

PCSI 4801A
International Security and Terrorism

Thursday 2:35 – 5-25
Online Course

Instructor: Said Yaqub Ibrahim

Virtual Office Hour: BigBlueButton (Thursday 1:00 – 2:00 PM and by appointment)

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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 conventionally studied through the lens of conventional International Relations (IR) theories, and as an interstate and grand strategy topic. However, following the end of the Cold War, new security issues have challenged the conventional wisdom and motivated scholars to extend the sphere of security studies to intrastate and asymmetric problems. The core objective of this course is connecting conventional theories to new problems by combining theoretical and empirical material on international security. The course begins with a broad overview of main international security theories and conventional security issues followed by sessions on new international security problems particularly terrorism. Thus, the course includes both theoretical and empirical material and provides a space for students to study global security problems from an interdisciplinary 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, its causes and types, and its impact on contemporary global 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 theories and debates on contemporary international security problems. This course is taught online and synchronously through Zoom learning platform and includes seminars and discussions on required readings and relevant contemporary issues. The instructor will create the zoom session before each class. Classes are open every Thursday from 2:35 to 5:25 and include seminars, presentations, and written reflections on required readings.

II. Course Evaluation

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

Written Reflections on Reading (15%)

Students are encouraged to post a written reflection on every week's reading. The instructor will create a Forum for this activity in cuLearn before every lecture.

Class Participation (20%)

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 linking them to emerging global security problems.

Presentation & Discussion (10%)

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 manage to ask one questions from the presenter and two questions from the class on the material of presentation.

Research Proposal (15%)

Due October 15 (submit electronically to cuLearn before class)

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 (40%)

Due December 10 (submit electronically to cuLearn before class)

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 Style).

III. Course Topics and Schedule

Session 1 (September 10): 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 17): 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 24): 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 1): 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.

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 8): State Fragility: A post-Cold War Security Issue

Following the end of the Cold War, state fragility has become a serious international security problem. Fragile states affect the security of their neighboring countries and provide 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 development into a global security problem.

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 15): International Security in a “Unipolar” World

In this session, we will discuss international security in a “unipolar” context. The required readings for this session focus 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, “Uncertainty 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.

Session 7 (October 22): Canadian Security: past and present

In this session we will discuss international 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 as an 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.

(October 29): Fall Break, no class

Session 8 (November 5): Human Security

“Human security” is a new concept and issue in security studies. The readings assigned for this class provide a broad overview of the concept, its development and its 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.
- Amitav Acharya, “Human Security: East versus West,” *International Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 3, (2001), pp. 442-460.
- Sara Davis, Nicole George & Jacqui True, “The Difference that Gender Makes to International Peace and Security,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2017), pp. 1-3.

Session 9 (November 12): Terrorism: A New Global Security Issue

This session concentrates on terrorism as an emerging international security problem. Although we will discuss the concept of terrorism in its broad sense a special concentration will be on “Islamist-oriented-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 19): Terrorist Organizations: Al-Qaeda & Islamic State

This session introduces students with 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, and objectives 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 2: 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 26): 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 assigned for this session 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.
- Mani 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 3): Cyberterrorism

This session introduces students with an emerging issue in terrorism studies, cyberterrorism. In this session we will discuss the concept of cyberterrorism, the threat it poses to international security, and the intersection between technology and security.

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.
- Jonathan Matusitz, “Cyberterrorism: Postmodern State of Chaos,” *Information Security Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2008), pp. 179-187

Session 12 (December 10): Course Overview

In this last session, the course will be overviewed; global security and contemporary security problems will be generally discussed.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments

in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and 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 me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

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.

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.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays 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.

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

Approval of final grades: 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 cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

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. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, 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 numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.