# 790:547:01 EXTREMISM, VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL CHANGE

# RUTGERS UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE UNITED NATIONS & GLOBAL POLICY STUDIES

# SPRING 2020 TH **6:00-8:40** PM HCK 612/MMC N462

#### PROFESSOR ENGY ABDELKADER

790:574:01 -Special Topics: Extremism Violence and Political Change

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Office Hours: By Appointment

Monday 3:00-5:40pm HCK 612/MMC N462

#### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

How do we explain the spread of violent extremism and terrorism? What are root causes causing these phenomena? How have intergovernmental organizations and the international community responded to non-state terrorist actors, such as ISIS and Al Qaeda? What, if any, questions do such campaigns raise for international human rights? Interdisciplinary in nature, and with a particular emphasis on the United Nations, this seminar introduces participants to related legal and political theories, issues and debates. The class will explore: the definition of terrorism; theories surrounding radicalization and extremism; the role of international and intergovernmental organizations in global counter-terrorism; and the detention and treatment of suspected terrorists. We will also consider significant ongoing legal and policy debates, such as the right to privacy and mass digital surveillance; sources of violence and efficacy of current countering violent extremism paradigms; use of unmanned aerial vehicles ("drones"); and employing fully autonomous weapons (also known as "killer robots"), among issues. No prior familiarity with the subject matter is required.

#### TEXTBOOKS AND SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

- (1) LOUISE DOSWALD-BECK, HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIMES OF ARMED CONFLICT AND TERRORISM (Oxford 2011).
- (2) BEN SAUL, DEFINING TERRORISM IN INTERNATIONAL LAW (Oxford 2008).
- (2) A NUMBER OF SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS WILL BE PLACED ON THE CLASS PORTAL OR DISTRIBUTED VIA EMAIL.

#### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES**

Class Attendance & Participation (20% of grade)

Class attendance is mandatory and active participation is expected. In the event of a significant scheduling conflict or illness, please email the instructor as soon as you are aware that you will be unlikely to attend class. Unexplained absences will otherwise be looked upon unfavorably.

### Response Papers (10% of grade)

Students will be required to write brief response emails for at least 5 class meetings during the semester. The response emails, representing an informal writing of *less* than one page, should raise questions or address issues about the readings. They are intended to help students critically engage with the readings and also guide the seminar discussion that week.

### *Writing Requirement (70% of grade)*

Students are expected to produce a research paper analyzing a topic related to the subject matter. Class participants must have their paper topic approved by the instructor and should be prepared to briefly present their research to the class towards semester's end. Research papers should be between 15 to 20 pages in length.

#### SAS CORE LEARNING GOALS MET BY THIS COURSE

- 1) Explain and be able to assess the relationship among assumptions, method, evidence, arguments, and theory in social and historical analysis.
- 2) Explain the development of some aspect of a society or culture over time, including the history of ideas or history of science.
- 3) Understand different theories about human culture, social identity, economic entities, political systems, and other forms of social organization.
- 4) Apply concepts about human and social behavior to particular questions or situations.

#### COURSE RUBRIC

With respect to evaluation, the following rubric will be used in assessing your performance, including forum posts, response papers and research paper. It sets the most basic criteria of assessment, but it will at least provide you with some idea of my expectations.

	A	В	С	D/F
	4 pts	3 pts	2 pts	1/0 pts
Argument and analysis	Makes clear and compelling argument. Solid reasoning. Offers insightful analysis.	Makes clear argument, based on plausible readings. Some effort to sustain argument throughout the analysis.	Attempts to offer a cogent argument and analysis, but argument and analysis are based on faulty reasoning.	Fails to make a cogent argument or to offer sound analysis.

Writing and grammar	Writes well, making appropriate word choices and avoiding grammar and spelling mistakes.	Writes well, but may include a handful of grammar, spelling, or word choice mistakes.	Makes multiple errors, but still writes in a clearly intelligible manner.	Makes multiple errors that interfere substantially with comprehension.
Organization and structure	Presents clear, navigable structure with introduction, body, and conclusion. Provides reader with a "road map" of essay.	Offers clear organization with some road map for reader.	Makes some effort to structure the paper, but organization is problematic or difficult to follow.	Structures the paper in a way that is disorganized and difficult or impossible to follow.
Mastery and use of readings: References	Uses multiple readings and demonstrates mastery of facts and arguments made in readings.	References multiple readings and demonstrates a good degree of understanding.	Makes minimal use of readings and/or fails to demonstrate adequate mastery of readings.	Fails to use readings.
Mastery and use of readings: Concepts	Knows the analytical concepts, provides their definition(s), and applies them precisely and systemically in the analysis of specific problems.	Knows most of the concepts. Makes minor definitional errors.	Makes some headway toward knowing and applying the relevant concepts.	Fails to know and apply basic concepts.

Mastery and use of readings: Evidence	Marshals appropriate evidence to describe, understand, and explain political problems.	Marshals appropriate evidence to describe, understand, and explain political problems, with small errors.	Attempts to provide and explain evidence but with substantial omissions or errors in interpretation.	Fails to provide relevant evidence.
Mastery and use of readings: Theoretical Analyses	Explains the relevance and applicability of a wide range of theoretical analyses to specific political problems.	Is able to apply successfully some of the course's theoretical analyses to selected political problems.	Has difficulty connecting theoretical analyses to the political problems.	Fails to connect the course's theoretical analyses to analyzed political problems.
Mastery and use of readings: Application to real political problems	Exhibits a nuanced understanding of the relationship between the analytical tools learned in class and "real life" global/comparative political problems.	Demonstrates a general understanding of the relevance of political scientific theories for the analysis of the global political world.	Has difficulty connecting the theories to actual issues of global/comparati ve politics.	Fails to connect the theories to actual issues of global/comparati ve politics.

#### ACADEMIC INTEGRITY POLICY

Principles of academic integrity require that every Rutgers University student:

- properly acknowledge and cite all use of the ideas, results, or words of others
- properly acknowledge all contributors to a given piece of work
- make sure that all work submitted as his or her own in a course or other academic activity is produced without the aid of unsanctioned materials or unsanctioned collaboration

- obtain all data or results by ethical means and report them accurately without suppressing any results inconsistent with his or her interpretation or conclusions
- treat all other students in an ethical manner, respecting their integrity and right to pursue their educational goals without interference. This requires that a student neither facilitate academic dishonesty by others nor obstruct their academic progress
- uphold the canons of the ethical or professional code of the profession for which he or she is preparing.

Adherence to these principles is necessary in order to insure that:

- everyone is given proper credit for his or her ideas, words, results, and other scholarly accomplishments
- all student work is fairly evaluated and no student has an inappropriate advantage over others
- the academic and ethical development of all students is fostered
- the reputation of the University for integrity in its teaching, research, and scholarship is maintained and enhanced.

Failure to uphold these principles of academic integrity threatens both the reputation of the University and the value of the degrees awarded to its students. Every member of the University community therefore bears a responsibility for ensuring that the highest standards of academic integrity are upheld.

- The Rutgers University Academic Integrity Policy

#### **CHEATING AND PLAGIARISM**

Short version: Don't cheat. Don't plagiarize.

Longer version: Cheating on tests or plagiarizing materials in your papers deprives you of the educational benefits of preparing these materials appropriately. It is personally dishonest to cheat on a test or to hand in a paper based on unacknowledged words or ideas that someone else originated. It is also unfair, since it gives you an undeserved advantage over your fellow students who are graded on the basis of their own work. In this class we will take cheating very seriously. All suspected cases of cheating and plagiarism will be automatically referred to the Office of Judicial Affairs, and we will recommend penalties appropriate to the gravity of the infraction. The university's policy on Academic Integrity is available above and at <a href="http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/AI">http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/AI</a> Policy 9 01 2011.pdf <sup>1</sup> I strongly advise you to familiarize yourself with this document, both for this class and for your other classes and future work. To help protect you, and future students, from plagiarism, we require all papers to be submitted through Turnitin.com.

Since what counts as plagiarism is not always clear, I quote the definition given in Rutgers' policy:

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is the use of another person's words, ideas, or results without giving that person appropriate credit. To avoid plagiarism, every direct quotation must be identified by quotation marks or appropriate indentation and both direct quotation and paraphrasing must be cited properly according to the accepted format for the particular discipline or as required by the instructor in a course. Some common examples of plagiarism are:

- Copying word for word (i.e. quoting directly) from an oral, printed, or electronic source without proper attribution.
- Paraphrasing without proper attribution, i.e., presenting in one's own words another person's written words or ideas as if they were one's own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This web link was corrected on July 13, 2012. S. Lawrence.

- Submitting a purchased or downloaded term paper or other materials to satisfy a course requirement.
- Incorporating into one's work graphs, drawings, photographs, diagrams, tables, spreadsheets, computer programs, or other nontextual material from other sources without proper attribution.<sup>2</sup>

A SPECIAL NOTE: Students often assume that because information is available on the Web it is public information, does not need to be formally referenced, and can be used without attribution. This is a mistake. *All* information and ideas that you derive from other sources, whether written, spoken, or electronic, must be attributed to their original source. Such sources include not just written or electronic materials, but people with whom you may discuss your ideas, such as your roommate, friends, or family members. They deserve credit for their contributions too!

Judgments about plagiarism can be subtle. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask for guidance.

#### READING ASSIGNMENTS AND COURSE OUTLINE

# Week One Introduction: Defining and Criminalizing Terrorism

SAUL pp. 1-128

*UN Report on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights & Defining Terrorism*, <a href="http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/168/84/PDF/G0516884.pdf">http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/168/84/PDF/G0516884.pdf</a>?OpenElement

Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights, OSCE, pp. 19-25, <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true">http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true</a>

Week Two
Terrorism: Justifications and Excuses?

Saul pp. 69-128

## **Week Three**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <a href="http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/Al Policy 9 01 2011.pdf">http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/Al Policy 9 01 2011.pdf</a> Updated with the University's current language on July 13, 2012. S. Lawrence

#### The Global Counter-terrorism Regime

SAUL pp. 129-190

Doswald-Beck pp. 127-137

Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights, OSCE, pp. 34-43, <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true">http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true</a>

### Week Four International Terrorism & Intergovernmental Organizations

SAUL pp. 191-270

Doswald-Beck pp. 137-160

Does CVE Work?, http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Does-CVE-Work\_2015.pdf

Countering Violent Extremism: What Are the Key Challenges for UN? http://theglobalobservatory.org/2015/11/countering-violent-extremism-united-nations-ban-ki-moon/Session

UN Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism, https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/plan-action-prevent-violent-extremism

# Week Five What are Human Rights and When Do They Apply?

DOSWALD-BECK pp. 5-67

Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights, OSCE, pp. 43-65, <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true">http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true</a>

Michael Ignatieff, *Is the Human Rights Era Ending*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (2002), <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/opinion/is-the-human-rights-era-ending.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/opinion/is-the-human-rights-era-ending.html</a>

Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper for the 59th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights: *In the Name of Counter-terrorism, Human Rights Abuses Worldwide*, <a href="http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/counter-terrorism-bck\_0.pdf">http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/counter-terrorism-bck\_0.pdf</a>

# Week Six Human Rights Law: Limitations and Derogations

DOSWALD-BECK pp. 68-106

# Week Seven Counter-terrorism, Human Rights & Arbitrary Deprivation of Life

Doswald-Beck pp. 161-193

Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights, OSCE, pp. 98-113, <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true">http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true</a>

U.S. Department of Justice White Paper on Lethal Operations Against U.S. Citizen Who is a Senior Operational Leader in Al Qaeda,

http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/msnbc/sections/news/020413\_DOJ\_White\_Paper.pdf

*Memo Cites Legal Basis for Killing U.S. Citizens in Al Qaeda*, The New York Times, <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/05/us/politics/us-memo-details-views-on-killing-citizens-in-al-qaeda.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/05/us/politics/us-memo-details-views-on-killing-citizens-in-al-qaeda.html</a>

### Week Eight Counter-terrorism, Human Rights & Torture

DOSWALD-BECK pp. 194-228

Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights, OSCE, pp. 114-146, <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true">http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true</a>

UN Committee Against Torture Report (2006) - calls for the United States to close the Guantanamo Bay, Cuba facility as well as any secret detention centers abroad, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/133838.pdf

Torture at Times: Waterboarding in the Media, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, 2010, <a href="http://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/4420886/torture\_at\_times\_hks\_students.pdf?sequence=1">http://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/4420886/torture\_at\_times\_hks\_students.pdf?sequence=1</a>

U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee: Study on the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program (**Findings & Conclusions**), COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, 2014, <a href="http://www.cfr.org/terrorism/senate-intelligence-committee-study-central-intelligence-agencys-detention-interrogation-program/p33919">http://www.cfr.org/terrorism/senate-intelligence-committee-study-central-intelligence-agencys-detention-interrogation-program/p33919</a>

# Week Nine Counter-terrorism, Human Rights & Arbitrary Detention

DOSWALD-BECK pp. 253-300

Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights, OSCE, pp. 146-165, http://www.osce.org/odihr/29103?download=true

Ethiopia: End the Onslaught on Dissent as Arrests Continue, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, <a href="http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/ethiopia-end-onslaught-dissent-arrests-continue-2014-07-10">http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/ethiopia-end-onslaught-dissent-arrests-continue-2014-07-10</a>.

Kenya: Somalis Scapegoated in Counter-terror Crackdown, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/kenya-somalis-scapegoated-counter-terror-crackdown-2014-05-26

Syrian Activists Held on Spurious 'Terrorism' Charges Held in Prolonged Detention, Amnesty International, <a href="http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/syrian-activists-held-spurious-terrorism-charges-face-prolonged-detention-2013-06-26">http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/syrian-activists-held-spurious-terrorism-charges-face-prolonged-detention-2013-06-26</a>

# Week Ten Mass Digital Surveillance

Ashley Deeks, *An International Legal Framework for Surveillance*, VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2490700

Marko Milanovic, *Human Rights Treaties and Foreign Surveillance in a Digital Age*, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, <a href="http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2418485">http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2418485</a>.

Thirteen Principles Against Unchecked Surveillance Launched at United Nations, ELECTRONIC FRONTIER FOUNDATION, <a href="https://www.eff.org/press/releases/thirteen-principles-against-unchecked-surveillance-launched-united-nations">https://www.eff.org/press/releases/thirteen-principles-against-unchecked-surveillance-launched-united-nations</a>

# Week Eleven Unmanned Aerial Vehicles ("Drones")

U.N. Resolution, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/25/L.32

HRW Letter to U.N. Human Rights Council, <a href="http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/03/27/un-human-rights-council-letter-remotely-piloted-aircraft-or-armed-drones">http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/03/27/un-human-rights-council-letter-remotely-piloted-aircraft-or-armed-drones</a>

*U.S. Mission to the U.N. Letter*, <a href="https://geneva.usmission.gov/2014/03/28/eov-on-resolution-on-the-use-of-remotely-piloted-aircraft-or-armed-drones-in-counter-terrorism-and-military-operations/">https://geneva.usmission.gov/2014/03/28/eov-on-resolution-on-the-use-of-remotely-piloted-aircraft-or-armed-drones-in-counter-terrorism-and-military-operations/</a>

Public Opinion Polling in Pakistan's Tribal Regions, NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION, <a href="http://www.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/FATApoll.pdf">http://www.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/FATApoll.pdf</a>

Recommendations and Report of the Taskforce on U.S. Drone Policy, STIMSON, <a href="https://s3.amazonaws.com/s3.documentcloud.org/documents/1209482/task-force-report-final-web-062414.pdf">https://s3.amazonaws.com/s3.documentcloud.org/documents/1209482/task-force-report-final-web-062414.pdf</a>

Micah Zenko, Robot Wars: What happens when other countries start droning, POLITICO, <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2013/11/what-happens-when-other-countries-start-droning-98996.html#.VIiaB-dthFw">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2013/11/what-happens-when-other-countries-start-droning-98996.html#.VIiaB-dthFw</a>

# Week Twelve Fully Autonomous Weapons ("Killer Robots")

U.N. Report Calling for Moratoria on Lethal Robots, <a href="http://news.usni.org/2013/05/03/document-u-n-report-calling-for-moratoria-on-lethal-robots">http://news.usni.org/2013/05/03/document-u-n-report-calling-for-moratoria-on-lethal-robots</a>

Killer Foundations: Human Rights Implications of Killer Robots, Human Rights Watch and Harvard Law School International Human Rights Clinic,

#### http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/arms0514\_ForUpload\_0.pdf

MARY ELLEN O'CONNELL, Banning Autonomous Killing: The Legal and Ethical Requirement that Humans Make Near-Time Lethal Decisions, <a href="https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/3802-oconnell-mary-banning-autonomous-killing-the-legal">https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/3802-oconnell-mary-banning-autonomous-killing-the-legal</a>

# Week Thirteen & Fourteen Class Presentations

#### STUDENT-WELLNESS SERVICES

Just In Case Web App http://codu.co/cee05e

Access helpful mental health information and resources for yourself or a friend in a mental health crisis on your smartphone or tablet and easily contact CAPS or RUPD.

Counseling, ADAP & Samp; Psychiatric Services (CAPS)

(848) 932-7884 / 17 Senior Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901/ www.rhscaps.rutgers.edu/ CAPS is a University mental health support service that includes counseling, alcohol and other drug assistance, and psychiatric services staffed by a team of professional within Rutgers Health services to support students' efforts to succeed at Rutgers University. CAPS offers a variety of services that include: individual therapy, group therapy and workshops, crisis intervention, referral to specialists in the community and consultation and collaboration with campus partners.

Violence Prevention & Samp; Victim Assistance (VPVA)

(848) 932-1181 / 3 Bartlett Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 / www.vpva.rutgers.edu/ The Office for Violence Prevention and Victim Assistance provides confidential crisis intervention, counseling and advocacy for victims of sexual and relationship violence and stalking to students, staff and faculty. To reach staff during office hours when the university is open or to reach an advocate after hours, call 848-932-1181.

#### Disability Services

(848) 445-6800 / Lucy Stone Hall, Suite A145, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Avenue, Piscataway, NJ 08854 / https://ods.rutgers.edu/

Rutgers University welcomes students with disabilities into all of the University's educational programs. In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, a student with a disability must contact the appropriate disability services office at the campus where you are officially enrolled, participate in an intake interview, and provide documentation: https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/documentation-guidelines. If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus's disability services office will provide you with a Letter of Accommodations. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early in your courses as possible. To begin this process, please complete the Registration form on the ODS web site at:

https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/registration-form.

Scarlet Listeners

(732) 247-5555 / http://www.scarletlisteners.com/

Free and confidential peer counseling and referral hotline, providing a comforting and supportive safe space.