

University of Utah
Political Science Department

Political Violence and Terrorism
POLS 5450-01 (MID E 5645-01)

Spring 2007

Mondays 6:00-8:30 PM

OSH 175

Instructor: Kristian Alexander
Office: OSH 325
Office hours: Mondays 4:00-6:00 PM
and by prior appointment

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Course Description and Objectives

Given the controversial nature of the subject matter, and the events of September 11, 2001, much of the public discourse is often emotionally charged and lacking factual grounding and objective analysis. This course will attempt to get at the roots of terrorism and analyze the various facets associated with this phenomenon. We will examine questions such as: Why does terrorism occur? What are its international and domestic sources? How do scholars in the field of terrorism research explain this phenomenon? How can we best explain the organizational structures and methods of certain actors that employ terrorism as a means of political action? What can be done to prevent terrorism? Students will be introduced to different examples of contemporary terrorism, with a particular focus on religious fundamentalism in the Middle East and the post 9/11 security environment. In the first couple of weeks we will focus mainly on conceptual issues as well as on Al-Qaeda and Bin Laden as the prototype of a contemporary Islamic terrorist group. During the latter part of the semester we will embark on an in-depth analysis of Hizbullah, the Lebanese radical Shiite movement, also known as the "Party of God". Under what circumstances did Hizbullah emerge within the Lebanese context? What are its ideological and organizational particularities? How has this radical Islamist group evolved over the years?

The course will be taught in a seminar style, with a combination of lecture and discussion. This is a reading intensive class and will demand a critical examination of a wide variety of issue areas.

Course Requirements

This is a lecture and discussion course, the success of which depends heavily on your preparation for each class meeting and your enthusiasm you bring to class discussion. Lectures and discussions will be supplemented by several Video/DVD documentaries and possibly one or two guest speakers. I will be asking you questions during each class and expect you to participate actively. Occasionally, I will ask you to form small groups and have you discuss certain pertinent concepts, issues or questions. Engage respectfully with your peers who may not share your opinions.

I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus during the semester. Any changes will be announced in class in advance. This course will be taught once a week on Mondays from 6:00-8:30 PM with the exception of two days when class will convene on a Wednesday. Those days are clearly indicated in the course outline (**Wednesday January 17th and Wednesday February 21st, 2007**).

Grades are based on the requirements below. Final grades are based on standard scoring

- Attendance and Participation (15%)
- Review of one article (20%)
- Midterm Exam (30%)
- Take-Home Final (35%)

Attendance and Class Participation (15%): Your participation grade will consist of actively participating in class discussion (thoughtful comments, answering questions posed by the instructor, raising critical questions) and in-class exercises (group discussions). In order to get the most out of this course, you must be prepared when you come to class. You are required to complete the readings prior to class meeting and to be ready to discuss them. Attendance will affect your participation, and excessive absences will result in a lower grade. An excused absence means you have a medical excuse or documented emergency.

Midterm Exam (30%): The in-class midterm exam will consist of several short answer questions as well as a couple of essay questions that deal with concepts, issues and authors that we have discussed throughout the first part of the semester. A review sheet containing important terms and sample exam questions will be handed to students one week prior to midterm. The in-class midterm is set for Wednesday February 21st, 2007.

Review of one article (20%): Everyone will choose one of the 'Readings' (with the exception of the textbook chapters) listed in the course outline and write a 2 page (max.!) (single-spaced; bullet point format is acceptable but sentences should be complete) review of an article of your choosing.

A sign-up sheet will be handed out the first week of class and each of the available articles up for review can only be signed up for by no more than two students. There will be no more than 2 students responsible for any given article! Please take note of the article that you have selected to review (author, title, due date).

Your short review should address the major hypotheses, ideas, and information provided by the author(s). What examples does the author provide to substantiate his/her argument? Do you agree or disagree with the basic argument(s)? Why or why don't you find the argument convincing? Briefly explain! Your review should also include one discussion question that might tie into the primary readings for that day or stimulate further debate. It should be listed at the end of the review. You will not be required to formally present your review in class but should be ready to address some of the aspects mentioned in the article and explain how this is of interest to the overall discussion of the day. This review will be handed to the instructor at the end of each class period. If a student fails to show up for his/her assigned review day, they will automatically forfeit the credit allocated to this assignment. There will be absolutely no late hand-ins and once you sign up for an article you will be held responsible for it.

Take-Home Final Exam (35%): The take home final will be handed to students in class on Monday, April 23rd and is due no later than Monday, April 30th in my office (OSH 325) or at the main Political Science Department (OSH252) by 3:00 PM of that day. You will be provided with several questions from which you will be asked to answer one. It will require you to analyze a concept or issue based on the readings and lecture material that will have been covered since the midterm. The final will not be comprehensive. The papers should be typed, double spaced, use 12-inch font, and not to exceed 7-8 pages total. Any paper that goes beyond 8 pages (excluding bibliography) will not be accepted! It should be referenced and free of spelling and grammatical errors. No additional research is necessary for this assignment but if additional sources are consulted they will have to be adequately referenced. I do not accept electronic submissions; it is the student's responsibility to provide me with a paper copy of all work. Students may not consult orally with any other fellow student during the given test phase.

Student Academic Conduct: The University of Utah's policies pertaining to Academic Misconduct and Dishonesty will be carefully observed and strictly enforced in this class. This policy appears on pages 11-13 of the 2000-2002 General Catalog and in the electronic Policy and Procedures Manual at <http://www.admin.utah.edu/ppmanual/8/8-10.html>

Plagiarism Note

Any instance of plagiarism, or other forms of academic misconduct, will result in a failing grade for that assignment and may also result in a failing grade for the course. The University's definition of plagiarism is as follows:

“Plagiarism” means the intentional unacknowledged use or incorporation of any other person's work in, or as a basis for, one's own work offered for academic consideration or credit or for public presentation. Plagiarism includes, but is not limited to, representing as one's own, without attribution, any other individual's words, phrasing, ideas, sequence of ideas, information or any other mode or content of expression.

ADA Statement: The University of Utah, Department of Political Science seeks to provide equal access to its programs, services and activities for people with disabilities. If you will need accommodations in this class, reasonable prior notice needs to be given to the instructor and to the Center for Disability Services, <http://disability.utah.edu/> 162 Olpin Union Bldg, 581-5020 (V/TDD) to make arrangements for accommodations. This information is available in alternative format with prior notification.

Course Materials and Readings

Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want. Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat.*(Random House: N.Y., 2006).

Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God. Why Religious Militants Kill.* (HarperCollins Pub., N.Y., 2003).

Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda. Global Network of Terror.*(Berkley Books, N.Y., 2003).

Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah* (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, N.Y., 2004).

These books are available for purchase at the University bookstore. In addition, several articles, necessary for assignments, will be placed on electronic reserve (as well as regular reserve) at Marriott Library. They can be viewed, printed or downloaded at (<http://ereserve.lib.utah.edu/webpac-1.2-bin/DoReserve>). To access material on e-reserve:

-Through the Marriott Library:

- Log-in to My.Utah.edu, or
- Click on Course Reserves on the Marriott Library home page and authenticate through the My.Utah.edu
- Directly through My.Utah.edu: Click on the *Academics* option from the left menu

Should you encounter problems logging on or accessing the online articles, please call the *Campus Help Desk* at 581-4000 or the *Reserve Desk* at 581-6049.

It is the students' responsibility to obtain a copy of these articles. They are indicated with an asterisk (*) in the course outline.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Monday January 8th, 2007

Topic: Introduction to the Course

Week 2: Monday January 15th, 2007

**Martin Luther King Jr. Day Holiday!
No Class!**

Wednesday January 17th, 2007

Topic: Academic Research and the Policy Nexus

Andrew Silke, "An Introduction to Terrorism Research," in: Andrew Silke, ed. (2004) *Research on Terrorism. Trends, Achievements & Failures*. London: Frank Cass, pp.1-29*

Monica Czwaro, "Misjudging Islamic Terrorism: The Academic Community's Failure to Predict 9/11," in: *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2006, Vol.29, pp.657-678*

Daniel Byman, "Strategic Surprise and the September 11 Attacks," *Annual Review of Political Science*, no.8, 2005, pp.145-170*

Ibrahim Karawan, "Middle East Studies After 9/11. Time For An Audit," in: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.13, No.3, July 2002, pp.96-101*

Recommended Readings:

Andrew Silke, "The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism," in: Andrew Silke ed.(2004) *Research on Terrorism. Trend, Achievements & Failures*. London: Frank Cass, pp.57-71*

Ariel Merari, "Academic Research and Government Policy on Terrorism," in: Clark McCauley ed., (1991) *Terrorism Research and Public Policy*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, pp.88-102*

Week 3: Monday January 22nd, 2007

Topic: Towards a Working Definition of Terrorism

Richardson, Chapters 1-2, pp.3-37

Thomas J. Badey, "Defining International Terrorism: A Pragmatic Approach," in: *Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism 03/04*, pp.2-10*

Boaz Ganor, "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?," in: Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism 03/04, pp.11-19*

John Collins, "Terrorism is a Meaningless Label," in: Michelle E. Houle ed., (2005) Terrorism. Greenhaven Press, pp.139-146*

Week 4: Monday January 29th, 2007

Topic: The Causes of Terrorism

Richardson, Chapter 3, pp.38-70

Gunaratna, Chapter 1, pp.21-71

Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," in: Charles W. Kegley, Jr. (2003) The New Global Terrorism. Characteristics, Causes, Controls. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, pp.92-105*

Daniel Pipes, "Economic Problems Do Not Cause Terrorism," in: Laura K. Egendorf ed., (2004) Terrorism. Opposing Viewpoints. Greenhaven Press, pp.92-99*

Paul R. Pillar, "U.S. Military and Economic Power Caused Resentment Among Muslims," in: Mitchell Young ed. (2003) The War on Terrorism. Greenhaven Press, pp.36-44*

Recommended Readings:

Abdullah Yousef and Sahar Mohammad, "Roots of terrorism in the Middle East: internal pressures and international constraints," in: Tore Bjorgo ed.(2005), Root Causes of Terrorism. Myths, reality and ways forward. Routledge Press, pp.103-118*

Martha Crenshaw, "Why America? The Globalization of Civil War," in: Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism, 03/04, pp.22-28*

Week 5: Monday February 5th, 2007

Topic: Theoretical Explanations of Terrorism

Richardson, Chapter 4, pp.71-103

Gordon H. McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," in: Annual Review of Political Science, no.6, 2003, pp.473-507*

Joseph S. Tuman (2003) Communicating Terror. The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism. Thousand Oaks: Sage Pub., pp. 17-30, 47-50, and 60-68*

Quintan Wiktorowicz and Karl Kaltenthaler, "The Rationality of Radical Islam," in: Political Science Quarterly, Vol.121, no.2, 2006, pp.295-319*

Recommended Readings:

Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in: David C. Rapoport ed., (2001) Inside Terrorist Organizations. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, pp.13-31*

John Horgan, "Individual Approaches," in: John Horgan (2005) The Psychology of Terrorism. Routledge, pp.47-79*

Week 6: Monday February 12th, 2007

Topic: State Terrorism

Daniel Byman, "Why do states support terrorism?," in: Daniel Byman (2005) Deadly Connections. States that Sponsor Terrorism. Cambridge University Press, pp.21-52*

Louise Richardson, "State sponsorship: a root cause of terrorism?," in: Tore Bjorgo ed.(2005), Root Causes of Terrorism. Myths, reality and ways forward. Routledge Press, pp.189-197*

Noam Chomsky, "America is a serious Terrorist Threat," in: Laura K. Egenorf ed., (2004) Terrorism. Opposing Viewpoints. Greenhaven Press, pp.43-51 (Monthly Review, vol.53, November 2001)*

Recommended Readings:

Ann M. Lesch, "Osama bin Laden's "Business" in Sudan," in: Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism 05/06, pp.49-54*

Gary Sick, "Iran: Confronting Terrorism," in: Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism 06/07, pp.54-61*

Week 7: Monday February 19th, 2007

**President's Day Holiday!
No Class!**

Wednesday February 21st, 2007

******In-Class Midterm Exam, 6:00-8:00 PM******

Week 8: Monday February 26th, 2007

Topic: Religious Terrorism
Stern, Chapters 1-5, pp.3-137

Mark Juergensmeyer, "Terror in the Name of God," Current History, November 2001, Vol. 100, No.649, pp.357-361*

Recommended Readings:

Mark Sedgwick, "Al-Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism," in: Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (2006) Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Understanding the New Security Environment. Readings and Interpretations. 2nd ed., McGraw Hill Pub., pp.187-206*

Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion," in: Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (2006) Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Understanding the New Security Environment. Readings and Interpretations. 2nd ed., McGraw Hill Pub., pp.153-167*

Week 9: Monday March 5th, 2007

Topic: International Terrorism and Al-Qaeda

Richardson, Chapter 6, pp.139-168

Gunaratna, Chapter 2, pp.72-126 + pp.127-135

Stern, Chapter 9, pp.237-280

Matthew Morgan, "The Origins of the New Terrorism," in: Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism 06/07, pp.9-15*

Recommended Readings:

Bruce Hoffman, "From the War on Terror to Global Counterinsurgency," in: Current History, December 2006, Vol.105, No.695, pp.423-429*

Jason Burke, "Think Again: Al Qaeda," Foreign Policy, May/June 2004, pp.18-26*

Rohan Gunaratna, "The Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaeda," in: Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (2006) Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Understanding the New Security Environment. Readings and Interpretations. 2nd ed., McGraw Hill Pub., pp.130-136*

Week 10: Monday March 12th, 2007

Topic: Strategies and Tactics of Terrorism:

Focus: Suicide Terrorism

Richardson, Chapter 5, pp.104-135

Mohammed M. Hafez, "Rationality, Culture, and Structure in the Making of Suicide Bombers: A Preliminary Theoretical Synthesis and Illustrative Case Study," Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, no.29, 2006, pp.165-185*

Adam Dolnik, "Learning to Die: Suicide Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century," in: James F. Frost ed. (2006) *The Making of a Terrorist. Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*. Praeger Pub., Vol. 2, pp.152-171*

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, Vol.97, No.2, 2003, pp.1-19 (Reprinted)*

Recommended Readings:

Mia Bloom, "Devising a Theory of Suicide Terrorism," in: Mia Bloom (2005) *Dying to Kill. The Allure of Suicide Terrorism*. NY: Columbia University Press, pp.76-100*

Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "The Making of Suicide Bombers: A Comparative Perspective," in: James F. Frost ed. (2006) *The Making of a Terrorist. Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*. Praeger Pub., Vol. 1, pp.151-164*

Week 11: Monday March 19th, 2007

Spring Break!
No Class!

Week 12: Monday March 26th, 2007

Topic: The Role of the Media

Marc Lynch, "Anti-Americanism in the Arab World," in: Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane (2007) eds., *Anti-Americanism in World Politics*, Cornell University Press, pp.196-224*

Hugh Miles, "Think Again: Al Jazeera," in: *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2006, pp. 20-24*

Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis, "Misperception, the Media, and the Iraq War," in: Doris A. Graber (2007) ed., *Media Power in Politics*, CQ Press, pp.114-126*

Recommended Readings:

Gabriel Weimann, "www.terror.net. How modern Terrorism uses the Internet," Special Report 116, March 2004, *The United States Institute of Peace*, pp.1-12*

Avi Jorisch, "History and Operational Background of Al-Manar Television," in: Avi Jorisch, *Beacon of Hatred. Inside Hizballah's Al-Manar Television*. Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Washington, 2004, pp.20-48*

Week 13: Monday April 2nd, 2007

Case Study: Hizbullah in Lebanon

Emergence:

Hamzeh, Chapter 1-2, pp.1-26

Ideology and Leadership:

Hamzeh, Chapters 3-4, pp.27-79

Recommended Reading:

Graham Fuller and Rend Rahim Francke, "The Shi'a of Lebanon," in: Fuller and Francke (1999) *The Arab Shi'a. The Forgotten Muslims*. St. Martin's Press, pp.203-238*

Week 14: Monday April 9th, 2007

Case Study: Hizbullah in Lebanon

Strategy and Evolution:

Hamzeh, Chapter 5, pp.80-141

Prognosis:

Hamzeh, Chapter 6, pp.142-151

Daniel Byman and Steven Simon: "The No Win Zone. An After-Action Report from Lebanon", in: *The National Interest*, No.86, Nov./Dec.2006, pp.55-61*

Recommended Readings:

Rodger Shanahan, (2003) *Radical Islamist Groups in the Modern Age: A Case Study of Hizbullah*. National Library of Australia, Working Paper No.376, pp.1-23*

Judith Palmer Harik, "The Terrorism vs. Resistance Controversy," in: Harik (2004) *Hezbollah. The Changing Face of Terrorism*. I.B. Tauris, pp.163-174*

Week 15: Monday April 16th, 2007

Topic: Strategies and Approaches for Combating Terrorism

Richardson, Chapter 7, pp.169-199

Gunaratna, Chapter 5, pp.294-322

Jeremy Shapiro and Daniel Byman, "Bridging the Transatlantic Gap," in: *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2006, Vol.29, No.4, pp.33-50*

Daniel Byman, "Measuring the War on Terrorism: A First Appraisal," in: *Current History*, December 2003, Vol.102, No.668, pp.411-416*

Patrick D. Buckley and Michael J. Messe, "The Financial Front in the Global War on Terrorism," in: Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (2004) *Defeating Terrorism. Shaping the New Security Environment*. McGraw Hill Pub., pp.51-61*

Robert Singh, "The Bush Doctrine," in: Mark Buckley and Robert Singh (2006) eds., *The Bush Doctrine and the War on Terrorism. Global responses, global consequences*. Routledge, pp.12-31*

Recommended Readings:

Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorism after Al Qaeda," in: Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (2006) *Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Understanding the New Security Environment. Readings and Interpretations*. 2nd ed., McGraw Hill Pub., pp.474-483*

Peter R. Neumann, "Negotiating with Terrorists," in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.86, No.1, 2007, pp.128-138*

Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does not Work," in: *International Security*, Fall 2006, Vol.31, No.2, pp.42-78*

Week 16: Monday April 23rd, 2007

Topic: Future Threats and Trends

Gavin Cameron, "Nuclear Terrorism Reconsidered," *Current History*, April 2000, pp.154-157*

Jonathan B. Tucker, "Chemical and Biological Terrorism: How Real a Threat?," *Current History*, April 2000, pp.147-153*

Maura Conway, "What is Cyberterrorism?," *Current History*, December 2002, pp.436-442*

Take-home final handed out Monday April 23rd in class!

Take-home final due latest Monday April 30th in my office (OSH 325) or in my mailbox at the main Political Science Department (OSH 252) by 3:00 PM!

NO LATE PAPERS ACCEPTED!

