

## Counterterrorism and Democracy

Ion Marandici  
Political Science 790:343  
Fall 2018

**Course hours:** T&Th 6:10–7:30 pm

**Location:** CAC CA-A3

**Office hours:** Tuesday 5:00–6:00 pm, Student Activities Center or by appointment.

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### Course overview

Terrorism is one of the major contemporary global threats. To counter it, democratic governments impose restrictions on democratic liberties and even conduct military operations abroad. Authoritarian leaders fear terrorists as well, because they may undermine their rule. This course will help students grasp the multifaceted trade-off between countering terrorism, maintaining order, and defending political freedoms in advanced democracies. As the extent and nature of governmental intervention becomes known to the public, thorny questions concerning the desirability of such intrusions arise. How serious is the terrorist threat today? Is nuclear terrorism possible? Are we ready to trade some freedom for more safety? Is the demos consulted when such policies are designed and implemented by unelected officials? How effective are counterterrorist policies? Was the War on Terror necessary? Why do foreign fighters join ISIS? What role do the courts play in upholding individual political freedoms and liberties? How do non-democratic regimes address the problem of terrorism? Should Western democracies cooperate with authoritarian regimes in order to reduce the risk of terrorism?

To answer these and other questions, we will examine and discuss existing studies about terrorism. We will focus on the nature of the democratic political process, the typologies of terrorists, and the basic principles of counterterrorist policies across a wide range of political and historical contexts. To that end, the class material is divided into four distinct sections: the four waves of modern terrorism in the West, theories and empirical data about counter-terrorism, fighting terrorism across Western and non-Western regions, and restrictions on political and civil liberties.

At the end of the class, students should be a) equipped with the conceptual tools to discuss various perspectives on terrorism, b) learn to tolerate opposing points of view on the issue, c) identify the main challenges for counterterrorist policies, d) see “the big picture” and the main obstacles preventing international cooperation in the field of counterterrorism.

## **Required books**

(available at the Rutgers bookstore and on reserve at the Alexander Library on College Ave):

- 1) Martha Crenshaw and Gary Lafree, *Countering Terrorism*, Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 2017.
- 2) Jessica Stern, *ISIS: The State of Terror*, 2015.
- 3) David Kaczynski, *Every Last Tie: The Story of The Unabomber and His Family*, Duke University Press, 2016.
- 4) Mark S. Hamm and Ramon Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

Additional readings, handouts, and other learning materials will be uploaded on Sakai at <http://sakai.rutgers.edu>

## **Grading policy**

Four Reading Quizzes 20%

Midterm Exam 35%

Final Paper 35%

Presentations/Participation 10%

## **University policies**

Disability Accommodation: Information on Rutgers Disability Support Services can be found at <http://disabilityservices.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers Student Code of Conduct & Academic Integrity rules are enforced in this class. See details at <http://studentconduct.rutgers.edu>

Attendance: Random attendance checks. If you are going to miss a class, please use the university reporting system available at <https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>. Absences for religious observance are excused without penalty and do not need to be reported, but you do need to notify me in advance. For medical problems please provide a doctor's note. If you have more than three unexcused absences, points will be deducted from the final grade.

Please keep in mind that effective learning is a common enterprise requiring both a prepared instructor and a responsible student.

## Schedule

### Week 1

#### Sept 4: Introduction: what is at stake?

- Fundamental conflict between security and democracy
- Terrorism as a special problem
- Emergency versus normal times
- Ideological and material aspects of terrorism
- The rationale for this class

### 1. Four waves of modern terrorism?

#### Sept 6: The first wave: the Russian anarchists

- \* David Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 1989.
- \* Whitney Kassel, *Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, 2009
- \* Jeffrey D. Simon, *The Forgotten Terrorists: Lessons from the History of Terrorism*

### Week 2

#### Sept 11: The anticolonial wave. The New Left wave.

- \* Lou DiMarco, *Losing the Moral Compass: Torture and Guerre Revolutionnaire in the Algerian War*, 2006.
- \* Paul J. Smith, *The Italian Red Brigades (1969–1984): Political Revolution and Threats to the State*
- \* The Red Army Faction (tbd)

#### Sept 13: The fourth wave – the religious wave. 9/11. The case of Al-Qaeda.

- \* Documentary 1

### Week 3

#### Sept 18: The use of force. The Bush Doctrine. The War on Terror.

- \* Robert Delahunty & John Yoo, *The Bush Doctrine: Can Preventive War Be Justified*, 2009.
- \* How terrorist groups end? RAND report, Ch. 5. Military Force and al Qa'ida in Iraq/Ch. 6. The Limits of America's al Qa'ida Strategy
- \* Killing Bin Laden: Time article by Graham Allison

#### Sept 20: The rise of ISIS.

- \* Jessica Stern and J.M. Berger, *ISIS and the Foreign Fighter Phenomenon*, 2015.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/03/isis-and-the-foreign-fighter-problem/387166/>
- \* Barry Posen, *Contain ISIS*, 2015.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/isis-syria-iraq-containment/416799/>

\* Vice News documentary about ISIS:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AUjHb4C7b94>

\* PBS Frontline documentary about ISIS:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rzuQmeJrqZE>

\* Senate Hearing, Inside the Mind of ISIS: Understanding Its Goals and Ideology to Better Protect the Homeland, January 20, 2016. <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/inside-the-mind-of-isis-understanding-its-goals-and-ideology-to-better-protect-the-homeland>

^ Senate Hearing, The Impact of ISIS on Homeland and Refugee Resettlement, Nov 19, 2015. <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/lessons-from-the-paris-terrorist-attacks-ramifications-for-the-homeland-and-refugee-resettlement>

## **Week 4**

### **Sept 25: The Unabomber**

\* David Kaczynski, *Every Last Tie: The Story of The Unabomber and His Family*, Duke University Press, 2016.

## **2. Theories and aggregate data: what do we know about terrorism?**

### **Sept 27: Terrorist attacks as rare events.**

\* Crenshaw and Lafree, *Overresponding to rare events*, Ch. 2.

## **Week 5**

### **Oct 2: Failed attacks.**

\* Crenshaw and Lafree, *The tip of the Iceberg*, Ch. 3.

### **Oct 4: An elusive adversary? QUIZ 1.**

\* Crenshaw and Lafree, *Pinning down an elusive adversary: What is a terrorist organization?* Ch. 4.

## **Week 6**

### **Oct 9: Identifying the perpetrators**

\* Crenshaw and Lafree, *Who did it? The Attribution Dilemma*, Ch. 5.

## **3. Post-9/11 Terrorism in Western and non-Western contexts**

### **Oct 11: UK, France, and Norway**

\* Lars Erik Berntzen & Sveinung Sandberg, *The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti Islamic Social Movement*.

\* Charlotte Heath-Kelly, Counter-Terrorism and the Counterfactual: Producing the 'Radicalisation' Discourse and the UK PREVENT Strategy, *The British Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 2012.

## **Week 7**

### **Oct 16: Russia, China and Israel**

\* Speckhard and Akhmedova, *The Making of a Martyr: Chechen Suicide Terrorism*, in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2006.

\* Michael Clark, “China’s ‘War on Terror’ in Xinjiang”, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20, 2008.

\* Mark Vinson, *An Israeli Approach to Deterring Terrorism*, 2015.

### **Oct 18: Midterm review**

## **Week 8**

### **Oct 23: MIDTERM**

#### **4. Curtailing rights and liberties.**

### **Oct 25: Privacy, New Technology, Mass Surveillance. QUIZ 2.**

\* Senate Intelligence Hearing, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=41rdxjyYmE8>

\* Electronic Frontier Foundation, Automated License Plate Readers. See: <https://www.eff.org/pages/automated-license-plate-readers-alpr>

\* Greenwald, No Place to Hide, Ch. 3-4.

## **Week 9**

### **Oct 30: Detention, Interrogation and Torture. Guantanamo.**

\* Law and the Long War, *The Real Guantanamo*, pp. 73–102.

\* “Is the use of coercive interrogation and torture permissible and effective as a counterterrorism method?” in *Contemporary Debates on Terrorism*, Ch. 10, 152–165.

### **Nov 1: Targeted Killing.**

\* Does targeted killing work? by Daniel Byman. *Foreign Affairs*, 85, 2 (March–April 2006), 95–111.

## **Week 10**

### **Nov 6: Lone Wolf Terrorism**

\* Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, Ch. 3. **QUIZ 3.**

\* Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, Ch. 4–7

### **Nov 8: Models of Radicalization. Online radicalization.**

\* Charles Kurzman, *Muslim-American Involvement with Violent Extremism*, 2016. [https://sites.duke.edu/tcths/files/2017/01/FINAL\\_Kurzman\\_Muslim-American\\_Involvement\\_in\\_Violent\\_Extremism\\_2016.pdf](https://sites.duke.edu/tcths/files/2017/01/FINAL_Kurzman_Muslim-American_Involvement_in_Violent_Extremism_2016.pdf)

\* Facebook’s Policy on Credible Threats of Violence <https://www.theguardian.com/news/gallery/2017/may/21/facebooks-manual-on-credible-threats-of-violence>

\* Lessons from Canada, the U.K. and the U.S., U.S. Department of Justice report:

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/249947.pdf>

\* Countering Violent Extremism: <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/07/a-breaking-point-for-muslim-representation/535428/>

\* Senate Hearing “ISIS Online: Countering Terrorist Radicalization & Recruitment on the Internet & Social Media”

[https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/subcommittees/investigations/hearings/isis-online-countering-terrorist-radicalization-and-recruitment-on-the-internet\\_social-media](https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/subcommittees/investigations/hearings/isis-online-countering-terrorist-radicalization-and-recruitment-on-the-internet_social-media)

## **Week 11**

### **Nov 13: Deradicalization and Rehabilitation. QUIZ 4.**

\* Richard Barrett and Laila Bokhari, Leaving terrorism behind: deradicalization and rehabilitation programs targeting religious terrorists and extremists in the Muslim world, pp. 170–180.

\* Daniel Freedman, What reformed terrorists told me?, April 2010.

\* Christian Picciolini, My descent into America’s neo-Nazi movement – and how I got out, April 10, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VM6HZqQKhok>

\* John Horgan, Deradicalization or disengagement? in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2008.

\* Mercy Corps, *Motivations and Empty Promises: Voices of Former Boko Haram Combatants and Nigerian Youth*, April 2016.

[https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Motivations%20and%20Empty%20Promises\\_Mercy%20Corps\\_Full%20Report.pdf](https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Motivations%20and%20Empty%20Promises_Mercy%20Corps_Full%20Report.pdf)

### **Nov 15: Are Counterterrorism Policies Effective? Forecasting the future of terrorism?**

\* Counterterrorism Results: Can Effectiveness be Evaluated? Ch. 6.

\* Moving Forward, Crenshaw and Lafree, Ch. 7.

## **Week 12**

**Nov 20: NO CLASS.**

## **Week 13**

**Nov 27: Student Presentations I (Groups 1–4)**

**Nov 29: Student Presentations II (Groups 5–8)**

## **Week 14**

**Dec 4: Student Presentations III (Groups 9–11)**

**Dec 6: Individual consultations.**

Final paper due on December 10, 2018, at noon. Please upload it on Sakai via the Assignments section.