

POLS 429: International Terrorism
Lecture 29 (04.08.2020):
Counter - Terrorism Vol. 2

Rotem Dvir

Texas A&M University

rdvir@tamu.edu

Department of Political Science
Spring 2020

Overview

- 1 Quick review
- 2 CT Methods
- 3 CT Methods: Deeper Dive
- 4 Extra Material

Review

WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- Assessing various measures to fight terrorism.
- Defining **success**: reduce attacks, prevent radicalization, destroy groups.
- Overall: most methods are ineffective.
- Hard versus soft power measures: enemy/population centric approaches.
- **Hard power**: tangible tools to deter and impose costs.
- **Indiscriminate methods**: repression, mass surveillance.
- **Discriminate methods**: decapitation, the use of drones (legality, cost, backlash effects).

Questions??

Counter-Terrorism: Methods

UNPACK METHODS: HARD VS. SOFT POWER

- **Hard power:** deploy tangible sources (military/police forces) to attack and deter terrorists (and their supporters).
- Enemy centric doctrine: isolating and destroying terror groups.
- CT tools → drone strikes, military intervention, increased policing and intelligence operations.
- **Soft power:** indirect tools to address terrorism.
- Population centric methods: target the underlying enabling causes of terrorism.
- CT tools → capacity-building initiatives, stem finances, economic development and countering radicalization.

Soft Power Instruments

- Highlight the benefits of abstaining from terrorism.
- Instruments → not coercive, present rewards (can be punitive).
- A persuasion based approach: political concessions, economic rewards or sanctions, and cultural influence.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

- Focus: limiting terrorism financial support.
- International organizations → standards for governments, banking institutions and private firms.
- Standards: counter money laundering, freeze financial assets of terror organizations.
- Trade-offs: restricts intelligence operations, and global financial operations.

Soft Power Instruments

ECONOMIC INFLUENCE (CONT.)

- Countering passive state sponsorship.
- Using diplomatic relations to pressure other countries who provide "silent" support for terror groups.
- Spain and the UK → France and the US (IRA and ETA).
- 1987: UK exposed and stopped Libya's support for the IRA by having two insiders shift a major arm shipment from Tripoli.

Soft Power Instruments

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE

- Complements the use of hard power strategies.
- CVE strategies (non-coercive tools) developed by community organizations and government partners.
- CVE actions target radicalization processes.
- Actions:
 - Portraying messages (media speeches, online platforms).
 - Outreach and engagement programs of engagement.

Soft Power Instruments

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE

- Capacity building: youth and women's empowerment initiatives; community development and education.
- A broad objective: increase community cohesion and trust by fostering interactions and networking across communities.
- Programs provide opportunities for channels of non-violent political contention and sounding grievances
- Help reintegrate former radicalized group members and offer them the place to express their concerns in non-violent settings.

Soft Power Instruments

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE: EFFECTIVENESS

- Difficult to evaluate systematically (identifying measures).
- Main lesson: focus on individual interventions that are cost-effective and easier to evaluate.
- Requires identifying and recruiting competent, local leaders (instead of national-scale programs).
- **Criticism:** England → the risks of singling out Muslims and tendency to move to hard strategy as mass surveillance.

Soft Power Instruments

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

- Conciliatory measures: alter the political context and make terrorism less appealing as a method of political contention.
- Example: focus on the constituency of terror group.
 - ① Material concessions.
 - ② Signal intentions to bargain with the terror group.
- **Discriminate**: offer benefits to terror group members that provided information leading to the arrest of other members (Israel/Italy).
- **Indiscriminate**: target entire populations, induce a large-scale shift in public opinion away from supporting terrorism.

Soft Power Instruments

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

- An important mediating factor: the degree of trust between the target population and the government.
- Government must establish credibility or chances of success are very low.
- Wide skepticism:
 - ① Negotiating with terrorists encourages more violence.
 - ② Rewarding the few who do not follow the rules at the expense of those that do and employ non-violent methods.
 - ③ Risk stigmatizing entire populations (ignore variations within groups).

Soft Power Instruments

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

- Another strategy: shifting the political context and denying benefits from radical groups.
- Example: Spain and political pact in the Basque parliament.
- Marginalize the radical factions related to ETA.
- Success → negative effects on the extent of public support and the group's ability to recruit financial resources.

Counter-Terrorism Instruments

EFFECTIVENESS PUZZLE

- ① Indiscriminate repressive actions → backfire and reducing the legitimacy of the state.
 - US-AQ, Israel-Palestinian, debate on mass surveillance.
- ② Discriminate strategy (Targeted killings) → context dependent.
 - Success and the terror group's structure.
 - Assess cost-benefit and value-added to CT efforts.
- ③ Soft power strategies → more promise and potential.
 - Emphasize benefits of abstaining from terrorism and radicalization instead of costs focus of hard power strategies.
 - Problems: political risks and requires mutual trust.
 - Requires understanding of the political and group context.

CT Methods: the Drones debate

Mir and Moore (2019)

- Drones campaign in North Pakistan. [▶ DronesTotal](#)
- Evaluate effectiveness → expand the applications of the drones campaign.
- Not just Decapitation (kinetic effect - kill leaders and members of groups).
- Multi-purpose drones: continuous aerial surveillance, wide-range communications interception, and continuous processing of intelligence that builds 'targets bank'.
- Anticipatory effects: actions by terrorists to reduce the risk of becoming targets.
 - ① Restricted movement.
 - ② Constrained communications.
 - ③ Compromised intragroup trust.

Drones in Pakistan (2008-2012)

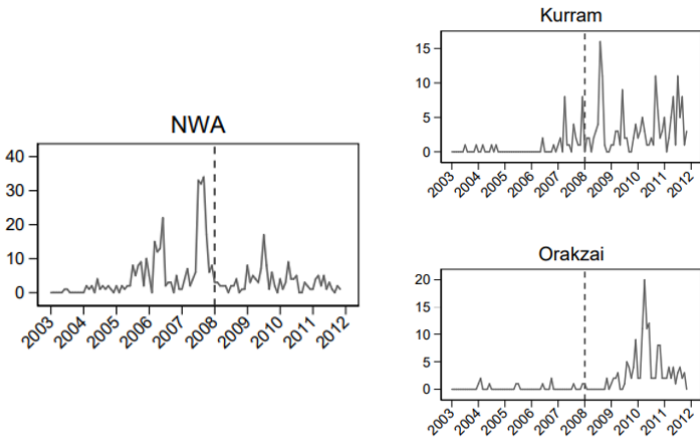


Figure: Number of Insurgent Attacks

CT Methods: the Drones debate

Mir and Moore (2019)

- Findings: significant decreases in the extent of attacks (13-9 per month) and casualties (86 to 51 per month). ▶ CasTotal
- Assess prolonged campaign and show that the negative effects are not just a short-term reduction in attacks.
- Decrease in attacks → a long-term trend resulting from anticipatory effects.

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- Decrease in attacks → a long-term trend resulting from anticipatory effects.
- Add qualitative evidence: interviews and communication seizures in the Bin-Laden raid that supports their findings.

CT Methods: the Drones debate

Mir and Moore (2019)

- Implications:
 - ① Multi-purpose drones provide greater benefits and are more effective than individual strikes.
 - ② Linking population centric approach to use of hard power tactics → the need for *Humint*.
- Reduce dependence with a robust surveillance program (drones as one critical component) to support offensive operations.

CT Methods: the Drones debate

- The debate also incorporate public views of this program.
- Highlights the dilemma of effective CT versus questions of norms and values in a democratic society.

Kreps and Wallace (2016)

- Public opinion based on government messages about the need to employ deterring measures as drones.
- Other information sources: international organizations that highlight international laws and norms.
- Explore the effect of international laws and organizations on public support for CT policy like using drones.

CT Methods: the Drones debate

Kreps and Wallace (2016)

- Tensions explored: international legal principles versus military effectiveness when combating terrorism.
- Survey experiment: legal arguments raised by IOs resonate better than military ones.
- The 'push' from IOs has a stronger effect compared to governmental statements about the use of drones.
- Public rejection → normative concerns more than military effectiveness.

CT Methods: the Drones debate

- What drives public perceptions of drones?
- A psychological approach: what explains support for drones as a CT tool.

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Fisk et al. (2018)

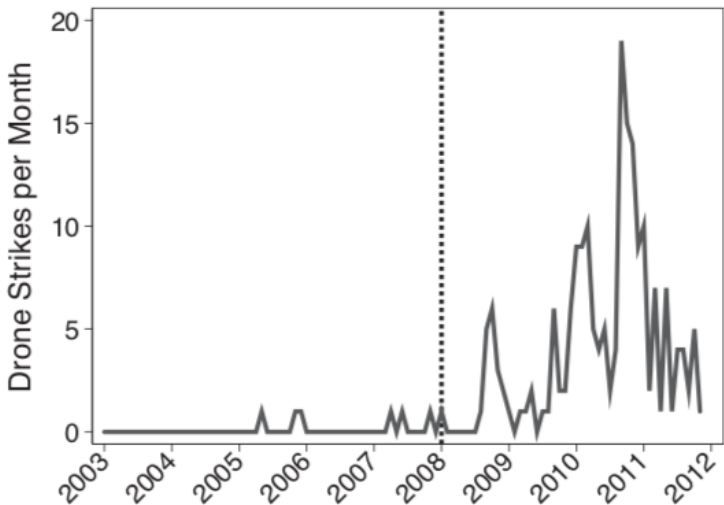
- Negative emotions drive support for using aggressive tools.
- Anger → powerful emotion that increases support for using drones facing a substantial terror threat.
- Cross-national samples (US, France and Turkey 2012).
- Findings: anger mediates threat perceptions of terrorism and increases support for drones usage.

Recommended readings

More studies on Terrorism financing:

- 1 Fisk, Kerstin, Jennifer L. Merolla, and Jennifer M. Ramos. "Emotions, Terrorist Threat, and Drones: Anger Drives Support for Drone Strikes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 63, no. 4 (2019): 976-1000.
- 2 Kreps, Sarah E., and Geoffrey PR Wallace. "International law, military effectiveness, and public support for drone strikes." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 53, no. 6 (2016): 830-844.

Drones in Pakistan (2008-2012)



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