

PCSI 4801 A
International Security and Terrorism
Tuesday 11:35 – 2:25
UC 182

Instructor: Dr. Said Yaqub Ibrahim
Office Hour: 2:30 – 3:30 and by appointment (online)
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I. Course Description & Framework

This course engages with theories and issues of global politics with a special concentration on international security and terrorism. In addition to conventional international security topics, the course will cover theories and debates on terrorism and its impact on contemporary global security. International security is usually studied through the lens of conventional International Relations (IR) theories. The emergence of new security issues in the aftermath of the Cold War has challenged the conventional wisdom and motivated scholars to expand the sphere of security studies to intrastate and asymmetric issues. The main objective of this course is connecting conventional international security theories to new problems by combining theoretical and empirical material in security studies. The course begins with a broad overview of main international security theories and conventional security issues followed by sessions on new security problems particularly terrorism. Thus, the course includes both theoretical and empirical material and provides a space for students to study international security problems from a broader perspective. In this course, students will learn

- conventional approaches to international security
- international security in the post-Cold War era
- theories and debates on terrorism and its impact on contemporary international security

At the end of the course, students are expected to express an in-depth understanding of main international security theories and issues and critically engage with debates on contemporary international security problems.

Required Reading:

All listed journal articles and book chapters are available online (Carleton library and Ares).

II. Course Evaluation

Course evaluation includes participation, presentation, and research grades and will be calculated on the following basis:

Class Participation (30%)

Class participation is a critical component of this course. Classes are structured in a “seminar” format and, therefore, it is expected that every student comes prepared to engage in class discussion. Participation should be constructive, critical, and respectful. Both the quality and quantity of your participation will be taken into consideration and lack of participation would be considered as a lack of preparation. The purpose of class participation is to critically engage with course material and respectfully exchange understanding of assigned readings and link them to emerging global security problems.

Presentation & Discussion (15%)

Every student must present an analysis of one of the required readings in approximately 10 minutes during **sessions 2 to 12** and play the role of a discussant for another student’s presentation. Presentations will be assigned in session 1. Each seminar contains three to four readings and each student is required to provide a 10-minute oral presentation of one article. Students are expected to present in such a way that provides a snapshot of the article. Presentations should cover the main argument(s), the research approach/method, the theory, and the overall contribution of the assigned article. A simple summarization of the assigned reading will not be considered a successful presentation. Your presentation should respond three questions: what is the paper about, how is it researched/written, and why is it important. Students also need to provide a critique of the assigned article and connect it to other readings of the class highlighting their similarities and differences, and strengths and weaknesses. In the end of presentation, the discussant should provide two questions for the presenter and two questions for the class on the material presented.

Research Proposal (10%)

Due October 12 (submit electronically in Brightspace)

Proposals are an introduction to the course’s major research project and should clearly address three main questions as follows: What is the research about? How do you conduct it? Why is the proposed topic worth researching? Every proposal should contain a clear research question, a hypothesis, a theoretical framework, and a potential bibliography of at least 5 to 6 scholarly sources including books and journal articles (students can select relevant sources from this syllabus). Proposals should not exceed **1000 – 1200 words**. Students may select topics closely related to their presentations or another independent topic related to the themes of the course. Students are encouraged to consult the instructor in selecting their topics of interest. Proposals are due electronically and must be submitted no later than **October 15** before the class.

Research Paper (45%)

Due December 7 (submit electronically in Brightspace)

Students are required to build on their research proposals and write a research paper which should be **4000 to 4500** words long including references and footnotes. Topics of interest could include international security theories and security problems or both. In either case, students are required to address both theoretical and empirical dimensions of the assigned topic. In other words, theory papers should use empirical evidence/research to support the argument, and empirical papers should be designed within a clear methodological and/or theoretical framework. Papers should be organized in

a “journal article” style and include introduction, discussion, and conclusion sections. Students are expected to review the relevant literature, indicate the literature gap, and state their argument as filling the gap. Papers must include 12 to 15 scholarly sources (i.e., journal articles and book chapters) – relevant sources from this syllabus are acceptable. Citations should follow the Chicago Manual of Style (Author-Date format).

III. Course Topics and Schedule

Session 1 (September 14): Course Introduction

In this introductory session, the instructor reviews the syllabus and presents the format, requirements, and objectives of the course. Presentations will be assigned during the session; therefore, it is expected that students come prepared with potential topics for presentation.

Session 2 (September 21): International Security: Concept and Debate

In this session, we will discuss the concept, theory, and development of international security. The concentration will be on: What is international security? How did it develop? How the state-centric approach to international security explains contemporary problems and how it is challenged?

REQUIRED READING

- Helga Haftendorn, “The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1991), pp. 3-17.
- John Mearsheimer, “Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order,” *International Security* Vol 43, No. 4 (2019), pp. 7-50.
- Mark Sedra (ed.). *The Future of Security Sector Reform* (Waterloo: CIGI, 2010), Chapter 13: pp. 208-228. (an electronic copy of the chapter is available on Ares)

Session 3 (September 28): Approaches to International Security

The readings assigned for this session provide a broad overview of the realist, neoliberal, constructivist, and post-structural approaches to international security studies. In this class, we will discuss and compare debates and arguments of the four schools of IR on international security.

REQUIRED READING

- Robert Jervis, “Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate”, *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (1999), pp. 42-63.
- Theo Farrell, “Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program,” *International Studies Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2002), pp. 49-72.
- Lene Hansen, “A Case of Seduction? Evaluating the Poststructuralist Conceptualization of Security,” *Cooperation and Conflict* Vol. 32, No. 4 (1997), pp. 369-397.

Session 4 (October 5): Nuclear Rivalry: A Major Cold War Issue

During the Cold War nuclear proliferation, nuclear rivalry, and deterrence became dominant international security topics. This session provides a broad overview of the scholarly debate on nuclear rivalry and deterrence and their relevance to the contemporary international security studies.

REQUIRED READING

- Harald Muller, “Looking at Nuclear Rivalries: The Role of Nuclear Deterrence,” *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2014), pp. 464-475.
- Graham Allison, “Nuclear Disorder: Surveying Atomic Threat,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (2010), pp. 74-85.

- Keith B. Payne, “Nuclear Deterrence in a New Age,” *Comparative Strategy*, Vol 37, No. 1 (2018), pp. 1-8.

Session 5 (October 12): State Fragility: A post-Cold War Security Issue

Following the end of the Cold War, state fragility became a serious international security issue. Fragile states have affected the security of their neighboring countries and provided favorable conditions for the development of international terrorist organizations and different forms of organized-crime networks. In this session, we will discuss the root causes of state fragility and its global security consequences.

REQUIRED READING

- Edward Newman, “Failed States and International Order: Constructing a Post-Westphalian World”, *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2009), pp. 421-443.
- Stewart Patrick, “Failed States and Global Security: Empirical Questions and Policy Dilemma,” *International Studies Review*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2007), pp. 644-662.
- S. Yaqub Ibrahim, “Violence-Producing Dynamics of Fragile States: How State Fragility in Iraq Contributed to the Emergence of ‘Islamic State?’” *Terrorism and Political Violence* [online first] 2018, pp. 1-23.

Session 6 (October 19): International Security in a “Unipolar” World

In this session, we will discuss international security in a “unipolar” context. The required reading for this session focuses on the “peacefulness” of the unipolar system from different perspectives.

REQUIRED READING

- William Wohlforth, “The Stability of a Unipolar World”, *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (1999), pp. 5–41.
- Nuno P. Monteiro, “Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful?” *International Security*, Vol. 36. No. 3 (2011/2012), pp. 9-40.
- S. Yaqub Ibrahim, “Unipolar Politics and Global Peace: A Structural Explanation of the Globalizing Jihad,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, Vol. 11(1), (2018), pp. 50-60.

October 26: Fall Break, *no class*

Session 7 (November 2): Canadian Security: past and present

In this session, we will discuss security from a Canadian perspective. The readings assigned for this class provide a broad overview of Canada’s security concerns, policies, and objectives in the past, present, and future.

REQUIRED READING

- Thomas Juneau, Philippe Lagassé, Srdjan Vucetic, Eds. *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice* (Palgrave 2019). Chapter 3, pp. 29-44. (**Available e-book**)
- Kim Richard Nossal, “Defending the ‘Realm’: Canadian Strategic Culture Revisited,” *International Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (2004), pp. 503-520.
- Government of Canada, “Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy,” (2017), Chapter IV: pp. 49-58.

Session 8 (November 9): Human Security

The readings assigned for this class provide a broad overview of the concept of human security, its development and significance in contemporary security dialogue.

REQUIRED READING

- Roland Paris, “Human Security. Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (2001), pp. 87-102.
- Astri Suhrke, “Human Security and the Interests of States,” *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30, No. 3, (1999), pp. 265–276.
- Edward Newman, “Critical Human Security Studies.” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36 (2010), pp. 77-94.
- Amitav Acharya, “Human Security: East versus West,” *International Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 3, (2001), pp. 442-460.

Session 9 (November 16): Terrorism: A New Global Security Issue

This session concentrates on terrorism as a significant international security problem. Although we will discuss the concept of terrorism in its broader sense a special concentration will be on Islamist-oriented or religious terrorism as a post-Cold War international security problem. The readings provide a broad overview of the emergence and expansion of terrorist organizations and examine their impact on contemporary international security.

REQUIRED READING

- Anthony Richards, “Conceptualizing Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2014), pp. 213-236.
- Alex P. Schmid, ‘Frameworks for Conceptualising Terrorism’, *Terrorism and Political Violence* Vol. 16, No. 2 (2004), pp. 197-221
- Jones et al. “The Evolution of the Salafi-jihadist Threat,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, Nov. 2018: read only the Executive Summary.
- Joseph Nye, “Smart Power and the War on Terror,” *Asia Pacific Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2008), pp. 1-8.

Session 10 (November 23): Terrorist Organizations: Al-Qaeda & Islamic State

This session introduces students to two major cases of Islamist orient terrorism, al-Qaeda and Islamic State (IS), also known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria/the Levant (ISIS/ISIL). The discussion concentrates on causes, evolution, objectives, and the future of the two organizations.

REQUIRED READING

- S. Yaqub Ibrahim, “Theory of the Rise of al-Qaeda,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2018), pp. 138-157.
- Fawaz Gerges, *The Rise and Fall of al-Qaeda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Chapter 1: pp. 33-72. (an electronic copy of the chapter is available on Ares)
- Simon Cottee, “‘What ISIS Really Wants’ Revisited: Religion Matters in Jihadist Violence, but How?” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 40, no. 6 (2017), pp. 439–54.
- Jones et al. “The Evolution of the Salafi-jihadist Threat,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, Nov. 2018: Chapter 3: pp. 12-22.

Session 11 (November 30): Homegrown/Domestic Terrorism

In this session, we will discuss the emergence of “homegrown terrorism” also labeled as “domestic terrorism” in North America and Europe. The readings examine the process and trajectories of radicalization in the “West,” the emergence and activities of homegrown terrorists, and their links to the main terrorist organizations.

REQUIRED READING

- S. Yaqub Ibrahim, “International Relations and Political Violence: A Study of the Causes of Domestic Jihadist Violence in a Transatlantic Context,” *International Journal*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (2020), pp. 144-162.
- Manni Crone, & Martin Harrow, “Homegrown Terrorism in the West.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (2011), pp. 521-536.
- Mohammed Hafez, & Creighton Mullins, “The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 38, No. 11 (2015), pp. 958-975.
- Sara Doering & Garth Davis, “The Contextual Nature of Right-Wing Terrorism Across Nations,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, [online first], 2019, pp. 1-24.

Session 12 (December 7): Cyberterrorism & Course Overview

This session introduces students to an emerging issue in terrorism studies, cyberterrorism. In this session we will discuss the concept of cyberterrorism, the threat that it poses to international security, and the intersection between technology and security. In the end of this session, the course will be overviewed; global security and contemporary security problems will be generally discussed.

REQUIRED READING

- Marco Marsili, “The War on Cyberterrorism,” *Democracy and Security*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2018), pp. 172-199.
- Jarvis et al. “The Cyberterrorism Threat: Findings from a Survey of Researchers.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2014), pp. 68-90.
- Dennis Broeders, Fabio Christiano, and Dann Weggemans. “Too Close to Comfort: Cyber Terrorism and Information Security Across National Policies and International Diplomacy.”
- Jonathan Matusitz, “Cyberterrorism: Postmodern State of Chaos,” *Information Security Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2008), pp. 179-187

Optional reading

- Constantine Petallides, “Cyber Terrorism and IR Theory: Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism in the New Security Threat.” *Inquiries Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2016).

Appendix

Covid-19 Information

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) and mandatory self-screening prior to coming to campus daily.

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory symptom reporting tool. For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the COVID-19 website.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the University's COVID-19 webpage and review the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under the Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy. Failure to comply with Carleton's COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

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 accommodation: 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 accommodation: 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

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, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more information, please visit carleton.ca/pmc.

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 engage in student activities 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.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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.

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 includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works

of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>

Intellectual property

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 and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. 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 Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> .

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.