國立清華大學課程大綱

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科號		組別		學分	2	人數限制	
上課時間				教室			
科目中文名稱	恐怖主義與反恐						
科目英文名稱	Terrorism and Anti-Terrorism						
任課教師	Shih, Chien-yu 侍建宇						
擋修科目				擋修分數			

請勾選	此科目對應之系所課程規畫所欲培養之核心能力 Core capability to be cultivated by this course	權重（百分比） Percentage
☑	自我瞭解與溝通表達 Self-awareness, expressions & communication	20 %
☑	邏輯推理與批判思考能力 Logical reasoning & critical thinking	30 %
☐	科學思維與反思 Scientific thinking & reflection	%
☑	藝術與人文涵養 Aesthetic & humanistic literacy	20 %
☐	資訊科技與媒體素養 Information technology & media literacy	%
☑	多元觀點與社會實踐 Diverse views & social practices	30 %

一、課程說明	恐怖主義的定義本來就晦澀，現在日常的用法總是充滿負面意義與指涉。恐怖主義於是需要各種反恐手段作為應對。這本課程首先嘗試回答兩個問題： 1. 什麼是恐怖主義？（只是一種政治暴力型態？而合法正當的政治暴力，像是戰爭，又與恐怖攻擊有何不同？） 2. 為什麼要反恐？（恐怖主義是否擁有合法正當性的問題，於是也攸關應有的反制措施。） 應該要直接以暴易暴，還是相對溫和地，應該採用攻心為上的其他策略，追求終極的去極端化效果？反恐是不是應該全由國家來主導？如果面臨兩難，是否可以犧牲民主自由、人權基本價值來進行反恐？ 除了檢討恐怖主義所帶動的政治倫理相關問題，我們還嘗試尋找恐怖主義生成的原因，以及『各種不同的』恐怖主義表現方式，包括國家恐怖主義。也會評估各種反恐的策略，以及當前學界與政策研究相關論述辯論。 學生修完課程後，應該能 - 充份理解恐怖主義作為一種政治暴力在倫理上的各種見解，以及現有制定反恐相關法律的困境 - 能夠討論恐怖主義各種生成的可能原因，以及不同個案狀況下，所適用的反恐策略爭議 - 理解過去十數年全球反恐戰的各種困難挑戰，以及近年基地組織的結構演變與伊斯蘭國的興衰 - 中國反恐的內涵與缺陷
二、指定用書	1. Stuart Gottlieb (ed.). 2014. Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts, and Responses. CQ Press. 2nd ed. 2. Combs, Cynthia C, 2017. Terrorism in the 21st Century. Routledge, 8th ed. 3. Silke, Andrew, 2020. Routledge Handbook of Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Routledge
三、參考書籍	Tore Bjφrgo, Tore, 2004. Root Causes of Terrorism: myths, reality and ways forward. Routledge. Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13 (4): 379-399. Cordell, Karl and Wolff, Stefan, 2011. *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*, Abingdon: Routledge. Chapter on 'Genocide and Ethnic Conflict' Gerges, Fawaz A., 2005. *The Far Enemy: why Jihad went global*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, Chapter on 'The Seeds' Hoffman, Bruce, 2006. Inside Terrorism. Columbia University Press

Lanchester, John, 2013. The Snowden files: why the British public should be worried about GCHQ, The Guardian.
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/03/edward-snowden-files-john-lanchester

Lin, TH, 2015. (in Chinese) Terrorism: Concepts and Theory. Wunan 林泰和，恐怖主義研究：概念與理論，五南出版社

Millward, James. 2004. Violent Separatism in Xinjiang: a critical assessment. Washington: East-West Center
http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS006.pdf

----- 2014 "China's Two Problems with the Uyghurs" Los Angles Review of Books http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/chinas-two-problems-uyghurs

Moghadam Assaf., 2006. Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 29(8), pp.707–729.

Robert A. Pape, 2003. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *The American Political Science Review*, 97(3), pp.343–361.

Roy, Olivier, 2004. *Globalized Islam: the search for a new Ummah*, New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 7 'On the Path to War: Bin Laden and Others'

Sageman, Marc, 2004. Understanding Terror Networks. University of Pennsylvania Press.

--------2016. Misunderstanding Terrorism. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Taylor, Max, 2006. A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18(4), pp.585–601.

Porch, Douglas, 2013. *Counterinsurgency: exposing the myths of the new way of war*, NewYork: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 'A happy combination of clemency with firmness: The small wars prologue'

Shih, Chienyu, 2014. (in Chinese) 'Soviet Intervention and Uyghur Nationalism – On the Ways to Frame the History of the East Turkistan Republic' 蘇聯介入與現代維吾爾民族主義的興起 - 東突厥斯坦共和國不同史觀的討論, 文化研究 Router - Journal of Culture Studies

Walzer, Michael, 2004, "Terrorism: A Critique of Excuses," *Arguing about War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp.51-66Weinberg, Leonard, The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(4), pp.777–794.

Wiktorowicz, Quintan, 2004. *Islamic Activism: a social movement theory approach*, Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, Chapter 'Introduction'.

四、教學方式	每次上課主要由教師進行 1.5 小時講座，並穿插課堂討論活動、以及作業報告 0.5 小時。學生需要認真參與討論，並列入評分。為求充分了解課程內容，與參與課堂討論，學生應該將閱讀材料與上課內容做成筆記，並構思問題。當然希望學生能將所學得的內容與概念框架，應用於關注並分析恐怖主義與反恐的相關議題上。
五、教學進度	第一週 導論：充滿爭議的恐怖主義定義 恐怖主義是政治標籤，還是政治暴力？ Readings: Gottlieb chapter 1; Combs chapter 1, 2 and 14 第二-三週 恐怖主義的倫理與正當性 恐怖主義有沒有任何可能被正當化，換句話說，什麼樣的政治暴力可以被認可接受？ Readings: Gottlieb chapter 3, and Combs chapter 3 and 4 *Ganor, Boaz, 2002. Defining terrorism: Is one man's terrorist another man's freedom fighter? Media Asia, 29(3), pp.123–133 *Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism." in Inside Terrorism, 1–41. Columbia University Press. *Walzer, Michael, 2000. *Just and Unjust wars: a moral argument with historical illustrations*, New York: Basic Books. Chapter 3 and 16 *Walzer, Michael, 2004, "Terrorism: A Critique of Excuses," *Arguing about War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp.51-66. 第四-五週 自殺攻擊 面對力量不對等的敵對狀態，自殺攻擊是否是一個理性的選擇？ Readings: Gottlieb chapter 5 *Astran, Scott, 2006-07-03. The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism. The Washington Quarterly, 29(2), pp.127–147 *Moghadam Assaf., 2006. Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 29(8), pp.707–729. 第六-七週 恐怖主義發生的源頭、逐步極端化的過程與恐怖份子的拔擢 社會科學家認為政治暴力源於意識形態、欺凌（歧視或各種不正義）、不道德價值、恐懼、意識錯亂、地緣與國家強弱的機緣等等。但是，那一個原因對於恐怖主義的發生最關鍵？恐怖主義研究曾經被心理學與犯罪

學主導，他們研究個人與小群體網絡如何帶動極端化的過程。這樣的研究途徑有什麼啟示？

Readings: Gottlieb chapter 2; Combs chapter 6 and 7

* McCauley, Clark, 2008. Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism. Terrorism and Political Violence, 20(3), pp.415–433

* Taylor, Max, 2006. A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist. Terrorism and Political Violence, 18(4), pp.585–601.

第八-九週 犧牲自由換取安全？

面對恐怖主義威脅，國家應該隨時進入緊急狀態，破壞就是保護法制?

Readings: Gottlieb chapter 11; Combs chapter 10 and 12

*Ignatieff, Michael, 2004. The Lesser Evil: political ethics in an age of terror, Toronto: Penguin Canada, Chapter 2 'The Ethics of Emergency'

* Lanchester John, 2013. The Snowden files: why the British public should be worried about GCHQ, The Guardian. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/03/edward-snowden-files-john-lanchester

第十-十一週 反恐

面對恐怖份子，應該攻心為上？以暴其實不能止暴？

Readings: Gottlieb chapter 7; Combs chapter 11 and 13

*Porch, Douglas, 2013. Counterinsurgency: exposing the myths of the new way of war, NewYork: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 'A happy combination of clemency with firmness: The small wars prologue'

* Kilcullen, David, 2009. The Accidental Guerrilla: fighting small wars in the midst of a big one, Oxford: Oxford University Press (This blog with Killcullen's work http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/thoughts-from-the-field-on-kilcullens-28-articles-pt-i)

第十二-十三週 國家恐怖主義

種族清洗與滅絕有何不同？戰爭時期或反恐過程中，種族清洗、滅絕屠殺常常發生；社會科學家多以意識形態、心理與物質因素來詮釋國家恐怖主義的現象。哪一個因素最重要？

Readings: Combs chapter 5

* Hughes, James, 2011. 'Genocide and Ethnic Conflict' in Cordell, Karl and Wolff, Stefan, ed., Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict, Abingdon:

Routledge.

*Mann, Michael, 2005. The Dark Side of Democracy: explaining ethnic cleansing, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 'The Argument'

第十四-十五週 基地組織與全球反恐戰

基地組織的結構、目標與戰鬥方式與其他恐怖組織有何不同？有人以為基地組織是一種新型社會運動，但是心理學家則以為社會網絡有效連動才是問題的關鍵。基地組織的恐怖威脅是否被誇大？伊斯蘭國的興衰又有什麼啟示？

Readings: Gottlieb chapter 4 and 8

*Gerges, Fawaz A., 2005. The Far Enemy: why Jihad went global, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, Chapter on 'The Seeds'(eLary)

*Roy, Olivier, 2004. Globalized Islam: the search for a new Ummah, New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 7 'On the Path to War: Bin Laden and Others'

*Sageman, Marc, 2004. Understanding Terror Networks, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 5

第十六週 中國的反恐：以三股勢力論述與東突伊斯蘭運動為例

三股勢力作為一種反恐政策論述是否適當？中國面臨的恐怖攻擊威脅到底有多大？

Readings: Millward 2004 and 2014

學期報告題目

Question *One*

Torture

A major challenge in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency is achieving an appropriate balance between security and liberty. Historically, states have tended to treat fundamental freedoms and compliance with rule of law (including international law) as factors to be traded off against efforts to improve security. Do you think it appropriate that emergency powers and laws should undo or override civil liberties? Are derogations ever justified? Is it reasonable to apply tests such as proportionality (ie proportional to the threat) and effectiveness to such state practices - and how would we do that?

Reference:

Isabel Pinedo, Tortured logic: entertainment and the spectacle of deliberately inflicted pain in 24 and Battlestar Galactica

Richard Goldstone. 2006. Combating Terrorism: Zero Tolerance for Torture

Bruce Hoffman,   A Nasty Business - The Atlantic
http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/01/a-nasty-business/302379/

Ex Post: Waldron-Yoo Debate on Torture
http://expost.blogspot.hk/2005/04/waldron-yoo-debate-on-torture.html

Alan Dershowitz, Should we fight terror with torture? - The Independent
http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/alan-dershowitz-should-we-fight-terror-with-torture-406412.html

Dick Cheney Responds to CIA Torture Report
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_r5A3Kwx22U (Please also refer to Mother Jones' website, The Secret Torture Memo Cheney Didn't Want You To See
http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2012/04/secret-torture-memo-cheney-hid)

Baha Mousa case links:

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120215203912/http://www.bahamousainquiry.org/

http://watchingthelaw.blogspot.co.uk/2012/10/fourth-baha-mousa-memorial-lecture-iraq.html

http://www.theguardian.com/law/2012/oct/19/torture-uk-britain-blood-government

(highly recommend Book) Jane Mayer. 2008. The dark side: the inside story of how the war on terror turned into a war on American ideals

Ian Cobain. 2013. Cruel Britannia: a secret history of torture

Question *Two*

Northern Ireland "Model"

Is Northern Ireland a model for dealing with 'terrorism' and managing ethno-national conflict? The conflict in Northern Ireland (1969-1998) was one of the most protracted civil wars of recent times, and the most violent conflict to afflict an advanced democracy. British military strategies and tactics involved the application of methods learned from colonial counterinsurgencies. The duration of this 'Long War' by definition suggests a failure of state management of the violence. What accounts for the protractedness of this war? What lessons can be drawn about root causes, radicalization, counterinsurgency, counterterrorism, and the political options for managing ethnic conflict and the ending of 'terrorism'.

Essential Reading (6 items)

Reference:

Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford. 1998, Politics in Northern Ireland. Westview Press, chapter on "The Past in the Present'

John A. Hall and MontréalSiniša Malešević ed. 2013. Nationalism and War. Cambridge University Press, chapter 4 on "State Violence in the Origins of Nationalism. British State Violence and the Reinvention of Irish Nationalism 1969-72"

J. L. P. Thompson. 1989. Deprivation and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1922-1985: A Time-Series Analysis, Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol.33 No.4

James Hughes. 2014. Reconstruction without reconciliation: is Northern Ireland a "model"? in Kissane, Bill, (ed.) After Civil War: Division, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation in Contemporary Europe. National and ethnic conflict in the 21st century. University of Pennsylvania Press (earlier version http://personal.lse.ac.uk/hughesj/images/NIModel.pdf)

Peacemaking in Northern Ireland: A model for conflict resolution? Speech by Peter Hain MP Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Chatham House, 12 June 2007 http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/docs/nio/ph120607.pdf

CAIN Web Service - Conflict and Politics in Northern Ireland http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/

Question *Three*

The War in Iraq and its Consequence

Iraq demonstrates the limitations of military counterinsurgency and the paramount importance of political solutions to political violence. Whatever the legal niceties in the justification for the war in Iraq by the USA and its allies, the "liberation" turned to crisis and "quagmire" due to military excesses and policy failures in managing a multiethnic society. What lessons about coercion/cooption did the US military draw from previous experiences of counterinsurgency? What was similar and what was different in the US approach, and how did US strategy and tactics change over time? How viable are the political arrangements in Iraq? How serious is the reputational damage to the US?

Reference:

Secret Iraq part 2: The Awakening, Documentary
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G-5s0cDp-0w

Cian O'Driscoll. 2006. Re-negotiating the Just War: The Invasion of Iraq and Punitive War. Cambridge Review of International Affairs. Vol.19 No.3

Bruce Hoffman, 2004. Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq. Rand: National Security Research Division
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2005/RAND_OP127.pdf

Eliot Cohen. 2006. Principles, Imperatives, and Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency.

	Military Review www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA486811 General David Petraeus. 2010. Counterinsurgency Concepts: What We Learned in Iraq. Global Policy Vol.1 No.1 http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1758-5899.2009.00003.x/pdf George Packer. 2006. A Reporter at Large: Knowing the Enemy - The New Yorker http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2006/12/18/knowing-the-enemy Dexter Filkins. 2012.How Good a General was David Petraeus?. The New Yorker http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/12/17/general-principles Montegomery McFate, The Military Utility of Understanding Adversary Culture. JFQ issue 38 http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/jfq/1038.pdf Roberto J. González. 2007. Towards mercenary anthropology? The new US Army counterinsurgency manual FM 3-24 and the military-anthropology complex. Anthropology Today, Vol. 23, No. 3 http://www.upf.edu/iuhjvv/_pdf/arrels/dossier/duffield/duffield2.pdf David Kilcullen. 2007. Ethics, Politics and Non-state Warfare: A Response to González. Anthropology Today, Vol. 23, No. 3 Montgomery McFate. 2007. Building Bridges or Burning Heretics?: A Response to González.　Anthropology Today, Vol. 23, No.3 https://www.academia.edu/7275207/BUILDING_BRIDGES_OR_BURNING_HERETICS David Rohde. 2007. Army Enlists Anthropology in War Zones - New York Times http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/05/world/asia/05afghan.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0
六、成績考核	**10%出席率** **15%上課提問與參與討論情況** 各週針對全球恐怖主義發展現況，進行自由發言十分鐘。並邀請其他同學提問與討論。 **75%書面作業(三篇各佔 25%)** 　-如有安排校外學者專家專題演講，課後撰寫心得感想。 　-依據特定恐怖主義相關課題轉寫課後心得報告。 　-長度為 1000-2000 字。
七、講義位址 　 http://	