition, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis*, Princeton University Press, 1974, 2003.
- Brian Michael Jenkins, "Redefining the Enemy: The World Has Changed, but Our Mindset Has Not," *Rand Review*, Spring 2004, pp. 16-23.
- Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Anchor Books, 2000, pp. 29-43.
- Kenneth Katzman, CRS Report, "Al Qaeda: Profile and Threat Assessment," February 10, 2005.
- Bruce Hoffman, "Al Qaeda and the War on Terrorism: An Update," *Current History*, December 2004, pp. 423-427.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin:
  - CRS Report, "Al Qaeda after the Iraq Conflict," May 23, 2003.
  - Memorandum to House Government Reform Committee, "Terrorist Attacks by Al Qaeda," March 31, 2004, <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/033104.pdf>
- "Hezbollah: Identity and Goals," <http://www.hizbollah.org/english/info.htm> [August 9, 2003].
- Christopher M. Blanchard, CRS Reports:
  - "The Islamic Traditions of Wahhabism and Salafiyya," February 10, 2005.
  - "Islam: Sunnis and Shiites," February 10, 2005.
  - "Islamic Religious Schools, *Madrasas*: Background," February 10, 2005.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, CRS Report, "Terrorists and Suicide Attacks," August 28, 2003.
- Mark A. R. Kleiman, CRS Report, "Illicit Drugs and the Terrorist Threat: Causal Links and Implications for Domestic Drug Control Policy," April 20, 2004.
- Clay Wilson, CRS Report, "Computer Attack and Cyber Terrorism: Vulnerabilities and Policy Issues for Congress," April 1, 2005, pp. 1-22.
- Thomas Carothers, "Democracy's Sobering State," *Current History*, December 2004, pp. 412-416.
- Dana Priest, "Iraq New Terror Breeding Ground; War Created Haven, CIA Advisers Report," *Washington Post*, January 14, 2005, p. A1.
- Francis T. Miko, CRS Report, "Removing Terrorist Sanctuaries: The 9/11 Commission Recommendations and U.S. Policies," August 10, 2004.

**Research papers due- a hard copy to professor in class, and an electronic copy to professor, executive assistant, and research assistant.**

**Class #14 - December 6: Whither Our Response in a Democracy?**

Topics: Preserving civil liberties and national values while fighting terrorism  
The political processes involved

**Required Readings:**

**Preserving civil liberties and national values while fighting terrorism:**

- Paul Wilkinson:
  - "Observations on the Relationship of Freedom and Terrorism," in *Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses*, pp. 155-166.
  - *Terrorism & the Liberal State*, New York University Press, Washington Square, NY, 1986, Ch 1, pp. 12-22; Ch 2, pp. 43-50.
- United Nations General Assembly Resolution 54/164 "Human Rights and Terrorism," Feb. 24, 2000.
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1456, January 20, 2003, on combating terrorism.
- Jimmy Carter, "Speaking Out for Human Rights," in *Keeping Faith*, Bantam Books, NY, 1982, pp. 141-151.
- Stansfield Turner, "Stansfield Turner on *Secrecy and Democracy*," in *Towards World Peace*, CISSM, <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/turner.htm>
- David Johnston, "Administration Begins To Rewrite Decades-Old Spying Restrictions," *New York Times*, November 30, 2002, p. A1.
- Judith Lichtenberg, "The Ethics of Retaliation," in *War after September 11*, Verna V. Gehring, ed., Rowman & Littlefield, NY, 2002, pp. 11-19.
- Supreme Court Decision, "Hamdi et al., v. Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, et al.," June 28, 2004, pp. 1-33.

**Abu Ghraib torture scandal.**

- "Abu Ghraib Torture and Prisoner Abuse," Wikipedia online encyclopedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu\\_Ghraib\\_prison\\_scandal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Ghraib_prison_scandal) [August 6, 2005].
- "President's Apology over Iraq Prisoner Abuse," May 2004, Keesing's Record of World Events.
- Edward Alden et al., "Chain of Command: Can Torture in Iraq Be Linked to the White House?: Prisoner Abuse Scandal," *Financial Times*, June 17, 2004.
- Mike Allen and Susan Schmidt, "Memo on Interrogation Tactics is Disavowed: Justice Department Had Said Torture May Be Defensible," *Washington Post*, June 23, 2004, p. A1.
- Jennifer Elsea, CRS Rpt., "U.S. Treatment of Prisoners in Iraq: Selected Legal Issues," May 19, 2005.
- Robin Wright, "U. S. Faces Lasting Damage Abroad; Moral High Ground Lost, Experts Say," *Washington Post*, May 7, 2004, p. A26.

**The political processes involved:**

- Stansfield Turner, *Caging the Nuclear Genie*, Chs 9 and 10, pp. 107-123.
- Martha Crenshaw, "Counterterrorism Policy and the Political Process," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Sept.-Oct. 2001, pp. 329-337.

**Final exam distributed and due not later than 12 noon Tuesday, December 13.**