

EURR 5202 - A Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Europe and Eurasia
Mondays, 6:05PM – 8:55PM
Paterson Hall 240

Professor: Jean-François Ratelle
Office: 3315 Richcraft Hall
Office Hours: Mondays, 4:30 PM-5:30PM, TBA and by appointment
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Course Description:

This course offers a comparative approach that looks at the similarities and differences between extremist ideologies (e.g. white supremacist and jihadist) and terrorist activities across Europe and Eurasia. Moreover, this course will study the root causes and pathways associated with violent extremism, as well as analyze the strategies put forward by the State to counter this phenomenon. Topics such as foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq and Ukraine, the Islamic state and its propaganda, the danger of returnees in Europe and Eurasia, and the rise of hate speech and islamophobia will be discussed during the semester.

Grading and Assignments:

Class participation and Attendance (15%)

Class participation marks are based on both class attendance and participation in class discussions. Student attendance will be recorded at the beginning of each class.

Attendance is mandatory (except in the case of emergencies), as is informed contributions to class discussion. Participation grades will be determined based on: (a) attendance and attention level and (b) active participation that (i) displays awareness of the subject (ii) contributes to the flow of conversation (iii) shows knowledge of the readings (iv) offers critical analysis of the readings and topic. **If a student misses more than two seminars his or her attendance grades will be zero.**

Oral presentation (15%)

The students will have to give an oral presentation on one article from the course plan focusing on its theoretical approach, methodology, and its main conclusions (roughly 10-15 minutes). Subsequently, they will lead an in-class discussion about the article itself (10-15 minutes). The students should prepare discussion questions related to the article

in order to lead the seminar and engage with other students. Students will also be expected to use a PPT presentation which should be submitted through email to the professor 24 hours before the seminar.

For their presentation, the students will have to select an article of their choice from the course plan. The students will have to submit their top three choices by email before January 12th, 2020. Following the reception of all of the emails, the professor will assign each student an article based on a first come, first served principle. A schedule will be posted on Virtual Campus on January 14th, 2020.

Research paper (35%)

The research paper will examine a topic related to the course material. The paper should include a research question and/or a research hypothesis, a literature review on the topic (theoretical and empirical), and examination of a specific issue concerning violent extremism in Europe and Eurasia. The paper should be about 13-15 pages (double-spaced), roughly 4000 words. More details will be given in class.

Midterm exam (35%)

This is a written in-class exam composed of 2 development questions. It is based on the content of the first part of the course and will last 180 minutes.

Week 1 (January 6th, 2020): Introduction and Course Plan

Week 2 (January 13th, 2020): Radicalization leading to violence and violent extremism

Neumann, Peter R. 2013. "The Trouble with Radicalization" *International Affairs* 89 (4): 873-893.

Schmid, Alex P. 2013. "Radicalisation, de-radicalisation, counter-radicalisation: A conceptual discussion and literature review." *ICCT Research Paper* 97.

Horgan, John. 2008. 'From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism.' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618 (1): 80–94.

Week 3 (January 20th, 2020): Homegrown terrorism and Radicalization leading to violence

King, Michael and Donald M. Taylor. 2011. "The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23 (4): 602-622.

Hafez, Mohammed and Creighton Mullins. 2015. "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38 (11): 958-975.

Sageman, Marc. 2008. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), Chapter 3 ('The Jihadist's Profile, pp. 47-70.

Week 4 (January 27th, 2020): Terrorism in Eurasia

Speckhard, Anne, and Khapta Ahkmedova. 2006. "The Making of a Martyr: Chechen Suicide Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29 (5): 429–492.

Moore, Cerwyn. 2012. "Suicide Bombing: Chechnya, the North Caucasus and Martyrdom." *Europe-Asia Studies* 64 (9) (November): 1780–1807.

Souleimanov, Emil. 2011. "The Caucasus Emirate: Genealogy of an Islamist Insurgency." *Middle East Policy* 18 (4): 155-168.

Youngman, Mark. 2019. "Broader, Vaguer, Weaker: The Evolving Ideology of the Caucasus Emirate Leadership." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31 (2): 367-389.

Week 5 (February 3th, 2020): Foreign Fighters: Explaining why they leave

Dawson, Lorne L. and Amarnath Amarasingam. 2017. "Talking to Foreign Fighters: Insights into the Motivations for Hijrah to Syria and Iraq." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40 (3): 191-210.

Thomas Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," *International Security* 35(3) (2010/11), pp. 53–94.

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting." *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 1–15.

Borum, Randy and Robert Fein. 2017. "The Psychology of Foreign Fighters." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40 (3): 248-266.

Pokalova, Elena. 2019. "Driving Factors Behind Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 42 (9): 798-818.

Week 6 (February 10th, 2020): Extremism and Foreign Fighters from Russia

Laruelle, Marlène. 2019. Back From Utopia: How Donbas Fighters Reinvent Themselves in a Post-Novorossiya Russia. *Nationalities Papers*, 47(5), 719-733.

Yudina Natalia and Alexander Verkhovsky. 2019. Russian Nationalist Veterans of the Donbas War. *Nationalities Papers* 47:5, 734-749.

The Soufan Center. 2019. *White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement*, September 2019, available at: <https://thesoufancenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Report-by-The-Soufan-Center-White-Supremacy-Extremism-The-Transnational-Rise-of-The-Violent-White-Supremacist-Movement.pdf>

Marten, Kimberly. 2019. "Russia's use of Semi-State Security Forces: The Case of the Wagner Group." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35 (3): 181-204.

Elshimi Mohammed S. with Raffaello Pantucci, Sarah Lain and Nadine L Salman. 2018. *Understanding the Factors Contributing to Radicalisation Among Central Asian Labour Migrants in Russia*, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, April, pp.13-32 and 63-70.

Additional readings

Rácz, András. 2017. "The Elephant in the Room: Russian Foreign Fighters in Ukraine." In *Not only Syria? The Phenomenon of Foreign Fighters in a Comparative Perspective*, edited by K. Rekawek, 60–73. Amsterdam: ISO Press.

Laruelle, Marlene. 2016. "The Three Colors of Novorossiya, Or the Russian Nationalist Mythmaking of the Ukrainian Crisis." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32 (1): 55-74.

Week 7 Reading week (February 16th-22nd, 2020)

Week 8 (February 24th, 2020): Extremism and Foreign fighters in the Caucasus

Moore, Cerwyn. 2015. "Foreign Bodies: Transnational Activism, the Insurgency in the North Caucasus and "Beyond"." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27 (3): 395-415.

Ratelle, Jean-François. 2016. "North Caucasian Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq: Assessing the Threat of Returnees to the Russian Federation." *Caucasus Survey* 4 (3): 218-238.

Lonardo, David. 2016. "The Islamic State and the Connections to Historical Networks of Jihadism in Azerbaijan." *Caucasus Survey* 4 (3): 239-260.

Potočnák, Adam and Miroslav Mareš. 2019. "Georgian Foreign Fighters in the Conflict in Eastern Ukraine, 2014–2017." *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 32 (2): 159-177.

Youngman, Mark. 2016. "Between Caucasus and Caliphate: The Splintering of the North Caucasus Insurgency." *Caucasus Survey* 4 (3): 194-217.

Additional readings

Souleimanov, Emil A. 2014. "Globalizing Jihad? North Caucasians in the Syrian Civil War." *Middle East Policy* 21 (3): 154-162.

International Crisis Group (ICG) 2016. *The North Caucasus Insurgency and Syria: An Exported Jihad? Europe Report N°238* | 16 March 2016

Week 9 (March 2nd, 2020): Foreign Fighters and Extremism in Central Asia

Heathershaw John Montgomery David W. 2014. The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics, Chantham House--Russia and Eurasia Programme, November, available at <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/myth-post-soviet-muslim-radicalization-central-asian-republics#sthash.s9KGlaSd.dpuf>

Matveeva, Anna and Antonio Giustozzi. 2018. "The Central Asian Militants: Cannon Fodder of Global Jihadism Or Revolutionary Vanguard?" *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29 (2): 189-206.

Lemon, Edward J. 2016. "Building Resilient Secular Citizens: Tajikistan's Response to the Islamic State." *Caucasus Survey* 4 (3): 261-281.

Tucker, Noah. 2015. *Central Asian Involvement in the Conflict in Syria and Iraq: Drivers and Responses*, USAID, May 4th, available at: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/CVE_CentralAsians_SyriaIraq.pdf

Additional readings

Laruelle, Marlène. 2017. The Paradox of Uzbek Terror: Peace at Home, Violence Abroad. *Foreign Affairs*, November 1st.

Omelicheva, Mariya. 2010. "The Ethnic Dimension of Religious Extremism and Terrorism in Central Asia." *International Political Science Review*, 31 (2): 167-186.

Week 10 (March 9th, 2020): Foreign Fighters in the Balkans

Jennifer Mustapha. 2013 "The Mujahideen in Bosnia: The Foreign Fighter as Cosmopolitan Citizen and/or Terrorist," *Citizenship Studies*, 17(6–7): 742–755.

Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. 2018. "The Balkan Jihad: Recruitment to Violent Extremism and Issues Facing Returning Foreign Fighters in Kosovo and Southern Serbia." *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 101 (2): 79-109.

Shtuni, Adrian. 2015. "Breaking Down the Ethnic Albanian Foreign Fighters Phenomenon." *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 98 (4): 460-477.

Beslin, Jelena and Ignjatijevic, Marija. 2017. "Balkan foreign fighters: from Syria to Ukraine." *European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)*. June, available at:

(<https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief%202020%20Balkan%20foreign%20fighters.pdf>)

Week 11 (March 16th, 2020): Extremism and Foreign Fighters in Europe

Nilsson, Marco. 2015. "Foreign Fighters and the Radicalization of Local Jihad: Interview Evidence from Swedish Jihadists." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38 (5): 343-358.

Lindekilde, Lasse, Preben Bertelsen, and Michael Stohl. 2016. "Who Goes, Why, and with what Effects: The Problem of Foreign Fighters from Europe." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 27 (5): 858-877.

Basra, Rajan and Peter R. Neumann. 2016. Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10 (6): 25-40.

Coolsaet, Rik. 2016. *Facing the Fourth Foreign Fighters Wave: What Drives Europeans to Syria, and to Islamic State?: Insights from the Belgian Case*. Egmont, The Royal Institute for International Relations.

Additional reading

Oliver Roy. 2017. *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State*, London: Hurst Publishers

Week 12 (March 23rd, 2020): Mid-term examination

Week 13 (March 29th, 2020): Assessing Potential Risks in Eurasia

Holland, Edward C., Frank D. W. Witmer, and John O'Loughlin. 2017. "The Decline and Shifting Geography of Violence in Russia's North Caucasus, 2010-2016." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 58 (6): 613-641.

Byman, Daniel. 2016. "The Jihadist Returnee Threat: Just How Dangerous?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 131(1), 69-99.

Malet, David and Rachel Hayes. 2018. "Foreign Fighter Returnees: An Indefinite Threat?" *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

(<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09546553.2018.1497987>)

Souleimanov, Emil Aslan. 2017. A Failed Revolt? Assessing the Viability of the North Caucasus Insurgency, *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 30:2, 210-231

Lain, Sarah. 2016. "Strategies for Countering Terrorism and Extremism in Central Asia." *Asian Affairs* 47 (3): 386-405.

Week 14 (April 6th, 2020): Concluding remarks & meetings for your research papers

Bibliography

Bénichou, David, Farhad Khosrokhavar, and Philippe Migaux. 2015. *Le jihadisme: Le comprendre pour mieux le combattre*. Paris: Plon.

Bjorgo, Tore, and John Horgan, eds. 2008. *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Byman, Daniel. 2015. *Al Qaeda, the Islamic State, and the Global Jihadist Movement: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2011. *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Filiu, Jean-Pierre. 2015. *From Deep State to Islamic State: The Arab Counter-Revolution and Its Jihadi Legacy*. Oxford University Press.

Fishman, Brian H. 2016. *The Master Plan: ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and the Jihadi Strategy for Final Victory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Gambetta, Diego, and Steffen Hertog. 2016. *Engineers of Jihad: The Curious Connection between Violent Extremism and Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gerges, Fawaz A. 2009. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. London: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2016. *ISIS: A History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gurski, Phil. 2015. *The Threat From Within: Recognizing Al Qaeda-Inspired Radicalization and Terrorism in the West*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2010. *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffman, Bruce, and Fernando Reinares, eds. 2014. *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat: From 9/11 to Osama Bin Laden's Death*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Horgan, John. 2009. *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge.

—. 2014. *The Psychology of Terrorism*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Kepel, Gilles, and Antoine Jardin. 2016. *Terreur dans l'Hexagone: Genèse du djihad français*. Paris: Gallimard.

Khosrokhavar, Farhad. 2004. *Islam dans les Prisons*. Paris: BALLAND.

—. 2014. *Radicalisation*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

—. 2016. *Radicalization: Why Some People Choose the Path of Violence*. New York: New Press.

Kilcullen, David. 2016. *Blood Year: The Unraveling of Western Counterterrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Koehler, Daniel. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Lister, Charles R. 2016. *The Syrian Jihad: Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maher, Shiraz. 2016. *Salafi-Jihadism: The History of an Idea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malet, David. 2017. *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflicts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCants, William. 2015. *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2011. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Nesser, Petter. 2016. *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Neumann, Peter R. 2016. *Radicalized: New Jihadists and the Threat to the West*. London New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Rabasa, Angel, and Cheryl Benard. 2014. *Eurojihad: Patterns of Islamist Radicalization and Terrorism in Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ranstorp, Magnus, ed. 2010. *Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe*. Routledge.

Roy, Olivier. 2016. *Djihad et la mort*. Paris: Seuil.

Rubin, Lawrence, Rohan Gunaratna, and Jolene Anne R. Jerard, eds. 2011. *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-Terrorism*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

———. 2008. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. Philadelphia: Univ of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2016. *Misunderstanding Terrorism*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Silke, Andrew, ed. 2014. *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Stern, Jessica, and J. M. Berger. 2015. *ISIS: The State of Terror*. New York, N.Y: Ecco.

Thomson, David. 2016. *Revenants (Les): Ils étaient partis faire le jihad, ils sont de retour en France*. Paris: Seuil.

Wood, Graeme. 2016. *The Way of the Strangers: Encounters with the Islamic State*. Random House.

Wright, Lawrence. 2007. *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York, NY: Vintage.

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website:

carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website:

carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be

provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

<https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

PLAGIARISM

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own”. This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

SUBMISSION, RETURN, AND GRADING OF TERM WORK

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305

Richcraft Hall. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

CARLETON E-MAIL ACCOUNTS: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

OFFICIAL COURSE OUTLINE: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.