

PSC 201, Week 8

Ann G. Serow (ed) readings, Unit N/A

**Walter Dean Burnham, "Critical Elections"**

**Notes by Justala Simpson, Fall 2017**

I. Background

Walter Dean Burnham was born in 1930, in Columbus, Ohio. Burnham is an authority on American elections and voting patterns.

Burnham is a Political Scientist Professor emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin. Before his time in Texas, Burnham worked closely with V.O. Key, during his time at Harvard University, where he was awarded his Ph.D. in 1963.

II. Theory of Critical Realignments

The idea that some elections have more of a long-term impact than other elections. Abrupt coalitional changes among the masses (the electorate).

Impact: Vital to the system of political action and political operation.

III. Critical Realignments v. [Secular Realignment, Stable Alignment Eras, & Deviating Elections]

Critical Realignments are extremely short-lived.

Critical Realignments do not occur at random.

They occur every generation ( 30-38 years).

Most notable elections 1800, 1828, 1860, 1896, & 1932.

Critical Realignments are closely related to periods of high intensity, which results in an increase of voter participation, polarization among political parties, and directly influences the jargon of party nominations and platform writing.

IV. Conditions for Critical Realignment

Critical Realignments spur from emergent tensions in society.

Results of Critical Realignment

V. Critical Realignments result in the following:

Major policy changes.

Alterations in the role of institutional elites.

Redefinition of the impact of voters, political parties, and political boundaries.

VI. Conclusion

Critical Realignments are extremely vital in maintaining political action. However, one must bear in mind that realignments are circumstantial. The intense transitional phases of the political system will generally result in a critical realignment.

---



PSC 201, Week 8

Serow (ed) readings, Unit N/A

### **Ronald Brownstein, "The Second Civil War"**

#### **Notes by Koby Townsend, Fall 2017**

Brownstein describes the loyalty that politicians owe to their "base", adding to the influence of the most extreme partisans in both parties.

America is the richest and most powerful country in the world, with questions as if it is the richest and most powerful country in the history of the world.

However, Washington has problems it cannot seem to fix such as:

A plan to reduce its dependence on foreign oil

A plan to improve security at its borders and find a humane way to deal with the estimated twelve million illegal immigrants within the country

Can't agree on the steps to rebuild economic security for middle class Americans

It cannot agree on an approach to fight the threat of Islamic terrorism

None of these problems are new, they have all been discussed for years in the media. Why, then, has America failed to make more progress against these challenges?

- The answer, above all, is that the day-to-day functioning of American politics now inhibits the constructive compromises between the parties required to confront these problems.

- The central obstacle to more effective action against our most pressing problems is an unrelenting polarization of American politics. Competition and even contention between rival parties has been part of American political life since its founding. That partisan rivalry most often has been a source of energy, innovation, and inspiration.

- The two parties (Democrats and Republicans) do not intertwine, so you have to choose one or the other.

- But this polarization of political life imposes a tangible cost on every American family--a failure to confront all of the problems listed above with sensible solutions that could improve life for average Americans.

- The tendency toward polarization has been fueled, on the one hand, by the rise of feminism and the gay rights movement, and on the other by the increasing popularity of fundamentalist and evangelical churches.

Changes within the political system that have carried America into the age of hyperpartisanship such as:

The shifts in the way the media interacts with political life

The changes in the rules and practices of Congress

The strategies pursued by presidents and other political leaders

- All of these changes are diminishing our capacity to resolve conflicts. However, the consequences of hyperpartisanship are not all negative. The new alignment offers voters clear, stark choices.

- Americans say they see important differences in the two parties, which results in a larger number of voters. The number of people who volunteered and contributed money has soared too.
  - At its core, the problem isn't too many ideologues but too few conciliators willing to challenge the ideologues, and partisan warriors on each side demanding a polarized politics. The first step toward lowering the temperature in American politics is a political leadership that would rather douse fires than start them.
  - The forces encouraging polarization are now deeply entrenched, and they are unlikely to be entirely neutralized: More of the most antagonistic features of American politics over the past fifteen years are likely to endure indefinitely.
-

PSC 201, Week 9

Serow (ed) readings, Unit 12

**Dante Scala, "From Stormy Weather "**

**Notes by Wade Thomas, Fall 2017**

Scala explains how the New Hampshire primary is one of the most influential states in choosing major party nominees for the presidential election. He describes this as "a uniquely American story of the idiosyncrasies of local politics mixing with national trends to produce an unforeseen development."

New Hampshire provides these political party nominees with momentum. Scala describes that a candidate's "momentum" is measured on a weekly to daily basis by the answer of the question: What is the likelihood that the candidate will go on and win the party's presidential nomination? Scala explains that if the likelihood of a candidate winning the presidential nomination is rising, that candidate has momentum, and vice versa. A better than expected performance fuels a candidate's momentum and increases the likelihood they will win the presidential nomination. Momentum can aid in the availability of other valuable resources as well such as money, media attention, and popularity.

Scala explains that the first stage leading up to the New Hampshire primary is "The Exhibition Season," which is a building and testing period. In this stage, a candidate's ability to raise money is critical benchmark for a successful campaign. Under the media spotlight, New Hampshire becomes an important state for grassroots campaigning because of the image the action conveys to the public.

The second stage leading up to the New Hampshire primary is "The Media Fishbowl," in which the Iowa caucuses set the storyline for first primary in New Hampshire. The media becomes a feeding frenzy of how the people of New Hampshire feel about the presidential candidates. The results from the New Hampshire primary is what sets the tone regarding the electoral process and gives speculations of perceived front runners for the presidential election.

---

PSC 201, Week 9

Serow (ed) readings, Unit 12

**Dennis Johnson, ""No Place for Amateurs""**

**Notes by Robbie McKenna, Fall 2017**

Dennis Johnson talks about political consultants, and why they are important in modern elections. Political consultants are used in every level of elections (presidential-below state wide).

Political consultants makes key decisions, campaign communications, ballot strategy, bring direction and discipline to campaigns and are responsible for television/ radio commercials that promote their client.

Johnson explains how political consultants reached fame at expense of their clients. (Dick Morris example with Clinton). However, some consultants do work behind the scenes, they have become essential in the world of modern elections.

---

PSC 207, Week 7

Miller & Walling (ed) readings, Unit 5

**Issue 5, "Do bureaucrats have more influence on public policy than other branches of government do?"**

**Notes by Jonashua Montgomery, Fall 2017**

As a nation, we've been left to our own devices to figure out the appropriate or right roles for bureaucracy and public administration. Each branch of government has some type of governing power or control, but we continue to weave around by using trial and error. The lines of power are there, but how thick the line is unclear.

All levels of government need to be prepared to respond to disasters.

-speculations of a decline in preparedness within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) caused a drain in the actual implementation process for FEMA.

-FEMA professionals were at a decline during the catastrophic event of Hurricane Katrina, which led to a major impact on federal response operations. In other words, there was a lack of funding and the well known "FEMA brain drain" (the loss of top personnel on FEMA's executive teams)

-The decline in readiness plus the decline of appropriate staffing created an ineffective response concerning Hurricane Katrina

A large-scale event such as Hurricane Katrina should not, in theory, put professionals/trained response team individuals in a bind. Programs such as FEMA should be well prepared, fully funded, highly trained, and those individuals within the organization should be well acquainted with their peers in case of such disaster.

---

PSC 207, Week 8

Miller & Walling (ed) readings, Unit 9

**Paul Verkuil, "Why privatization of government functions threatens democracy and what we can do about it"**

**Notes by Quintez Pearson, Fall 2017**

Verkuil argues that privatization has the potential to damage government effectiveness and employee morale. He appeals to constitutional and statutory limits to privatization.

Begins his argument by stating that the Marquis and Reprisal Clause may be the only thing in the Constitution supporting private contractors, but even if it was revived it would support his argument due to the fact that it requires Congress to initiate privatizing actions.

He states that great care is put into who our trusted public officials are, and how they swear oaths to uphold the Constitution.

Most privatization decisions are initiated by the Executive Branch, since it forms the administration.

Agencies hire contractors and are also the heart of our administration. Verkuil argues that the use of contractors for their expertise and where they provide services is positive, but resorting to contractors jeopardizes the affective need of government.

Verkuil furthers his argument by stating that Congress has the most to lose by the excessive use of contractors because contractor's work is often outside the usual channels of review.

Verkuil closes his argument by saying that contractors displacing functions normally performed by government officials who have significant authority can be a danger to the republic, and that he also wants to prevent unprecedented delegations of power to the private sector.

---

PSC 207, Week 8

Miller Walling (ed) readings, Unit 8

**Should the Government be ran like a Business Mantra ;Yes: Julia Beckett, "The "Government Should be Run Like a Business" Mantra "**

**Notes by Jada Howard , Fall 2017**

When discussing government being ran like a business Julia Beckett focuses on three forms of business - the sole proprietor

- the partnership

- the corporation

Beckett feels as though the government should be ran like a business mythology.

Concepts are substituted for example I want to replace a citizen and customer replace his client And governments are urged to be entrepreneurial and engage in partnerships. Some associate this with the widespread enduring new public management political reforms.

The mantra or phrase "Government should run like business" has entered the study of public administration theory and practice this academic movement is a broader approach to government based in part on a rejection of public administration and beer Cressy and in part of finding better methods to manage practical problems of government. The public management movement aspires to making a difference in public affairs.countries have instituted new public management reforms and techniques as a global revolution in public management.

The purpose of the mantra in the progressive era was to increase community political action by encouraging citizens to consider themselves active owners of the municipal corporation.

It has been stated that government should be run like a business it is just a metaphor but Beckett feels as though metaphors are a sensual to understanding but also can lead to misunderstandings.

The approach of administration as the business of government deals More with business being an activity of organizing resources in order to produce and distribute goods and services of society the operational commonality between government and business is a foundation of organization theory government is different from business because it is the public's business.

Therefore making business and government on comparable in a way. But this does not mean the government can't take certain characteristics used in business and implement them as a beneficiary to help the government succeed in a more organized fashion.

Since the government is the public's business this implements public choice.

Public choice applies business ideas of exchange and self interest to the government.

Business say since the government is the public's business this implements public choice.

Public choice applies business ideas of exchange and self interest to the government.

Businesses raise capital as investments with expected profitable returns and

government raise revenues through taxing powers to pursue activities for the public

good. These revenue categories of business exchange and sales are equated with government revenue from fees for services.

Efficiency in business is focused on maximizing profits or the bottom line and efficiency in government has focused on minimizing cost.

But like maybe habits the government adopted the viewpoint that business competition in the market is the basis of comparison between government and business.

Competition is viewed as a catalyst for business.

Customers are better served by competition.

Innovations and improvements and services techniques and products come from competition.

In this viewpoint competition is a casual agent for progress government should compete like successful businesses and reap similar rewards.

The need to change and improve government performance and results have been considered essential.

To achieve the change in performance and results the comparison again is government and business. Models and ideas for the new public management have come from Business and business literature.

Government uses business practices and techniques to improve their service to the public. The new public management on enterprise economics which considers commercialism competition and risk-taking as beneficial.

This viewpoint reflects the idea that the government should compete or get out-of-the-way.

One writer suggest that government administrators should just ignore the rules and laws that constrain them. The new public management literature has gathered serious attention important criticism. The nations federal state and local public service is in deep trouble. Many government agencies cannot attract and retain first right executive managers and line staff. Most do not operate in a way that inspires public confidence. The new public management brings in different business ideas and practices then the classic comparisons in addition to suggesting management techniques additional business forms entrepreneurs and partners are a part of the discussion. The public management literature also rises tensions about business. Beckett feels as though meaning of the government and business comparisons are lacking consideration of either what business is and in differentiating forms of business entities. Business is expected to be so interested and self-supporting. Business is expected to take chances and bear the risk and rewards. business is expected to keep secrets all of which the government cannot do. Discussions of government may address the responsibilities of the executive and the management but these positions go beyond the point of considering the public. In the end back it feels as though business is an allegory. It is not real and it does not have to be Real. When government is compared to mythic business it pales or becomes vague. Although we have our myths, Beckett feels as though we need them to separate the ideal from the real. Beckett lastly states government can certainly learn from some business practices and procedures but caution and care are

essential in comparing business and government we should be selective in our choices and clear on our concepts.

---

PSC 207, Week 9

Miller & Walling (ed) readings, Unit 7

**David Lewis, "Do bureaucrats need to be politically neutral to be effective? YES. Testing Pendleton's Premise: Do Political Appointees Make Worse Bureaucrats?"**

**Notes by Sydney Baumgartner, Fall 2017**

Intro: Begins with a debate if appointees are better at government jobs instead of careerists (bureaucrats). There have been multiple studies with appointees and how efficient they are at the job, and there are multiple reasons why this has become a public question:

An increase of political appointees in not just the US but foreign countries

Different strategies for political control hurt agency performance

When preferences between agencies/legislature diverges, legislatures reduce agency discretion by writing more specific statues, strengthen administrative procedures and monitoring it more carefully

Efforts to restrict discretion can reduce incentives for bureaucrats to develop and use expertise

Studying the relationship between appointees and performance can test whether another means of securing responsiveness also diminishes performance. There is no consensus about whether appointees or careerists are best for federal management

**Competing Views About Appointees and Management Performance**

Two waves of thought:

A long tradition argues that political appointees drawn from outside the civil service bring needed energy and responsiveness to federal management

Low wages and lack of pay for performance salary in the public sector pushes the best workers into the private sector

Appointees drawn from the private sector have higher levels of human capital than their careerist counterparts

Difference in perspective in the policy world → generalist v. specialist (A - C)

Difference in political stakeholders → superior v. inferior

Appointees are less likely to be specialist and be more likely to lean towards to

preference of elected stakeholders and 戩瑁整回地敬瑁回潤瑁散眠牯回敲揚揚映牯潞湫  
数回轴杯懶回浩汰浥涑愒梲湯H\潰棊梲湯漠回轴榆散映牯瑁散泮渦条涓涑4概慶璽条  
獬漠回慣敲枋潞法瑩捩憊彌緇牡欸回礎挽回集癡回豐橢挽4牡慥攢灸枋梲散異泚捩泮渦  
条涓涑4歲汨獬愒擎氧湯敲回整晦敲桷捩回污回浩轴癯回愁慮敲敷璽刊揚典獬槩普回獨浹  
敷牴敦回敢暉欸回桴回愁慮敲回渦回瑤晡回○愉敲枋獬獬泮牯回榻敷袪瑁回慨嗽潞於榻回愁慮  
敲敷璽攢灸枋梲散回回敌瑤湮回滌灭瑁湮回柳睥回梩晦捩泚4潞瑁獬4桴獬回惚晦枋涑4窠  
睥攢跣牡回潞捌皖湮回潛摯潞枋潦淖濁散漠橢挽梲嗽袪愒擎槩回愁湮枋愒搗蠱愒泚回  
潞捌晚敦敲璽獬愒敷潞撓枋回慈擻瑁回潤灭牡回礎挽瑤癩獬愒擎愒敲据敦回棊据回条涑  
楣獬集癡回惚晦枋涑4愁擎璽獬灯枋璽湮回涑窠湫浮涑獬愒擎撓湯瑤懶湮獬 A Using  
the PART for Evaluating Management Pe

## Testing Competing Views

Difficult to test these different views:

Hard to define good performance objectively and in a manner acceptable to different stakeholders

Hard to compare executives and agencies since agencies have different mandates, operating environments and constraints

## Using the PART for Evaluating Management Performance

The Bush Administration established the PART system to provide a way to overcome substantial difficulties with measuring performance

It's a grading scheme used by the Office of Management and Budget to evaluate the performance of federal programs numerically.

Developed through the Federal Advisory Commission Act and the President's Management Council, the National Academy of Public Administration and other parties from Congress

Description:

4 categories of performance get "grades" from 0-100 based on a series of 25-30 Y/N Questions filled out jointly by agencies and OMB examiners

Categories

Program Purpose and Design (20%)- to assess whether the program design and purpose are clear and defensible

Strategic Planning (10%)- to assess whether to agency sets valid annual and long term goals for the program

Program Management (20%)- to rate agency management of the program (financial oversight and program improvement efforts)

Program Results (50%)- to rate program performance on goals reviewed in the strategic planning section and through other evaluations

Useful because it shows the presence/absence of good management practices and it shows that the program is a product of management performance.

## Problems with PART Scores

Difference definitions of good management make it to where PART doesn't measure all aspects of them

Irregularities in the way PART is applied across programs due to differences in legal, budgetary and resource constraints

Biased grades

---

PSC 209, Week 8

Great Decisions Association (ed) readings, Unit 8

**Lawrence G. Potter, "Saudi Foreign Policy: a new activism "**

**Notes by Andy Ysalgue, Fall 2017**

A new activism:

- . The new more muscular foreign policy is inspired by the regional turmoil and a fear that the Riyadh can no longer rely on the U.S. for protection
- . Since the overthrow of Saddam, Iraq has no longer been a counterweight to Iran, and for the first time, that country's government has been run by Shi'a
- . Iranian support of Shi'a militias now play a significant role in Iraqi politics.

The rise of sectarian politics:

- . In December 2004, King Abdullah of Jordan warned that if new Iraqi government fell under Iranian influence, a " crescent " of Shi'a movements would result, threatening Sunni government
- . This fear is especially salient in Saudi and Bahrain, which have substantial populations that they fear Iran will manipulate.
- . Many analysts conclude, however, that fears of a rising " Shi'a crescent " are misplaced. For one thing, the Shi'a community is not unified but divided, with many clerics competing for leadership

War of worlds:

- . In September, the Iranian foreign minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif, wrote an op-ed in the New York Times entitled " Let us Rid the World of Wahhabism " in which he blamed the ideology for instigating terrorism throughout the middle east
- . The Iranian supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, said that " Saudi rulers' refusal to offer a simple verbal apology ( for the Hajj incident ) was indicative of their ultimate impudence and shamelessness " He went on " the stampede demonstrated that this government is not qualified to manage the Two Holy Mosques".

Sponsors of global jihadism

- . The greatest concern of the U.S., and the hardest one for Saudis to refute, is that the state's vigorous export of Wahhabi ideology has served as the rationale for jihadist groups such as al-Qaeda and ISIS
- . Since the time of King Faisal, Riyadh has vigorously promoted Islam abroad, always in the Wahhabi version
- . Although considerable evidence exists about ISIS adopting Saudi textbooks, the Saudis have rejected accusations that their religion has radicalized foreign Muslims and negatively impacted the moderate, tolerant Islam that exist in many countries, such as Indonesia.

---

PSC 309, Week 4

Badey (ed) readings, Unit 2

**Ann Stenerson, "Bomb Making for Beginners: inside an AQ Course"**

**Notes by Sydney Baumgartner, Fall 2017**

This reading focuses on how the Internet assists terrorists in learning how to create explosives

Explosives are the most frequently used devices by terrorists

½ of the terrorist attacks in the world

5 Points of Major Focus:

Al Qaeda's shift to individual jihad

General learning of bomb-making

"E-learning" courses of bomb-making

Evolution of Al Qaeda's learning tools

A general overview of a US "cell" of potential terrorists

Al Qaeda's Shift

Pressure on terrorist sanctuaries have lead to the push in the leaderless jihad.

Not a new concept

1990s: Lectured/presented by jihadi strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri as well as presented in jihad training camps for recruits.

Known also as the Global Islamic Resistance, it praises the lone wolf concept of those who carried out Al Qaeda's global ideology on a on their own, while having no real personal connection to the organization.

Videos that praise those who carry out this type of terrorism consist of the following:

Recognition of those who have carried out individual jihad

Acknowledgement of the acts as controversial whereas traditional jihad should go hand in hand with this.

Gives a brief operational guide that focuses on types of targets that should be attacked (Media outlets, monuments, economic joints of the country, etc)

Bomb Making 101

Encyclopedia of Jihad

Most famous collection of writings that recorded all experiences of Afghan-Soviet jihad to ensure that knowledge of past attacks and techniques would not be lost on future generations

Written records prove problematic due to partiality, so what is the solution?

Explosive Courses

Taught in camps by experts

Learned bomb making from past professionals

Hands on course

Similar to that of a trade/technical school

Preferred by most Europeans that enlist in terrorist groups

Individual jihad learning strategy

Trial and error experimentation with explosives is the most common.

"High motivations, patience, and intelligence" → Required

Average of 200 hours to collect the "recipe" through the internet, acquire ingredients, and create the bombs

This led to "e-learning" courses to help those that could not do the one on one training and those that were not intelligent/driven enough to figure it out on their own.

#### E-Learning

Adnan Shukri's Special Explosives Course for Beginners

Anonymous person created a forum for beginners posting lessons, assigning "homework", and replied to questions through open response and personal message.

Most effective modern method to date

#### Evolution of Learning

Essentially the evolution of learning for jihad has been from the marketing of training camps and literature to a shift to the E-Learning experience to gain more of a global reach

The internet plays an

important role in transferring insurgent tactics and technologies between battlefields

Rapid distribution

☒ Crucial☒ feedback given on public forums for further assistance

**\*\*Most visible development\*\***

#### Terrorist Cell

Real life radicals may exploit online training materials and it may further them in their radicalization, but it can also i

---

PSC 309, Week 4

Badey (ed) readings, Unit

**Pillar, "Unit 3.2 Terrorism of a Bygone Era"**

**Notes by Austin Ohliger, Fall 2017**

- The 1980s was a period of state-sponsored international terrorism
    - \*this type of terrorism declined quickly because of political and cultural changes in the major countries involved
      - ex. Iran after the Islamic Revolution
  - one reason for the decline was the fall of the Soviet Union
    - \*their aid to countries like Syria seriously fell
  - another reason for the decline was the negatives of being a "pariah" state
    - \*both economic and political issues would arise
    - \*"one of the most successful uses of international sanctions"
  - the era of state-sponsored terrorism ended in 1999 when Muammar Qaddafi, leader of Libya, handed over the 2 main suspects of the Pan Am flight 103 bombing
    - \*Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi who was convicted
    - \*Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah who was acquitted
  - Megrahi was acting under the orders of Qaddafi's regime in the bombing that killed 270 people
    - \*in 2009 he was released back to Libya for "humanitarian" reasons due to prostate cancer that was suppose to kill him within weeks
      - he lived 3 more years and died in 2012
  - the Pan Am flight attack shows some realities about international terrorism
    - \*ex. the attack shows how crucial timing was to the plan
      - if the flight wasn't delayed and didn't leave late the bomb would've gone off over the Atlantic leaving almost no evidence and no ties to Magrahi or Libya
-

PSC 309, Week 4

Badey (ed) readings, Unit

**Eric Chase, "Defining Terrorism: A Strategic Imperative"**

**Notes by Brendon Carson, Fall 2017**

This article recognizes that developing a universally accepted definition of terrorism is unlikely. It starts by talking about September 11th, 2001 when a group of assailants attacked the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi. The focus moved to whether or not the event was a terrorists attack or a response to a video mocking Muhammad and the Islamic religion. The FBI defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."

"Not One, but many Terrorisms" -Walter Laqueur's observation that any attempt to define terrorism in specific terms "is bound to fail" for the simpler reason that there is "not one but many terrorisms" The old adage "one man's terrorists is another man's freedom fighter" captures the present day challenge. The word "terrorism" has also changed overtime

"For without a Consensus of what Constituted Terrorism, Nations could not Unite Against It"- Conversely, there is broad consensus that there needs to be a universally accepted definition of terrorism for both analytical and practical purposes. Simply it must be defined in order to setup counter terrorism.

An International Framework for an International Problem- Terrorist organizations recruit, finance, and operate across, and between, internationally recognized boundaries. An international framework is necessary to defeat an international problem. EU (European Union) defines terrorism as "serious damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act." NATO defines it as "the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies." The nation-members of both EU and NATO could and should worked together to establish an international coalition that will commit to defining terrorism and outlining clearly stated objectives for such an agreement.

---

PSC 309, Week 4

Thomas J. Badey (ed) readings, Unit 3

**Marc R. DeVore, "Exploring the Iran-Hezbollah Relationship"**

**Notes by Katrinnah Harding, Fall 2017**

Most intellectuals agree that a state's support affects an armed non-state organization's capabilities, but rarely studies are done on their resulting significant impact on the organization's decisions.

DeVore explains that this specific exploration is to "address the impact that state sponsorship has on the decision-making process within violent non-state groups."

-An increasingly relevant matter as wars among states have become outnumbered, twenty-to-one, by intra-state wars and internationalized civil wars.

Main Perspectives:

Indirectly

1) State support has impact on violent non-state actor's decisions through "shaping their options", with the resources they provide.

Directly

2) Also through "persuading" = In this case, essentially, threatening to withhold support until the state's demands are met.

4 Forms of Support:

1) Financial Assistance – Allowing for stability, organization, and the ability to win popularity among their constituents.

2) The Provision of Weaponry – Must rely on a state for this, because otherwise, the amount and quality of weaponry that a successful organization requires would be extremely hard to obtain.

3) Sanctuary – A "safe haven" is vital to an organization's communication, administration, and planning.

4) Political Support – "Providing [an organization] an aura of legitimacy."

Lebanon's Hezbollah:

Known among intellectuals as "an exceptionally capable organization" for...

-Conducting attacks against larger enemies.

-Continued effectiveness over the course of a three-decade conflict with Israel.

-Considered to be "the world's most innovative armed non-state actors." (From the idea of a "world stage")

Iran and its Support:

Iran has become one of the most active supporters of such groups, likely being motivated by 3 of their Unique Characteristics:

1) By majorly supporting anti-Israeli groups, Iranians have been able to "inject" their voice into a world that otherwise, they would not be involved in.

2) As an attempt to better represent the greatly oppressed Shia-Muslims that they claim to be the "champion" of.

3) Iran's conventional military weakness, leading it to rely on proxies to attack/deter its enemies.

When combining Iran's enthusiasm in supporting these groups, and Hezbollah's reputation as "capable", it makes sense that together, they accomplish much.

- Iran's Indirect Impact on Hezbollah's Decision-Making -  
Providing:

Financial support = Allowing Hezbollah to take a long-range approach in planning, provides more professionalism in the organization, and supplies them with the resources to offer benefits to their constituents.

Safe Havens = (Even within Lebanon) Enabled Hezbollah's politico-military command structure to organize far better, and eventually permitted the development of infrastructure.

Constant Political Support = Provided a sine quo non for Hezbollah to operate freely in Lebanon.

However, Iran's impact indirectly begins with the origins of Lebanon's Hezbollah. Thus, those are observed.

Origins of the Hezbollah:

- Many of its members, mostly Lebanese Shiites, joined after being involved with other similar groups and thus already had extensive military training/experience.

- Quite a few of these new members coming from Amal, a violent non-state actor, and the previous leader of the "Shiite movement". This group split in 1982 when their leader gave controversial orders; to not resist the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Many of those that disobeyed these orders wanted to do more, and thus, several small, splintered groups were formed.

- The beginnings of Hezbollah were simply these separate groups attempting to defend against Israel. There was no coordination among the groups, and even the Shiite population was not unified against Israel.

- This went on until three Lebanese clerics appealed to Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini (an Iranian Shia Muslim religious leader, philosopher, revolutionary, and politician), for his support of Lebanon's Hezbollah. He, along with other leaders, so enthusiastically agreed that right away, they provided finances, sanctuary, and political support.

- Iranian aid had an almost immediate impact on Hezbollah's decision-making process. Since essentially, it allowed the process to begin where before, there was no process at all, no universal decisions were being made.

- Iran's Financial Aid = "While Iran's sanctuary and organizational aid were crucial to Hezbollah's development of centralized decision-making bodies, its long-term commitment to providing financial aid fundamentally shaped the strategic options available to Hezbollah's policymakers." When given the privilege to choose to plan short-term or long-term, Hezbollah wisely chose long-term. Additionally, because of the wealth Iran was providing the organization, they could launch their "hearts and minds" campaign. This was a grand attempt at winning the favor of their constituents through providing social-services.

- Iran's Direct Impact on Hezbollah's Decision-Making -

Geopolitical Factors:

Periodically, Iran has wanted to use Hezbollah as a proxy to attack its enemies and therefore, has tried to “coax” them into enlarging their list of objectives to include ones they never would have considered.

Of course, on some occasions, it is beneficial for the state to use this “influence” to encourage restraint. This has also been seen in the case of Iran and Hezbollah.

Questions I find interesting:

When is the amount of resources flowing from a state into a non-state actor worth the benefits that they may provide? And where is the line declaring that it is not worth it any longer? How often is that line crossed, when states cut funding to an organization?

---

PSC 309, Week 5

Badey (ed) readings, Unit

**George Kassimeris, "Greece: The Persistence of Political Terrorism"**

**Notes by Quintez Pearson, Fall 2017**

The fall of Greece's most elusive terrorist group 17 November (17N) showed:

That after a major terrorist group has fallen, after a period of time a new generation of terrorists emerge.

Shortly after 17N was dethroned a new group called the Revolutionary Struggle (RS) took over.

The quick turnover and rise in terrorist violence of the RS revealed that dethroning terrorist group did not discourage or demoralize their actions, but simply led to an increase of more guerrilla groups and revolutionary violence.

**Greek Political Violence**

Political violence in Greece struck during the mid-1970s due to complex political conditions and long-standing cultural influences.

Files were kept on each Greek citizen underlining critical information such as "leftist" or "communist". This was enforced a set of emergency laws called a 'para-constitution'.

Until the fall of Greece's dictatorship in 1974 there was political surveillance on families and family responsibilities.

After 1974 Greeks move to a multi-party democracy called Metapolitefsi, but the struggle of this new system brought disappointment to the left-winged believers who felt it would bring more democratic change.

**The Terrorists**

Two main terrorist groups: 17N and Revolutionary Popular Struggle (ELA)

Both groups failed to change the attractiveness of prolonged terrorist violence as a psycho-political tool and revolutionary political behavior is still a part of Greece today.

Matters such as Greece's debt crisis continue to make matters worse, but are only a small part as to why things are the way that they are others include economic distress, uncontrolled immigration, and disaffected policing.

---

PSC 309, Week 5

Thomas Badey (ed) readings, Unit

**David Blair, "Timbuktu"**

**Notes by John Vise, Fall 2017**

This article details the impacts of global Terrorism in North Africa. It talks heavily about the AQIM or Al-Qaeda Islamic Maghreb. It talks about the combined efforts of America and its allies to eradicate terrorism throughout the globe.

In order for terrorism to thrive, it must have good leadership. There were two good leaders who helped lead the AQIM named Abu Harith and Abu Hamza. Hamza was in charge of weapons training.

The article then describes the various activities that the AQIM does throughout the day. It describes exactly what time they rise and when they say their prayers and when they receive religious instruction.

Lastly, the article describes how two French bombings have destroyed the 'bait' that the AQIM set for them. The AQIM set up a fake base known as the Gendarmerie.

---

PSC 309, Week 5

Thomas J. Badey (ed) readings, Unit 4

**Ali S. Yusuf Bagajii, "Boko Haram and the Recurring Bomb Attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to Impose Religious Ideology through Terrorism? Unit 4.1"**

**Notes by Ragin Berry, Fall 2017**

Introduction

Religion plays a vital and influential role in the Nigerian society.

\*Religion has proven itself a force in the political development in the Nigerian state.

- Even though religion is vital in Nigeria, studies show that historical roles of religion in the country have been negative, rather than positive.

- The socioeconomic, security and political stability of the country is constantly under threat due to the Boko Haram attacks

Many religious crises have taken place, which are attempts of imposing religious ideology on a secular state

An Overview of the Concept of Terrorism

- Merari describes terrorism as the use of violence by sub-national groups for obtaining political-including social and religious goals especially when the violence is intended to intimidate or otherwise affect the emotions, attitudes and behavior of a target audience considerably larger than the actual victims.

- On the basis above, terrorism is significantly considered as a compulsive strategy of the relatively disadvantaged, the weak who seek reversal of authority, a use of force to achieve a desired policy, a theatrical warfare whose drama involves the actors who actually carry out the violent act, the group against whom the violent act is targeted and the authority due to be influenced or compelled to act.

The modern development of terrorism as a tool to achieve political and religious goals began during the French Revolution

Boko Haram Movement: Talibans and Talibanism in Nigeria? What We Need to Know  
The ideology and philosophy of the Boko Haram movement was captured by Tell Magazine:

The mission of the sect was to establish an Islamic where orthodox Islam is practiced. Orthodox Islam according to Yusuf Mohammad, the leader of the sect, frowns at Western education and working in the civil service because it is sinful. Hence, for their aim to be achieved, all institutions represented by government including security agencies like police, military and other uniformed personnel should be crushed.

The Nigerian government has adopted approaches-military and Commission of Inquiry-without any positive results.

Nigeria needs to collaborate with countries who have had first hand experience of terrorism and have come up with reasonable means to reducing terrorism. Countries include: United States, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Israel

Summary and Conclusion

- This article sets out to examine the dynamics of terrorism in the context of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria which remains insufficiently explored.
  - In view of the ideology and philosophy of Boko Haram, it became obvious that terrorism perpetuated by this group in all its ramifications is a serious threat to the national interest of the Nigerian state.
  - Nigeria must further demonstrate her strong commitment to addressing the remote and immediate causes of the renewed Boko Haram attacks by joining hands with the international community.
  - Nigeria must educate targeted youth who could easily become willing tools in the hand of Boko Haram members.
-

PSC 309, Week 5

Tom Badey (ed) readings, Unit

**Peter W. Singer, ""The Cyber Terror Bogeyman""**

**Notes by Cameron Compton, Fall 2017**

Peter W. Singer, says that you are more likely to be killed by a toilet than to be killed by a cyber attack.

he says that the FBI defines cyber terrorism "premeditated, politically motivated attack against information, computer systems, computer programs and data which results in violence against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents." As one congressional staffer put it, the way we use a term like cyber terrorism "has as much clarity as cybersecurity — that is, none at all."

he says we mix up our fears with the actual state of affairs. The deputy defense secretary was conflating fear and reality, not just about what stimulant-drinking programmers are actually hired to do, but also what is needed to pull off an attack that causes meaningful violence.

Singer says, "Policymakers must worry that real-world versions of such attacks might have a ripple effect that could, for example, knock out parts of the national power grid or shut down a municipal or even regional water supply."

---

PSC 309, Week 6

Badey (ed) readings, Unit 8

**Badey, "Unit 8: Women/Terrorism"**

**Notes by Sydney Baumgartner, Fall 2017**

Section 1: Badass Women in the Islamic State

Avesta: Kurdish sniper for the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK; a rebel group that has fought the Turkish state for 30 years)

Her name that she goes by when she engages in combat is the same as the holy book of Zoroastrianism

A religion that Kurds consider as their original creed

Radicalized at a young age, like most members, and left home at 15 to become a PKK fighter like her brother after finding his mutilated body

She commands a group of 13 fighters (8 women) in the PKK and helps fight off jihadists of the Islamic state

Fought major battles against Turkey in 2005, 2008, and 2012, and basically states that the war on Islamic jihadists is a cakewalk compared to that of Turkey

PKK Background

Marxist organization

Provides intense boot camps for its members

Immerses members in leftist ideologies, ideas of women in various societal roles, weapon training

Fighters live in bare-bone camps in the mountains

The organization prohibits romantic relationships and allows little contact with the families of the fighters

Half of the organization's leaders are women, which is extremely rare in the Muslim world

Women in the PKK, like Avesta, find this empowering, and it encourages them to keep fighting

"It gives us strength and motivation when a woman like Avesta is a commander" - 19 year old male in the PKK

Future Challenges

Tensions with the Iraqi Kurds

PKK's participation in the fight against the Islamic state hasn't gotten a strong reaction from Turkey

Only considers them hostile and has close ties to the Iraqi Kurds

Could result in more negative than positive backlash

PKK could raise negative reactions in the West → called a terrorist group by the US already

Section 2: Britain's Female Jihadists

Great Britain is now the leading source in Europe of female jihadists in Syria and Iraq

60 Muslim women from 18-24 are believed to have left Britain to join the jihadist group Islamic State during the last year

Dozens more have inquired about joining after the beheading of James Foley, an American journalist

Motivation: For most, to find a jihadist husband.

Covet the religious and cultural prestige of Muslim widows whose husbands have died as martyrs

#### Evolution of Female British Jihadists

Until recently, most British women affiliated with IS have been restricted to domestic work, but lately some have demanding greater roles in the IS

Some are recruiters for IS

Use of social media to encourage others like themselves to travel to Syria and Iraq

Some incorporated into female only militia

Based in the Syrian city of Raqqa, at the IS HQ

Al-Khansaa brigade

#### Al-Khansaa Brigade

Named after 7th century female Arab poet who was a contemporary of the Muslim Prophet Mohammed

Est. 2014

Purpose: expose male enemy jihadists who try to disguise themselves by wearing women's clothing in order to avoid detection and detention at IS checkpoints // detail civilian women in Raqqa who don't follow IS strict interpretation of Sharia law

Expansion: operates brothels for the use of IS fighters

Result: these women are now in charge of guarding 3000 non-Muslim sex slaves

Bizarre and perverse

#### Social Media and Women Jihadists

Aqsa Mahmood

20; Glasgow; left for Syria November 2013

Aspiring doctor that dropped her dreams overnight to marry an IS fighter

Twitter: Umm Layth (Arabic: Mother of the Lion)

Uses account to encourage other women to leave their families and join her and others at the IS

"The IS is your family"

Mujahidah Bint Usama

21; medical student

Publishes pictures of herself in white lab coat holding severed head on Twitter

"Dream job, a terrorist doc"

Khadijah Dare

22; converted to Islam at 18 after joining a radical mosque (Lewisham Islamic Center)

Moved to Syria in 2012 to marry a Swedish jihadist → Marriage arranged through Facebook by groom's mother

Vowed to become the first female jihadist to execute a British or American captive  
Twitter name: Muhajirah fi Sham (Arabic: immigrant of Syria) → “celebrity jihad” for extreme content

Recently posted pictures of her son holding an AK-47 rifle

### Section 3: Women, Gender and the Evolving Tactics of Boko Haram

The Islamic terrorist group has been active in Nigeria since 2002, when it was founded by Muhammad Yusuf.

‘Boko Haram’ means “Western Education Is Sinful”

Nigerian Government has violently opposed the terrorist group.

There was an uprising that was quashed in July 2009, where 800 members of Boko Haram and their leader, Yusuf, were killed.

July 2010: former second-in-command and new leader Abubakar Shekau, released a statement to journalists that said “jihad has begun.”

More than 3,500 people have been killed since 2010, violence shows no sign of abating. This reading addresses their activities: gender-based violence, their instrumentalization of women in its operations, culture and ideology.

### GBV In Context (gender based violence)

GBV is defined by the UN as “physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.”

Transcends region, religion, and ethnicity In Nigeria with physical and sexual abuse affecting as many as 35.1% of Igbo women and 34.3% of Hausa-Fulani women.

Nigerian law is also infused with discriminatory practices against women.

### Instrumentality: Women As Pawns:

2013 marked a significant evolution in Boko Haram’s tactics. A series of kidnappings, in which one of the main features was an instrumental use of women, was done in response to corresponding tactics by the Nigerian government.

Boko Haram’s first actual kidnapping operation was carried out one year later in February 2013, with the abduction of a seven-member French family in northern Cameroon, then brought back to Nigeria.

4 children included in French family group.

Between February 2013 and May 2013, the kidnapping strategy was brought directly to Nigerian soil, with the abductions of more than a dozen government officials and their families.

May 2013: a mass assault on police barracks in Bama, Borno State in which militants captured 12 Christian women and children, was carried out.

More than 100 people were killed.

Shekau made several video messages in which he claimed to have abducted the kidnappings in Boko Haram’s name. He then promised to make the hostages his “servants” if certain conditions, such as the release of Boko Haram members and their wives from prison, were not met.

This capture of Boko Haram militants' family members was cited as a grievance in almost all Shekau's video statements in 2012 and 2013.

Shekau then threatened revenge on wives of government officials, also speculating on the possible sexual abuse of the Boko Haram family members by government officials. All of these women were targeted for instrumental purposes, as none of those captured on either side had any direct involvement in the conflict.

There is also no evidence that the female relatives of Boko Haram members who were arrested by the government had any direct involvement in the group's activities.

Boko Haram has paid young boys to carry out acts in the past, but not young women.

#### Evolving Conflict, Evolving Tactics

The cycle of gender-based abduction and detention and increased violence in Nigeria is evolving and has expanded since Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan announced a State of emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States in May 2013.

Since 2013, the Civilian Joint Task Force has joined security forces in employing new methods against Boko Haram, such as the mass arrest of male suspects in the early hours of the morning, the disappearance of suspects, and the use of young teenage men, fluent in the local Kanuri language and culture to operate checkpoints.

A series of unusual arrests in Maiduguri, Borno state, suggests an immediate and gendered responsive shift in Boko Haram tactics.

In June 2013, an AK-47 a pistol and improvised explosive devices were found in the garments of two "shivering" veiled women in Maiduguri.

Two months later, two women hiding rifles in their clothing were among five suspected Boko Haram militants, who were arrested by the security forces.

Also in August 2013, a woman was detained alongside a 35-year old male Boko Haram suspect.

Additionally, male Boko Haram members have reportedly disguised themselves as women in veils in order to evade arrest.

In July 2013, three men dressed as veiled women were killed, and around twenty others arrested, in an attempted attack on a police station.

This is a pattern seen in the adaptive responses of other terrorists organizations in times of unique pressure on men.

The tactical use of women due to the lesser suspicion they arouse has also been evident in Islamist violence in Pakistan and Indonesia; and within the conflict in Israel and Palestine

#### Targeting and Abusing Christian Women

The State of Emergency has manifested in other Boko Haram activities involving women, with a reported increase in GBV against Christian women in northern areas of Nigeria, and increasing levels of sexual violence including rape, torture and also murder.

More than 45% of those killed by Boko Haram are Christian women and children.

The Christian Association of Nigeria has been reporting the abduction of Christian teenagers since July 2013.

Women have been increasingly targeted with kidnap, forced marriage, and compulsory conversion to Islam.

These conflicts have predominantly objectified and exploited women.

Women have been targeted in acid attacks, for 'un-Islamic' practices, such as failure to wear hijabs or for taking a job.

The generic culture of discrimination against Christians has enabled the escalation in recent violence.

#### Gender in Boko Haram's Ideology and Culture

Boko Haram's command to Jihad often features exhortations to terrorize Christian communities or, in its words, a 'War on Christians,' and the victimization of women is a tactic within this strategy.

Sharia Law is a factor

Emphasis on the forced imposition of Shariah facilitates GBV through rigidly gendered ideological structures.

Rise of Boko Haram coincided with the adoption of Shariah in 12 northern states, as was to some extent a by-product of this.

Version of law supported by Shekau and Boko Haram stresses gender roles, enforces strict rules on women's dress and sexual conduct and instituting other discriminatory and abusive acts against women.

Casts men in hyper-masculine combat roles, their duty to violently oppose the West. Globalization has been a factor in such violence and feelings of grievance, with the fracturing of men's traditional identities impacting on their willingness to turn to extremist groups.

The impact of grievances, globalization, and poverty on Nigerian violence suggests that ideology is one of a number of possible factors committed by Boko Haram members and supporters.

Criminal motives also play a role.

The level of control of Boko Haram leadership over the activities of such elements is questionable, and has as yet not been pronounced upon by Shekau.

#### Conclusion

This article shed light on a neglected but developing aspect of the group's operations: gender-based changes in Boko Haram's tactics and its instrumental use of women, resulting in increasing GBV target at Christians.

The article also outlined the instrumental use of women by both Boko Haram and Nigerian security forces in a cycle of abductions and detentions dating from 2012.

Recent violence and ensuing state of emergency is causing Boko Haram to evolve tactically, engaging women in support roles in the group, disguising men as women to avoid arrest, and abducting Christian women.

Evolution of tactics is based on Shariah law.

Group does not have monopoly on violence against women in Nigeria.

Government troops have also been accused of murder, rape, looting, theft, and more.

---

PSC 309, Week 7

OLC of DOJ (ed) readings, Unit N/A

### **Standards of Conduct for interrogation under 18 USC SS 2340-2340A, "Jay Bybee"**

#### **Notes by Joe Frazer, Fall 2017**

Section 2340 defines the act of torture as an: act committed by a person acting under the color of law specifically intended to inflict severe physical or mental pain or suffering (other than pain or suffering incidental to lawful sanctions) upon another person within his custody or physical control.

Geneva convention only prohibits the most extreme acts by reserving criminal penalties for torture and declining to require such penalties for "cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment."

There are US laws regarding civil remedies for torture victims. By legal precedent, cases show that torture involves cruel and extreme physical pain.

Sensory deprivation is permissible due to not inflicting severe amounts of pain even though it is degrading and inhumane. Under Section 2340A, interrogations conducted during the war against Al-Qaeda on enemy combatants may be unconstitutional. This is due to an overreach of POTUS's wartime authority as Commander-in-Chief. Under the right circumstances though, it may be permissible due to necessity or self-defense.

---

PSC 309, Week 7

OLC of DOJ (ed) readings, Unit N/A

**John Yoo , “Memo to Alberto Gonzales”**

**Notes by Joe Frazer, Fall 2017**

DOJs interpretation of 18 USC SS 2340 does not conflict with Geneva Convention because the US made its reservations known at ratification.

---

PSC 309, Week 7

Thomas Badey (ed) readings, Unit 7

## **Huseyin Cinoglu, "Sociological Understanding of the Relationship between and Terrorism and Religion"**

**Notes by John Vise, Fall 2017**

Theory and Terrorism. According to Akers, theories are about and related to real life situations. These include behavioral preferences and our experiences with other individuals and institutions. Akers divides theories into two general categories. For the first group, he specifically talks about the theories that explain or deal with the deterrence strategies. To him, there is something more theoretical and abstract perspectives on crime, which he calls "theories of criminal and deviant behaviors." So far, the nature of the relationship between terrorism and sociology was scrutinized.

Major Sociological Perspectives and Religion- Functionalism and Religion According to functionalism religion is a social institution with specific and crucial tasks in the survival of the society. Most functionalists do not question religion as to why people created or have it, but they tend to focus on the functions of the religion. According to them, religion is pivotal in the preservation of status quo and preventing rapid social changes and movements. Therefore, religion functions in a way to ensure , support, and encourage evolution over revolutions.

Conflict Theory and Religion- Unlike functionalists, with their variations, conflict theory followers tend to see religion as a tool that was not only utilized by the powerful in their efforts of exploiting workers, but also religion is created by them. As compensations for the sufferings of the world, religion offers or promises wealth and happiness in the hereafter. That's why Marx (1844) identifies religion as the "opiate of the masses". To him, religion gives a false happiness and a notion of comfort which deflects workers' attention from their real condition to an uncertain future promise of happiness.

Symbolic Interaction and Terrorism- On the other hand, symbolic interactionist theory mostly endeavors to develop an analytical understanding of religion with a relatively more micro level perspective than the first two theories, (functionalist and conflict theories.) The literature suggested that creation of social networks is fundamental in the creation of meaning systems by the individual.

As you can see from the explanations above, each sociological tradition has different views on religion. They do have weaknesses and strengths over others. For example, functionalists are very effective in identifying and analyzing the functions of religions in maintaining a healthy society and in supporting evolution; while on the other hand, they might easily be characterized as ineffective in seeing the religion's role in generating conflict in the society. The main concern of this perspective is not to explain and reveal the functions of religion in maintaining equilibrium or as the generator of conflict, but they place considerable amounts of importance over its role in the self identity formation through symbolic meanings, values and networks.

Religion as key legitimizing force for violence- Due to its creation of "us vs. them" religious imperatives have the potential to lead more violent actions. Religion offers its followers a unique value system with the power to legitimize and justify the approved acts. Terrorists groups interpretation of these value systems dramatically differ from the mainstream. Most of the time, even at the risk of being expelled as outcasts, they choose to deviate from the fundamental teachings of their religions. This is especially the case for Islamic Terrorist groups. One of Islam's uniquenesses comes from its involvement with almost every aspect of human life. Most terrorist groups' members, either to solidify their membership or to become a full-fledged member, are required or even forced to participate in terrorist acts.

---

PSC 309, Week 7

Thomas Badey (ed) readings, Unit 7

### **Kapil Komireddi, "India Must Face up to Hindu Terrorism"**

#### **Notes by John Vise, Fall 2017**

For too long, there have been Hindu terrorist attacks on the local population in India. Their organized violent eruptions across the country-slaughtering Muslims and Christians, destroying their places of worship, cutting open pregnant wombs- never seemed sufficient enough to the state to cast them as a meaningful threat to India's national security.

However, the recently leaked confession of a repentant Hindu priest, Swami Aseemanand, confirms what India's security establishment should have uncovered: a series of blasts between 2006 and 2008 were carried out by Hindu outfits. The attacks targeted a predominantly Muslim town and places of Muslim worship elsewhere. Their victims were primarily Muslim. Yet the reflexive reaction of the police was to round up young Muslim men, torture them, extract confessions and declare the cases solved.

It is when you look at the reactions non-Hindu extremism that you absorb how strongly majoritarian assumptions inform the state and society's conduct in India. In 2002, the Indian government banned the radical Muslim group Simi, (Students' Islamic Movement of India) citing the group's charter, which seeks to establish sharia rule in India, and the terror charges some of its' members were facing. But the Hindu Radical outfit RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh or the National Volunteer Corps) remains open for business-even though it campaigns, very openly, for a Hindu state in India, and its members incite and perpetrate violence against Muslim and Christian minorities. Mahatma Gandhi's assassin was a member of the RSS, as are Aseemanand and his confreres. To get an idea of which of the two groups poses a more immediate threat to India, consider this: the government that banned Simi was headed by the BJP, the political wing of the RSS.

The principal cause of Hindu radicalism, much like its Muslim counterpart in Pakistan, is the partition of India in 1947. The departing British hacked India apart to accommodate the Muslim League's demand for an exclusive homeland for the subcontinent's Muslims- and so, the Hindu nationalist logic runs, the territory that remained should logically be identified as the land of Hindus. If Pakistan's Muslim majority crystallized around the bogey of "Hindu raj" , the Hindu nationalistic project thrives by casting the burden of partition on India's Muslim minorities- fifth columnists whose coreligionists tore India apart by claiming, in spite of a millennium-long sojourn in India, to be foreigners by virtue of their faith.

For all the saffron calumny, it is impossible to find a community more emphatically committed to India than its Muslims. India's Hindus never had to make a choice. The Muslims did. Consider what an ordinary Muslim family in 1947 would have had to deal with: terrified by the violence that the partition had unleashed, their coreligionists were

fleeing in the millions to Pakistan; Hindu and Sikh fanatics were actively seeking out Muslims for slaughter and rape; the possibility of being betrayed by neighbors and friends was far from remote. Sardar Patel, the second most powerful functionary in the Indian government, was openly hostile to Muslims- hostility which no doubt would have been seen by many Hindus as tacit endorsement of their actions. Amidst all this, the sole authoritarian source of reassurance would have been the distant pledges of a better tomorrow by Jawaharlal Nehru. The Muslims who remained, who refused to vacate the hell that was India despite the blandishments of paradise next door in Pakistan, affirmed their faith in India with their lives.

---

PSC 309, Week 7

Thomas J. Badey (ed) readings, Unit 10

**Thomas m. Sanderson, "Combatting Al Qaeda After Bin Laden"**

**Notes by Katrinnah Harding, Fall 2017**

The 2011 killing of Osama Bin Laden had many immediate, as well as long term effects on the financing, management, and political environment of al Qaeda.

- By the end of 2011, the immediate turmoil that arose seemed to indicate our long-awaited dominance over al Qaeda.
- This appearance of victory caused many Americans to become over confident, says Sanderson, arguing that the troubles developing in the regions around the organization are due to erupt into major issues.
- "Reality on the ground paints a very different picture of al Qaeda's future than the one hoped for by Washington policy-makers and Main Street alike."
- "Where the situation is most uncertain and where much is at stake, al Qaeda is both spoiler and catalyst."
  - o Ongoing affiliate attacks
  - o More sophisticated information operations
  - o Advanced communication tools/financial networks"al Qaeda is now an unguided missile: fearsome, disruptive, and damaging"
- The existence and capability of "lone wolves" are highlighted. These are those individual extremists that are planted in the West, looking to harm. They are most dangerous because of their "no consequences" mentality.
- We have lost our sources of information as our largest providers, like Libya, Egypt, and even Syria, discontinued that service.

Despite all of this, Sanderson argues that the United States' current approach (as of 2012) is working. He praises our key counterterrorism measures as "retain[ing] high levels of funding" and "remain[ing] vigilant". He finishes with a command to the U. S. that if not followed, will result in the successes of the last 12 months being completely in vain. His instructions are as follows: "We must pay close attention, budget appropriately, and continue to improve all of our counterterrorism activities."

---

PSC 309, Week 8

Badey (ed) readings, Unit 9

**Ariel Cohen, John Klein, , "Government Response (Last 2 Articles)"**

**Notes by Quintez Pearson, Fall 2017**

Russia's Northern Caucasus is one of the most volatile lawless regions in the world.

"Hotbed of international terrorism"

US and its allies have interests in reducing the Islamist threat to keep further contribution globally to the Islamist movement.

Lack of state sovereignty allows Islamists, organized criminals, and terrorists to control certain areas seen in Somalia, Yemen, NW Pakistan, Afghanistan, and southern Thailand.

,Nuclear terrorism plays a huge part in security today and is a persistent concern with constant nuclear threats.

Has been shown that deterrence of some terrorist groups (non-state actors) is possible to some degree due to most leaders being rational and functioning strategically.

This deterrence is largely due to the US's effective arsenal of nuclear weapons which causes terrorist groups to think strategically about how to use their arsenals.

History suggests deterrence fails due to miscalculation, uncertainty, or chance.

Dissuasion and deterrence are great in preventing acts of nuclear terrorism, but only if national leaders make it a top priority

---

PSC 309, Week 8

Badey (ed) readings, Unit 9

**Fareed Zakaria, "9.1: The Jihad against the Jihadis"**

**Notes by Austin Ohliger, Fall 2017**

The events of 9/11 spawned an age of radical Islamic terrorism that had been festering in the Middle East for some time. The Bush administration launched a series of programs across the Muslim world to strengthen moderates, shore up civil society, and build forces of tolerance and pluralism. The main reason for change away from radical government was blunders by Al Qaeda. Because of the difficulty of moving money, people, and materials around the world, they attacked local areas instead of global targets. This threatened the regimes that had given them the ability to operate and grow.

King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia started a large-scale political and intellectual effort to discredit the jihadists' ideology. General David Petraeus, chief of Central Command, said that this was one of the most important positive developments in the war on terror. Indonesia under a new democracy marginalized the main terror group of the country, Jemaah Islamiah. Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) gained ground militarily but lost political ground because of their brutal tactics against fellow Muslims and their push for a Sunni-Shia civil war. Religious leaders, schools, and even some within Al Qaeda began to speak out against jihad. Polls show that suicide bombings are becoming less justified, by the people in the Middle East, to defend Islam.

---

PSC 309, Week 8

Badey (ed) readings, Unit 9

**Hussein Solomon, "9.2: Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria"**

**Notes by Austin Ohliger, Fall 2017**

Boko Haram has been attacking Nigeria since 2002 when it was established by Mohammed Yusuf. After Yusuf was captured and killed in police custody on July 31, 2009 Nigeria's response to BH was to match violence with violence. BH looks to be on the move towards a more international attack with growing ties to Al Qaeda. Ties include BH modeled themselves after the Taliban, Yusuf was accused of getting money from AQ, BH leaders met with AQ in the Islamic Maghred (AQIM) and sent members to train, BH has ties to Al-Shabaab of Somalia, and many fighters are part of the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa.

In 2001 Nigeria's current security infrastructure was ill-equipped to deal with Boko Haram's threat. Many issues with Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria examples: financial support networks of BH are mostly unknown, Wide-spread increase in radicalization, lack of technology and forensic ability by police, counter-terrorism unleashed brutal security forces which lost the hearts and minds of the people, counter-terrorism promises weren't always the same as the results. Boko Haram had some members and/or sympathizers in the government and security agencies. In 2010 President Jonathan of Nigeria backed-off of his "fighting fire with fire" idea and hoped BH would talk with the government to find a solution to their main issues. Abul Qaqa, Boko Haram's spokesman, was against this idea and said that they would continue fighting.

---

PSC 309, Week 8

Griffiths (ed) readings, Unit 1

### 3. Charles Kenny - 4. Gary Haugen/Victor Boutros, "Section 1 Parts 3 and 4"

#### Notes by Sydney Baumgartner, Fall 2017

##### 3. Best Decade Ever

The first ten years of the 21st century were filled with tragedy (i.e. 9/11; Enron scandal; Katrina); however, these "Naughty Aughties" as the writer calls them were actually the best ten years of the 21st century, and maybe even humanity's finest

More people lived better/longer, more peaceful, and more prosperous lives

##### Economy

EX) 1990: ½ of the global population was surviving on less than \$1 a day, but by 2007 this number shrank to 28%

The financial crisis in 2008 was a hiccup in the decade's relentless GDP climb

Average world wide incomes have reached \$10,600 yearly, and have risen a quarter since 200.

This demonstrates an expansion of the global middle class

Although 1 Bill people go to bed hungry, food prices are beginning to drop and the world's undernourished population has fallen from 34% (1970) to 17% (2007)

Agricultural productivity continues to climb (EX: cereal yields doubled the rate of population growth in developing world)

##### Modern Medicine

We're winning the global battle against infectious disease

2009: the swine flu killed 18k people; however, at a global perspective that is not terrible considering the "apocalyptic" version of airborne viruses that everyone was afraid of

Decrease in death due to increased vaccinations, specifically in children (50% → 82%)

Child mortality rate lowered and 2 years added to life expectancy

##### Overall Improvements

Increased literacy in third world countries and low-income societies

⅓ of world population can now read and write

Those who seek higher education increased from less than ⅓ to above ¼ of the world population (2000-07)

Women are becoming more active in government globally

Wars have become more minor in comparison to ones in the past

# of armed conflicts and death toll continues to fall

Increase in technology has been a huge help in all of this as well as other progressions

##### 4. And Justice for All: Enforcing Human Rights for the World's Poor

A poor person in the developing world isn't necessarily associated with an abstract political fight for freedoms on paper but rather a fight to survive in general. It's a fight to avoid extortion, slavery, imprisonment, rape, and more. Human rights movements within the past 60 years have contributed to the criminalization of these abuses in every

country; however, those laws are rarely enforced in a majority of countries. Referred to as a moral tragedy that needs to be fixed.

#### Cold Cases

June 2008: UN estimated that 4Bill were living outside the protection of these laws

World wide, people see the police as corrupt, vigilantes, and criminals.

Kenya: 2006; 65% of citizens polled stated that they found it difficult to find help from the police and 29% had to make extraordinary efforts to avoid issues with the police

Countries with police forces that actually want to help the poor normally lack the training and the resources to do so

More often than not if someone that is classified as poor is in contact with the justice system beyond the police, it's because they have been charged with crimes

Poverty and obstruct justice system puts them in a horrible position

Scarcity of lawyers in the developing world makes matters worse → most have never met an attorney

In NY, one lawyer per 749 citizens; Zambia, one lawyer per 25,667 citizens

#### A Third Era

The modern human rights movement began after WWII when a group of scholars and diplomats started to codify international standards on fundamental rights

EX) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political rights, conventions on discrimination, torture, children's rights, women's rights, etc

Produced body of rights and norms that continues today

Two phases: intellectual then political → putting the "norm" into action

Ironic because a lot of these justice systems did not develop past a colonial period and they still refuse to house the poor

Courts and police are corrupt, so they rely on wealthy individuals as well as alternative justice systems

#### The High Costs of Low Enforcement

A lot of these issues derive from the funds that are supposed to be going towards assistance for the poor never make it there

World Bank study found that 85% of aid flows are diverted away from targets due to corrupt leaders and officials.

Resources that do reach aren't much better

Farm tools to widows whose land has been stolen

Vocational training doesn't help those in jail because they didn't pay someone's bribe

Profits stolen by police

#### Pulling Up Short

International human rights and development agencies fear building functioning justice systems in the developing world is impossible

International human rights and development agencies sense that larger bodies like the UN and World Bank are undertaking efforts when they probably aren't

Temporary efforts made but sustaining.. Not so much

Lack of donors towards these "human rights funds"



PSC 309, Week 8

Thomas J. Badey (ed) readings, Unit 6

**Media and State Sponsored Terrorism , “Media and state Sponsored Terrorism by Brett O'Donnell and David Gray ”**

**Notes by Jada Howard, Fall 2017**

Media plays an important role in contemporary International terrorism. Terrorist use it to transmit their message to large populations and recruit new members. this gives the terrorist access to a global audience. On one hand we see the media provides the terrorist with 24 hour real-time coverage showing how bad the terrorist are but only if the explosion is big enough and the devastation is horrific. Brian M Jenkins stated "Terrorism is theatre"

Meaning everything terrorist do is done to draw attention. At first terrorism was only meant for a political target with very little collateral damage. But ever since the 1972 Olympic attacks and how it drew worldwide attention terrorist now look at media as a outlet for the of future terrorism.

State sponsors saw this as a way to place blame on someone else so they used the media for their own benefit. By providing misinformation they could keep their people from realizing the truth. State sponsors of terrorism restricted the freedom of information, certain states such as Iran and Libya restricted information outside their borders so the people could support their political leaders.

Margaret Thatcher stated "publicity is the oxygen of terrorism". In this sense some might say media is terrorism's most effective weapon. Terrorist must have Publicity in some form if they are going to gain attention, inspire fear, and gain respect.

Terrorist media has always been about making a statement to the public. technology has made reaching audiences far easier than ever before with satellite radio and television especially with the assistance of the Internet. The media like any other organization needs to be monitored for truth and he'll responsible for the complications it can create.this also brings about the need for the government and media collaboration to monitor stories and keep control not only to keep the print honest but also to keep the state honest as well.

State sponsors rely on Miss information, lack of communication, lack of information, and oppression to keep the people in check.however with the revolution of the Internet and cell phones the American social network is now changing. Governments can only use the media in an effort to arouse world opinion against the country or group using terrorist tactics, public diplomacy and can only be used to mobilize public opinion in other countries.The media change the PLO and altered the face of terrorism for the rest of the contemporary age. it is possible that the changes of technology and media maybe changing Terrorism for the second time but this time for the better. To further show the influence of media and how it has had an effect on recent events in the world the revolution of media in the Middle East has begin to spread to China. With revolution

occurring in the most major states that sponsor terrorism the terrorist groups are now starting to lose their support systems and resources. Perhaps the freedom of information in contemporary terrorism can't be combated as Terrorism's new weapon.

---