

University of Utah
Political Science Department

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

Summer 2007

Mon. and Wed. 6:00-9:00 PM

OSH 232

(Class meets: 05/14/2007-06/20/2007)

Instructor: Kristian Alexander
Office: OSH 325
Office hours: Mon./Wed. 5:00-6:00 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. 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.

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

- Attendance and Active Participation (15%)
- Short Writing Assignment (20%)
- Midterm Exam (30%)
- Take-Home Final (35%)

Attendance and Class Participation (15%): Your participation grade will consist of your active involvement 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. Since the summer semester is fairly short and condensed, make sure to plan ahead of time. Do not wait until the very last moment to start on your assignments (readings, short papers and studying for the midterm)!

Short Writing Assignment (20%): *What does al-Qaeda want?*

In his booklet, Robert O. Marlin has compiled the various speeches, decrees and interviews (1996-2004) that al-Qaeda has released/made public over the years. Skim through the various documents and write a 4 page essay (typed, double spaced, 12 inch font) addressing the following questions:

- What are common universal themes and goals of al-Qaeda? Have they changed over time?
- What do their messages seek to achieve and who is their intended target audience(s)?
- What do researchers learn by taking terrorists 'by their word'? Is this a fruitful way of trying to analyze (understand) al-Qaeda? Are there any inherent problems with such an interpretative approach (i.e. assessing al-Qaeda by relying mainly on their published statements)?

The short writing assignment is due on Friday May 25th, 2007 in my office (OSH325) or in my mailbox at the main Political Science Department (OSH252) by 5:00PM!

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 several days prior to the midterm. The in-class midterm is set for Monday June 11th, 2007.

Take-Home Final (35%): The take home final will be handed to students in class on Wednesday, June 20th and is due no later than Monday, June 25th in my office (OSH 325) by 5:00 PM of that day. You will be provided with several questions from which you will be asked to answer one. The task at hand is to critically analyze a concept or issue based on the readings and lecture material. You will have several days to work on this assignment and are required to use the assigned articles and authors to make your case. The papers should be typed, double spaced, use 12 inch font, and not to exceed 6-8 pages total. Any paper that goes beyond 8 pages 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

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (Revised and Expanded Edition), (Columbia University Press: New York, 2006).

Robert O. Marlin, *What does al-Qaeda want? Unedited Communiqués*. (North Atlantic Books: Berkeley, CA, 2004).

Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah. A Short History*. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J., 2007).

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 May 14th, 2007

Topic: Introduction to the Course: requirements, expectations, and general content of the course

Topic: Academic Research and Defining the Issue

Hoffman, Chapter 1, pp.1-41*

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 Czwarno, "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*

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

Recommended Readings:

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

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*

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 1: Wednesday May 16th, 2007

Topic: Causes and Explanations of Terrorism

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*

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

Recommended Readings:

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Sources of Contemporary Terrorism," in: Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes eds., (2004) *Attacking Terrorism. Elements of a Grand Strategy*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp.19-45*

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

Week 2: Monday May 21st, 2007

Topic: State Terrorism

Hoffman, Chapter 9, only pp.257-267

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. Egendorf ed., (2004) *Terrorism. Opposing Viewpoints.* Greenhaven Press, pp.43-51 (Monthly Review, vol.53, November 2001)*

Emile El-Hokayem, "Hizbullah and Syria: Outgrowing the Proxy Relationship" in: *The Washington Quarterly*, 2007, Vol.30, No.2, pp.35-52*

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 2: Wednesday May 23rd, 2007

Topic: The Advent of 'New Terrorism'?

Hoffman, Chapter 4, pp.81-130

Hoffman, Chapter 9, pp.267-295

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

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

Bruce Riedel, "Al Qaeda Strikes Back" in: *Foreign Affairs*, 2007, Vol.86, No.3, pp.24-40*

Recommended Readings:

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*

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*

Short Writing Assignment is due latest by Friday, May 25th 2007 by 5:00PM in my office (OSH 325) or in my mailbox at the main Political Science Department (OSH 252)!

NO LATE PAPERS ACCEPTED!

Week 3: Monday May 28th, 2007
Memorial Day Holiday!
No Class!

Week 3: Wednesday May 30th, 2007
Topic: Strategies and Tactics of Terrorism:
Focus: Suicide Terrorism
Hoffman, Chapter 5, pp.131-171

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 4: Monday June 4th, 2007

GUEST LECTURER: Emrullah Uslu

Emrullah Uslu, "From Local Hizbollah to Global Terror: Militant Islam in Turkey" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XIV, No.1, Spring 2007, pp.124-141.*

Week 4: Wednesday June 6th, 2007

GUEST LECTURER: Emrullah Uslu

Topic: The Role of the Media

Hoffman, Chapters 6-7, pp.173-228

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

REVIEW SHEET WILL BE HANDED OUT!

Week 5: Monday June 11th, 2007

*****In-Class Midterm Exam 6:00-8:30 PM*****

BRING BLUE BOOKS!

Week 5: Wednesday June 13th, 2007

Case Study: Hezbollah in Lebanon

Norton, Chapters 1-3, pp.11-68

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 6: Monday June 18th, 2007

Case Study: Hezbollah in Lebanon

Norton, Chapters 4-6, pp.71-143

Norton, Conclusion (skim)

Recommended Reading:

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*

Week 6: Wednesday June 20th, 2007

Topic: Approaches for Combating Terrorism and Future Threats

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*

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

Recommended Readings:

John M. Deutsch and Jeffrey H. Smith, "Smarter Intelligence," in: Annual Editions. Violence and Terrorism 03/04, pp.210-214*

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

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*

Take-home final handed out Wednesday, June 20th in class!

Take-Home Final due latest by Monday, June 25th in my office (OSH 325) or in my mailbox at the main Political Science Department (OSH 252) by 5:00 PM!

NO LATE PAPERS ACCEPTED!