

Course Syllabus
CJG242 Terrorism and International Crime
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Aims of the course

Since the 9-11 attacks, we have been inundated with information on terrorism, its causes, effects and appropriate counter-measures. Unfortunately, a good deal of this is inaccurate and misleading. Misinterpretations, bureaucratic, political or economic agendas, ignorance, intellectual laziness and naivety have often obscured observable facts. This course aims at placing terrorism in a proper context, in order to enable a better understanding, critical thinking, and sounder policy construction. This contextualization of terrorism will proceed in several directions; we will become familiar with movements and groups from many parts of the world, with various motivations and goals, adopting a variety of tactics, and generating diverse risks and threats. We will study terrorism against the background of globalization, the role of religion(s), and the interface with criminal enterprises and legitimate actors. We will also examine various policy measures and practices as they relate to democratic values, media responsibilities and civil liberties. In short, the objective is to understand terrorism in the global village with its advances, setbacks and contradictions. In this way, we will be in a better position to appreciate and evaluate counter-terrorism responses and measures at the domestic and international level.

Students will be required to participate actively and regularly; to work on their own and collaboratively, in writing and orally; to link theory, evidence and policy options; to anticipate terrorist actions as well as consequences of state policies; and to better navigate the contemporary mass of information on terrorism.

Outline

The first part of the course will be devoted to some of the best case studies of terrorism in Europe, Asia, Africa, Americas and the Middle East. The readings and discussions will illustrate the wide range of causes, motives and means of terror employed in different countries over time. Continuities and contrasts will highlight common and unique features of each group.

The second part will look at the impact of globalization in recent years on different societies and cultures. Additional theoretical insights will be offered with respect to crime in general and politically or ideologically motivated offenses in particular.

The third part will focus on the role religions may play in contemporary violence and terror. The readings will reveal how all major religions as well as new religious movements have inspired and been used as justification for terrorist actions.

We will then turn to al Qaeda, commonly described as the par excellence global, religious terrorist group, organization or network. Our readings will challenge some public conceptions of al Qaeda as a centrally directed organization and describe it more

as a network of loose associations. Theoretical and practical implications of this will be debated.

Finally, we will examine the nexus between terrorist groups on the one hand, and criminal enterprises (“organized crime” is a less accurate term) and legal actors on the other. Fund raising and transfers, which are central to transnational militants, involve actors ranging from charities and non-governmental organizations or banks to commodity smugglers, drug traffickers, gun runners, human smugglers and cyber-experts. Even states have been caught in the act of sponsoring terror groups. Our readings and research papers presented by students will offer an overview of the complex ways in which terror and society are intertwined.

The approach of the course is multi-disciplinary, bringing criminological aspects together with political science, history, law, economics and religious studies. Thinking outside any particular “box” will assist in gaining analytical skills, substantive knowledge and a critical spirit, all of which are essential for “reading the news”, doing scholarly work, constructing and evaluating policy or handling the challenges in a private security or control agency.

In our discussions, three main areas will always be prominent:

- 1) The causes of militant/extreme action (drawing on criminological theories; examining questions unanswered or incompletely addressed by classical criminology; looking for alternative explanation taking into account processes of globalization; listing crime-coercive and crime-facilitative factors; draw on other disciplines, like history, political science, etc.; compare and contrast with explanations of domestic/other crime).
- 2) The social organization of this kind of crime (is the demand and supply metaphor helpful; modus operandi; division of labor; relations with other criminal or legitimate and government actors; organizational structures; characteristics of offenders and victims; characteristics of main beneficiaries of illegal activity), and
- 3) Policies that are needed to deal with terrorist groups (what should be done about each of them; is one policy adequate for all forms of militancy we examined; what social and political limitations are there; what “collateral damage” is generated by current policies and with what consequences; what can be achieved realistically in the short term; can should we strive for in the long term).

Books

Required

Burke, J. (2004). Al-Qaeda : The True Story of Radical Islam. London, New York: I.B. Tauris

Clarke, R. (2004). Against All Enemies. New York: Free Press.

Crenshaw, M. (Ed.). (1995). Terrorism in Context. University Park: Pennsylvania State U.P.

Esposito, J. (2003). Unholy War - Terror in the Name of Islam. New York: Oxford U.P.

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks. (2004). The 9/11 Commission Report. New York: W.W. Norton.

Rashid, A. (2003). Jihad: the Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia. New York: Penguin Books.

Recommended

Beyer, P. (1994). Religion and Globalization. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Heymann, P. B. (2003). Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning without War. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hoffman, B. (1998). Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press.

Juergensmeyer, M. (2003). Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence (3rd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stern, J. (2003). Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill. New York: HarperCollins.

The required books are available at the bookstore. Copies of or links to other article and chapter readings are included herein or will be emailed to you. Hard copies of other articles will also be made available. Please note that some articles may be added (two weeks in advance of our class discussion).

Grading

Your grade will be determined by your summary of readings, class presentations, two papers (one individual and one collective), and active participation throughout the semester.

First paper	15%
Presentation	15%
Final paper	30%
Summaries of readings and class participation	40%

Summaries of Readings

They should be about 2-3 typed pages and cover the following (when applicable to each set of readings):

- The points you agree most
- The points you disagree most
- The points you find most important
- Main points on causes of terrorism
- Main motives of individual terrorists

- Main aspects of social organization of militant groups (how they pick targets, how they divide labor, how they raise and move funds, with whom do they collaborate, what weapons/means they use, where they operate, etc.)
- Main weakness of readings (what do they not cover, what questions they beg, where is the evidence thinnest, where is there misunderstanding or bias, etc.)
- Main control challenges
- Policy implications (so, what can we do about the problem?)
- Main questions for class discussion

Due date: each week at 11.00 p.m. on Mondays before our class meetings. This will give me time to review them before our class and take them into account for our discussions.

First Paper

You will have to get into the shoes of a radical militant advising the leaderships of one of the groups we examined - active currently or in the past – on the resort to terror means, and if so against which targets and using which methods. Your paper must cover all aspects relevant to a militant group, including the group's complaints and religious or political objectives, the morale of its members, the effects on financing, sympathizers and external support, anticipated reactions by competitors or enemies/targets, whether associations should be sought with ordinary criminal groups, whether/how to collaborate with outsiders against common enemies, etc. In short, you need to draw on all the readings and your imagination to come up with a terrorist "policy statement" and analysis. The paper has to illustrate your grasp of a particular socio-economic/political context giving rise to terrorist activity.

Due date: February 25 by email.

Presentation in Class

This will be a collaborative project, as the class will be divided into groups of three or four students. The subjects of PowerPoint presentations are those scheduled for weeks 11-14. They should last about 30 minutes, with the rest of the time reserved for Q&A and debates. Each presentation will include a summary of the main points of our readings and then move on to address the three areas mentioned above: causes, social organization, and control policy issues on the basis of your independent research. Ideally, the presentation will a) outline the basic facts about a certain activity or illicit market (e.g. drug trafficking, smuggling of diamonds, use of charities, gun-running, tobacco smuggling, counterfeiting, cybercrime); b) show the relevance to terrorism (i.e., why should one expect an interface); c) outline empirical findings on actual interface/collaboration; d) conclude with policy issues and remedies; e) at the end, list your own questions of interest, puzzles, problems, or areas where you need feedback on.

In general, the presentation will pave the ground for a better final paper – it will give each group a chance to share their findings with the class, get feedback from me and the rest of the class, and thus improve the quality of the paper. I anticipate partial overlap in the materials/data to be used for both presentations and papers of different groups. I strongly encourage you to pass on tips to each other and share useful information.

The grading will be based on the quality of presentation, the success in visualizing the modus operandi/social organization of crimes, preparation, and the handling of questions (students not presenting will still have to prepare summaries and email them not only to me but also to the group in charge of the topic, so that questions can be anticipated).

The groups will have the option of submitting to me a short typed paper, so that I can provide them with feedback – we can arrange for a group meeting during the week or other ways of communication, if that is not practical.

Second paper

The paper will be a longer and more elaborate version of the PowerPoint and oral presentation. Try to integrate as best as possible the various readings around the three main themes. IMPORTANTLY, the paper must reflect research beyond the readings for the class. Library and online research is expected for this paper. Particularly useful are the following links:

<http://news.findlaw.com/legalnews/us/terrorism/cases/>
<http://www.rand.org/publications/electronic/terrorism.html>
<http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/committees/1373/>
<http://cryptome.org/afcu-detention.htm>
<http://www.rferl.org/corruptionwatch/>
<http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/hispanic/terrorism/terrorism.html>
<http://www.legalcasedocs.com/>
<http://banking.senate.gov/index.cfm?Fuseaction=Hearings.Detail&HearingID=65>
<http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~pdscott/q.html>
<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/rsepResources/southAsia.asp>
<http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/terrorism.html>
<http://www.cftc.gov/cftc/cftcaml.htm>

The paper should have full bibliographical references and avoid quotations from the readings. The length should be 30-40 typed, double-spaced pages.

The topic can be terrorism and a) drugs and money laundering or b) arms trafficking or c) diamond/precious stones trade or d) precious metals trade or e) tobacco and other commodities or f) cyberspace or g) charities and NGOs or h) counterterrorism, civil rights and international norms. You should decide on your topic by the third week of the semester and submit the title to me. Try to integrate as well as possible the sections of causes and policy/remedies. This will help you evaluate/criticize current policies and propose alternative ones. Base your arguments on hard evidence (e.g. from findlaw and Lexis-Nexis resources or similar ones you discover during your research). Point out false or misleading information on your topic. Try to address as well as possible the following areas:

- The causes of terrorism/militancy (draw on the theories we examined; examine questions unanswered or incompletely addressed by them; look for alternative modes of explanation; draw on other disciplines, like history, political science, etc.; compare and contrast with explanations of other crimes (what are the specificities of terrorist actions?))

- The social organization of this kind of crime (demand and supply issues; modus operandi; division of labor; relations with other criminal or legitimate and government actors; organizational structures; characteristics of offenders and victims; characteristics of main beneficiaries of illegal activity), and
- Difficulties of law enforcement and policies that are needed to deal with the problem (what should be done about it; what social and political limitations are there; what can be achieved realistically in the short term; how can we avoid or minimize “collateral damage”; what should we strive for in the long term).

In an appendix, outline the division of labor in your team. Each of you will submit a brief confidential commentary on how this worked out in practice and a grade for your partners. Your grade for the paper will be collective, but in extraordinary circumstances if special problems have arisen, there might be a +/-5% difference within a team.

The grade will be based on the quality of the research, the integration of the readings for this course, the originality and articulation of the arguments, and the integration of theory-data-policy sections.

Due date: April 19, by email.

Course Topics and Readings

Week 1- Jan. 4

Discuss: Introduction-general political crime and definitional issues.

Required Readings

Burgess, M. (2003). "Terrorism: The Problems of Definition." Washington, DC: Center for Defense Information.

Link:

<http://www.cdi.org/program/issue/document.cfm?DocumentID=1564&IssueID=138&StartRow=1&ListRows=10&appendURL=&OrderBy=DateLastUpdated&ProgramID=39&issueID=138>

National Research Council. (2002). Terrorism: Perspectives from the Behavioral and Social Sciences Center for Social and Economic Studies.

Link: <http://books.nap.edu/books/0309086124/html/1.html>

Tiefenbrun, Susan. (2003). "A Semiotic Approach to a Legal Definition of Terrorism." ILSA Journal of Comparative and International Law. Vol. 9.

Link: <http://www.nsulaw.nova.edu/stuorgs/ILSAJournal/9-2/Tiefenbrun.pdf>

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime. "Definitions of Terrorism."

Link: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/terrorism_definitions.html.

Weiss, Peter. (2002). "Terrorism, Counterterrorism and International Law." Arab Studies Quarterly. Spring-Summer.

Link: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2501/is_2002_Spring-Summer/ai_95571885/print.

Recommended Readings

US definitions

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/elsewhere/journalist/story/0,7792,487098,00.html>

UN Conventions (linkable through:

http://www.unodc.org/unodc/terrorism_conventions.html):

1. Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft ("Tokyo Convention", 1963--safety of aviation).
2. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft ("Hague Convention", 1970--aircraft hijackings).
3. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation ("Montreal Convention", 1971--applies to acts of aviation sabotage such as bombings aboard aircraft in flight).
4. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons (1973- outlaws attacks on senior government officials and diplomats).

5. International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages ("Hostages Convention", 1979).
6. Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material ("Nuclear Materials Convention", 1980--combats unlawful taking and use of nuclear material).
7. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (Extends and supplements the Montreal Convention on Air Safety), (1988).
8. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, (1988--applies to terrorist activities on ships).
9. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf (1988--applies to terrorist activities on fixed offshore platforms).
10. Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection (1991--provides for chemical marking to facilitate detection of plastic explosives, e.g., to combat aircraft sabotage).
11. International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing (1997): (UN General Assembly Resolution)
12. International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999)

Jordan, Michael. 2002. "Terrorism's Slippery Definition Eludes UN Diplomats." Christian Science Monitor. 4 February.

Link: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0204/p07s02-wogi.htm>.

Week 2 – Jan. 11

Discuss: Terrorism in historical context – early Europe, Italy, Peru

Required Readings

Crenshaw, chapters 1, 2, 4, 7

Recommended

Hoffman, chapters 1-2

National Research Council. (2002). Terrorism: Perspectives from the Behavioral and Social Sciences Center for Social and Economic Studies.

Link: <http://books.nap.edu/books/0309086124/html/1.html>. (*Review*)

Stern, part I

Week 3 – Jan. 18

Discuss: Ireland, India, Algeria, Middle East, and state sponsorship

Required Readings

Crenshaw, chapters 8, 9, 11, 12

Chambliss, W. (1989). "State Organized Crime – The American Society of Criminology, 1988 Presidential Address." Criminology. 27.2, 183-204.

Potter, G. (n.d.). "State Organized Crime: State-Sponsored Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy."

Link: <http://www.policestudies.eku.edu/POTTER/International/stateterror.htm>.

United States Department of State. (2003). Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002.

Link: <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror2002patterns/homecontents>. Read: pp. 76-81, 157-160

Recommended Readings

Kramer, M. (1998). "The Moral Logic of Hizballah," in Walter Reich, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P.

Link: <http://www.geocities.com/martinkramerorg/MoralLogic.htm>

Week 4 – Jan. 25

Discuss: Globalization and Central Asia

Required Readings

Passas, N. (2000). "Global Anomie, Dysnomie, and Economic Crime: Hidden Consequences of Globalization and Neo-liberalism in Russia and Around the World." Social Justice. 27(2), 16-44.

Rashid, in entirety.

Recommended Readings

Beyer.

Week 5 – Feb. 1

Discuss: Religion and terror

Required Readings

Esposito, in entirety.

Clarke, chapter 2

Recommended Readings

Hoffman, chapter 4

Juergensmeyer, in entirety.

Stern, part I.

Week 6 – Feb. 8

Discuss: Al Qaeda

Required Readings

Burke, in entirety.

Clarke, chapter 6

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, chapters 2, 5 -6

Recommended Readings

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Staff report

http://www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/911_TerrTrav_Monograph.pdf

Week 7 – Feb. 15

Discuss: IVTS and fund transfers

Required Readings

Two short papers and an updated report will be emailed to you

Maimbo, S. and Passas, N. (2004). *The Regulation and Supervision of Informal Remittance Systems*. In *Small Enterprise Development*.

Maimbo, S. (2003). *The Money Exchange Dealers of Kabul: A Study of the Informal Funds Transfer Market in Afghanistan*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Link: [http://www1.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlcft/docs/\(06.23.03\)%20The%20Hawala%20System%20in%20Afghanistan%20\(Maimbo\).pdf](http://www1.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlcft/docs/(06.23.03)%20The%20Hawala%20System%20in%20Afghanistan%20(Maimbo).pdf)

Passas, N. (2003). “Hawala and Other Informal Value Transfer Systems: How to Regulate Them?” *Risk Management*, 39-49.

Link: <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/chinaaliens/shawala.htm>

_____. (1999). *Informal Value Transfer Systems and Criminal Organizations: A Study into So-Called Underground Banking Networks*. The Hague: Ministry of Justice (The Netherlands).

Link: <http://www.minjust.nl:8080/borgan/wodc/publications/ivts>. Read pages 1-53, 65-72.

United States Department of the Treasury. (2004). “What You Need to Know about U.S. Sanctions.” Washington, D.C.: Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC).

Link: <http://www.ystreas.gov/iffuces.eitffc.ifac.sanctions/t11ter.pdf>

Recommended

Treasury Report to Congress

<http://www.fincen.gov/hawalarptfinal11222002.pdf>

Week 8 – Feb. 22

FIRST PAPER DUE: Feb. 25

Discuss: Terror and its relationship to other crimes

Required Readings

Arquilla, J. and D. Ronfeldt. “The Advent of Netwar (Revisited).” In John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, editors, Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy. Santa Monica, CA: RAND
<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1382/MR1382.ch1.pdf>

Lea, J. notes

<http://www.bunker8.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/orgcrim/3808.htm>

Terrorism and Organized Crimes: Reflections on an Illusive Link and its Implication for Criminal Law Reform

<http://www.icclr.law.ubc.ca/Publications/Reports/International%20Society%20Paper%20of%20Terrorism.pdf>

Terrorism and Africa

<http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/ASR/12No4/Cilliers.pdf>

Passas, N. (2003). "Cross-border Crime and the Interface between Legal and Illegal Actors." *Security Journal*. 16: 19-38.

Schmid, A. "Links between terrorist and organized crime networks: emerging patterns and trends"

<http://www.iss.co.za/Seminars/terro19sep03/links.pdf>

Williams, P. (2001). "Transnational Criminal Networks." In John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, editors, *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

Link: www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1382/MR1382.ch3.pdf

Williams paper and a UN report to be emailed to you

Recommended

UN Security Council Resolution 1373

Naylor, R. T. (2001). *Economic Warfare: Sanctions, Embargo Busting and their Human Cost*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Shelley, L. "The Nexus of Organized International Criminals and Terrorism."

Link: <http://www.american.edu/tracc/Publications/Shelley%20Nexus%20of%20Organized%20Internatl%20Criminals%20&%20Terrorism.pdf>

Week 9 – Spring Break – No Class!

Week 10 – Mar. 8

Discuss: Fund raising for terrorism

Required Readings

Council on Foreign Relations. (2002). *Terrorist Financing*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Link: http://www.cfr.org/pdf/Terrorist_Financing_TF.pdf

Gunning, J. (2003). "Terrorism, Fundraising and Diasporas." Draft Memo for Workshop on the Financial and Transnational Dynamics of Terrorism, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University.

Levitt, M. A. (2002). "The Political Economy of Middle East Terrorism." *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 6(4): 49-65.

<http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articleDet.cfm?articleid=459>

Passas, N. (2003). "Financial Controls of Terrorism and Informal Value Transfer Methods." In *Global Organized Crime: Current Developments*, eds. Henk van de Bunt, Dina Siegel and Damián Zaitch. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Winer, J. (2002). "Illicit Finance and Global Conflict?"

Link: <http://www.faf.no/pub/rapp/380/380.pdf>

Recommended Readings

Galeotti, M. (1998). "Turkish Organized Crime: Where Crime, State, and Rebellion Conspire." *Transnational Organized Crime*, 4(1), 25-41.

H. M. Treasury. (2002). *Combating the Financing of Terrorism*. London: Home Office.

Link: http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/media/A7DA2/combating_terrorism.pdf.

U.S. Library of Congress Federal Research Division. (2003). *Asian Organized Crime and Terrorist Activity in Canada – 1999-2002*. Washington, D.C., GPO.

http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf_files/AsianOrgCrime_Canada.pdf

Week 11 – Mar. 15

Discuss: Terrorism and criminal enterprises - drugs and arms trafficking

CRS Report

http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf_files/NarcsFundedTerrs_Extrems.pdf

"How Drug Prohibition Finances and Otherwise Enables Terrorism"

<http://www.ukcia.org/research/ProhibitionFinancesTerrorism.pdf>

Narco-terrorism paper to be emailed to you

Balkania.net. (n.d.). Articles on KLA-Kosovo-Drugs-Mafia and Fundraising.

<http://members.tripod.com/Balkania/resources/terrorism/kla-drugs.html>.

Makarenko, T.

<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/intrel/research/cstpv/pdf/HAQ-Makarenko3.doc.pdf>

Klare, M. T. (1988). "Secret Operatives, Clandestine Trade: The Thriving Black Market for Weapons." *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 44(3):16-24.

Naylor, R. T. (1995). "Loose Canons: Covert Commerce and Underground Finance in the Modern Arms Black Market." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 22:1-57.

"Small Arms and Light Weapons and the Challenge of Terrorism"

[Http://Www.Mofa.Go.Jp/Mofaj/Gaiko/Arms/Sw/Dnw_200208e.Html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/arms/sw/dnw_200208e.html)

U.S. Library of Congress Federal Research Division. (2002). A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups. Washington, D.C., GPO.

http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/NarcsFundedTerrs_Extrems.pdf.

_____. (2003). Terrorist and Organized Crime Groups in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) of South America. Washington, D.C., GPO. http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/TerrOrgCrime_TBA.pdf.

Williams, P., & Woessner, P. N. (1996). The Real Threat of Nuclear Smuggling. American Scientific, 274(January), 40-44.

Recommended

Chalk, P. (1997). Grey Area Phenomenon in South East Asia: Piracy, Drug Trafficking and Political Terrorism. Canberra: N 1-2-3 papers on Strategy and Defense. Research school of Pacific and Asian study at ANU.

<http://www.theantidrug.com/pdfs/drgsbiblio.pdf>

Week 12 – Mar. 22

Discuss: Terrorism and criminal enterprises – illicit diamonds, gold and smuggling

Required Readings

Andreas, P. (1999). "Smuggling Wars: Law Enforcement and Law Evasion in a Changing World." In T. Transnational Crime in the Americas, ed. T. Farer, (pp. 85-98). London: Routledge.

Farah, D. *The Role of Conflict Diamonds and Failed States in the Terrorist Financial Structure* (2003.).

<http://www.douglasfarah.com/articles/conflict-diamonds.shtml>

Global Witness. (2003). For a Few Dollar\$ More: How al Qaeda Moved into the Diamond Trade. <http://www.globalwitness.org/reports/show.php/en.00041.html>

Partnership Africa Canada (PAC). (2000). Heart of the Matter .

<http://www.pacweb.org/e/pdf/heart%20of%20the%20matter.doc>

Passas (2004) Report to FinCEN on Diamonds, Financial Crime and Terrorist Finance.

Sogot, M. (2004). Conflict Diamonds Are Forever. International Consortium of Investigative Journalists.

Link: <http://www.publicintegrity.org/bow/printer-friendly.aspx?aid=152>

Recommended Readings

Partnership Africa Canada (PAC). (2004). Diamond Industry Annual Review, Sierra Leone 2004.

Link: http://www.pacweb.org/e/pdf/sierraleone_e.pdf.

Zhang, S., and Chin, K.-I. (2002). "Enter the Dragon: Inside Chinese Human Smuggling Organizations." Criminology. 40(4), 737-767.

U.S. General Accounting Office. (2002). International Trade: Significant Challenges Remain in Deterring Trade in Conflict Diamonds.

Link: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d02425t.pdf>

Week 13 – Mar. 29

Discuss – Terrorism and criminal enterprises – illicit use of charities, cyber-crime, petty crime

Required Readings

9/11 staff report

http://www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/911_TerrFin_Monograph.pdf

Gunning paper on Hamas and charities to be emailed

Christian Aid Report

<http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/404caweek/cawreport.pdf>

Levitt, M. "Charitable Organizations and Terrorist Financing: A War on Terror Status-Check"

<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/media/levitt/levitt032004.htm>

Lynch, S. (2002). "The Risk of Alternative Internet Payments." Journal of Economic Crime Management. 1.2. http://www.jecm.org/02_fall_art2.pdf.

Mussington, D., Wilson, P. and Molander, R. Exploring Money Laundering Vulnerabilities Through Emerging Cyberspace Technologies: A Caribbean-Based Exercise.

<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1005/>

Van Heuven, M., M. Botterman, and S. de Spiegeleire. (2003). Managing New Issues: Cyber Security in an Era of Technological Change.

<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1535/>.

Week 14 – Apr. 5

Discuss: Counter-terrorism policy

Required Readings

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, chapters 3, 4, 8, 9-13

Clarke, 3-5, 7- end

Recommended Readings

Clarke, 1

U.S. Department of State. 2004. Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003.

Link: <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2003/c12153.htm>. Read: p. xi and Appendices D, F

Week 15 – Apr. 12

Discuss: Counter-terrorism policy implications – civil rights and justice

Required Readings

Abdelkarim, R. Z. (2003). “Arab and Muslim Americans: Collateral Damage in the Wars on Terrorism, Iraq.” The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs. May: 55-56.

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). (2003). “How ‘Patriot Act 2’ Would Further Erode the Basic Checks on Government Power that Keep America Safe and Free.”

Link: <http://www.cdt.org/security/patriot2/030320aclu.pdf>

Baker, N. (2003). “National Security versus Civil Liberties.” Presidential Studies Quarterly. September : 547-567.

The United States’ “Disappeared”; The CIA’s Long-Term “Ghost Detainees” A Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper, October 2004

Link: <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounders/usa/us1004/>

Attempts to prosecute high-level US officials:

http://www.ccr-ny.org/v2/legal/september_11th/sept11Article.asp?ObjID=1xiADJOOQx&Content=472

Cole, D. (2003). “What Patriot II Proposes to Do.”

Link: <http://www.cdt.org/security/usapatriot/030210cole.pdf>

Doyle, C. (2002). “The USA PATRIOT Act: A Sketch.” CRS Report for Congress.

Link: <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RS21203.pdf>

Hornqvist, M. (2004). “The Birth of Public Order Policy.” Race and Class. 46(1): 30-52.

Law Lords ruling against internment without charges:

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200405/ldjudgmt/jd041216/a&others.pdf>

The Power of Nightmares (FILM).

Link: <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/video1037.htm>

Taylor, S. (2003). “Rights, Liberties and Security.” Brookings Review. Winter: 25-31.

Recommended Readings

Heymann.

United States Department of State, International Information Programs, Democracy and the Rule of Law

Link: http://usinfo.state.gov/dhr/democracy/rule_of_law.html

<http://cryptome.org/afcu-detention.htm>

Center for Democracy and Technology, Response to September 11, 2001 Terrorist Attacks

Link: <http://www.cdt.org/security/010911response.shtml>

University of Pittsburgh, Jurist, U.S. Anti-Terrorism Laws

<http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/terrorism/terrorism3.htm>

British film on Afghanistan and the treatment of Taliban POWs

New dagmemo on torture

Assessing the New Normal

<http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/pubs/descriptions/Assessing/AssessingtheNewNormal.pdf>

Report of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/2002/un-wrkgng-grp-terrorism.htm>

Week 16 – Apr. 19

FINAL PAPER DUE

Discuss: Counter-terrorism policy implications – civil rights and justice (conclusion)

Required Readings

Paine, C. (2004). “Bush’s Dirty War.” Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. November-December: 79-81.

Roth, K. (2002). “Misplace Priorities – Human Rights and the Campaign against Terrorism.” Harvard International Review. Fall: 14-19.

Tujan, A. and A. Gaughran. (2004). “Development and the Global War on Terror.” Race and Class. 46(1): 53-74.

Recommended Readings

Ending secret detentions:

http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/us_law/PDF/EndingSecretDetentions_web.pdf