

Terrorism

Course hours: TTh 12.30-13.45
Class location: SAB 35
Office hours: W 12.30-14.30
or by appointment

Professor: Cohn
Office: Sabin 354
Office phone: 319 273 2647
Email: lindsay.cohn@uni.edu

Overview of the Course

This course is a study of asymmetric conflict, particularly terrorism, insurgency, and guerrilla warfare. We will cover theoretical, historical, legal, moral/ethical, political, and operational aspects of these types of organized violence, and discuss countermeasures. The course also aims to help you think critically and analytically about the claims people make about politics and human behavior, improve the clarity of your written communication, evaluate arguments and evidence, and design scientific inquiry into socio-political phenomena.

Plagiarism and Cheating

You are here in order to learn, grow, and expand your minds. Any action on your part which is in essence an attempt to get a grade better than the one that your current level of effort and understanding deserve is an act of cheating and will be punished as such.

When I ask you questions on an essay or exam, it is not because I need to know the answer. It is because I want to know whether YOU understand the issue and how to think about the issue. When I ask you to write a paper, it is partly as a learning tool for you and partly as an evaluation tool for me. If you cheat or plagiarize, you are not learning anything, you are wasting my time and yours, and you are taking up a spot in the class that could have gone to someone who cared. Plagiarism is when you take someone else's words or ideas and submit them as your own without giving the other person due credit. This is an act of dishonesty and will not be tolerated. I will catch it (you have no idea how easy it is to spot), and you will receive a zero/F on that assignment, and potentially more serious punishment including recommendation for suspension. It's not worth it. Don't do it.

Requirements and Grading

- Research Question (5%) **Due 20 September**
- Literature Review (20%) **Due 13 October**
- Research Design (30%) **Due 15 November**
- Final paper or exam (20%)
- The remaining 25% consists of class participation, quizzes, and strategy games.

Research Design: All students will produce a research design. This assignment will happen in four stages, three of which are graded: a research topic (not graded), a research question, a literature review, and the research design itself. You will select an issue of interest to you relating to terrorism or political violence. I will dedicate class time to explanations of the various stages, and you are of course encouraged to ask me any questions you have about the assignment.

The **first** stage of the assignment, due *****30 August*****, is simply a research topic. We will have had some conversations about terrorism, and I expect you to come to class that day with an idea of what general topic you are interested in exploring. We will use class time to discuss how to turn your topic into a question.

The **second** stage, due *****20 September***** will be a research question. The question should be causal rather than descriptive (i.e. “why do people engage in terrorism?” NOT “what was the first intifada?”), and it should be something that we can figure out, not speculative (i.e. “why do terrorist groups choose to disarm?” NOT “will al Qaida be able to continue without bin Laden?”)

The **third** stage of the assignment, due *****13 October*****, will be a literature review. This means that you must identify the intellectual problems associated with your question (e.g. if you want to know why the IRA chose to disarm, then your general question is “why do terrorist groups sometimes choose to abandon terrorism and pursue peaceful means?”) and read the scholarly literature dealing with those problems. You must have at least 5 good sources – a good source is a scholarly journal or a book; NOT newspapers, magazines, etc. If you are uncertain of what counts as a “good” source, please talk to me about it. A literature review summarizes what other researchers have already discovered about your question.

The point of this assignment is two-fold: first, it will help you think more clearly about the problem you have chosen to address by showing you “what we already know” about such issues. Second, it will help you learn how to search for information efficiently when you have a question that needs to be answered. You should start by looking at the syllabus to see if there is any literature I have assigned that might be relevant, and then use citations from those sources, searchable electronic databases in the library, and the librarians themselves, to help you find more. You should also use the opportunity to learn how to stop following an unfruitful line of inquiry. This assignment should be about 5 pages, written in standard prose with attention to structure, grammar, and spelling. This should show me that you have found, read, understood, and begun to synthesize the scholarly literature on your topic. At the end of your literature review, you should propose a theory in answer to your research question – either the theory you think is the best answer, or two or more theories that are competing in the literature.

The **fourth** stage of the assignment, due *****15 November*****, is the research design. The purpose of a research design is to specify **HOW** you would answer a question, without actually doing the research in order to answer the question. In it, you will state

your research question, you will include your revised/improved literature review, you will offer a theory in answer to your question, derive hypotheses from your theory, explain what kind of data you would need to collect in order to find out whether your theory is correct or not, and note where you think you could find that data. This should show me that you know how to identify and solve a problem.

Final Paper or Final Exam: you will have a choice of whether to write a research paper based on your research design or take a final exam (essay questions). If you are taking this course for Honors or graduate credit, you **MUST** do the final paper (unless there are extenuating circumstances – in which case see me).

The final paper, due on the exam date, should be 10-15 pages. This assignment should help you think in a clear, informed, and unbiased way about a certain problem in the world, making you more knowledgeable about that particular subject, but also helping you learn how to approach ANY subject that interests you. Note that 10-15 pages is not very much space. This is deliberate: it is much more difficult to write good short papers than good long papers. Please pay extra attention to what is essential to your topic and what is unnecessary or superfluous information.

Papers should be in 11- or 12-pt font, 1.5 or 2 spaced, with margins between 1” and 1.25”. The final paper must be organized in traditional format, meaning that a topic and thesis are presented in the introduction, the body is organized around supporting and potentially detracting evidence, and the conclusion indicates why the thesis presented is the strongest one and what implications that has for other relevant issues (e.g. US government policy).

Class participation: You are expected to do the readings and think about what they mean. I will do some lecturing, but classes will consist primarily of discussion, and you are expected to attend class and engage in the discussion in an intelligent, respectful, and considerate way. This does not mean that you will get a better grade the more you talk; it means that I will take note of thoughtful participation in the discussion, and I can't evaluate your participation if you never say anything. If discussion is lacking, I may conduct a pop quiz, and points from that quiz will go towards your participation grade. I will not penalize you automatically for missing class, but obviously if you are not there you cannot be making informed contributions to or learning from the discussion, and that will affect your grades.

This is a place of learning and therefore ideas are open to question and discussion. This includes ideas in the readings, things that I say, and things that you and your classmates say. You are welcome to question; you are not welcome to abuse, deride, or dismiss. If you want to make a claim or question a claim, you should feel free to do so, but be prepared to present reasons and evidence for your position, and be prepared to meet questions and criticism.

Grading – all assignments will receive letter grades based on qualitative criteria (see below). All grades will be transposed into the 4 point scale, which will be tallied for a

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final course grade. Grades are also partially at my discretion, meaning that I may choose to give a student a slightly higher or lower final grade than the exact score, based on e.g. quality of class participation.

Letter	100pt	4pt
A	(93-100)	4.0
A-	(90-92)	3.67
B+	(87-89)	3.33
B	(83-86)	3.0
B-	(80-82)	2.67
C+	(77-79)	2.33
C	(73-76)	2.0
C-	(70-72)	1.67
D+	(67-69)	1.33
D	(63-66)	1.0
D-	(60-62)	0.67
F	(0-59)	0

A – you will receive an A if you go above and beyond simply addressing all the aspects of the question/assignment and meeting the requirements, by introducing novel ideas or perspectives or by addressing an additional aspect of the topic which seems relevant; if you successfully integrate course materials in a way that shows you understand and are not simply repeating back what someone else has said; if you give proper credit wherever credit is due in a way that anyone reading your work could follow the academic conversation; and if your work is written in good English with good style, grammar, and spelling (the Above and Beyond response).

B – you will receive a B if you address all the aspects of the assignment and meet the requirements; if you integrate course materials correctly in a way that shows you understood them; if you give proper credit most of the time; and if your work is written in decent English with no major flaws of style, grammar, or spelling (the Unobjectionably Decent response).

C – you will receive a C if you address most of the aspects of the question/assignment but either fail to address important parts of the assignment, fail to integrate much course material, or include course material in a way that indicates you have not understood it; if you fail to give proper credit at least most of the time; and/or if your writing contains flaws of style, grammar, or spelling which detract from its readability and clarity (the Bare Minimum Required response).

D – you will receive a D if you address few or no aspects of the assignment; integrate little or no course material (or have failed to understand the material); include little or no citation; and/or write so poorly that I have trouble reading the paper. The main criterion for getting a D rather than an F is that you appear to have made an honest effort to do the assignment and have simply failed (the You Just Did Not Get This response).

F – you will receive an F if you fail to turn in the assignment, if you turn in something that is plagiarized, or if you turn in something into which you clearly put absolutely no

effort (e.g. one short paragraph for a response paper) (the You Clearly Don't Care response).

A grade of **I** will be given only if a student has completed most of the work for the semester and is prevented from completing assignments before the end of the semester by sudden and/or traumatic events, such as a sudden illness or injury, or the death of a loved one. In order to receive an **I**, the student must commit (in writing) to complete the work by a time agreed upon between the student and the professor.

Readings

You can look on Amazon or other sites for used (much cheaper) copies of these texts, but please make sure you get the correct edition or translation, where relevant.

Sun Tzu. 1963. *The Art of War*. Samuel B. Griffith (trans). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carl von Clausewitz. 1976. *On War*. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (eds/trans). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Leonard Weinberg. 2005. *Global Terrorism: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld.

Readings not included in one of the texts can be found through the electronic databases available to you **through the library website** (or occasionally simply through google). I expect that every student will do all the readings. I have tried to keep the reading load manageable (note reading amounts in parentheses next to each lesson), and you will not be able to participate fully or answer questions well if you have not done the reading.

In addition, I expect students to look regularly at news sources such as the *Washington Post*, CNN.com, BBC News, National Public Radio, etc. All of these news sources are available for free online. You may also consider subscribing to the *New York Times/International Herald Tribune*.

Help with Reading, Writing, and Study Skills

I encourage you to use the Academic Learning Center's free assistance with writing, reading, and learning strategies:

- The Writing Center offers one-on-one writing feedback for all UNI undergraduate and graduate students. Writing Coaches offer strategies for getting started, citing and documenting, and editing your work. Schedule appointments at 008 ITTC or 319-273-2361. The Writing Center also offers the Online Writing Guide at <http://www.uni.edu/unialc/writingcenter/>.
- The Reading and Learning Center helps students transition to college-level reading and learning expectations at UNI. Students may work with trained Academic Coaches by signing up for workshops, scheduling appointments, or walking in. While appointments are not always necessary, contact the Reading

and Learning Center at 008 ITTC or 319-273-2361 to ensure that an Academic Coach is available at a time convenient for you. Additionally, students can register for PPST Reading and GRE Verbal preparation courses or enjoy casual conversations about classes, majors, programs, and life at UNI at weekly Coffee Chats.

Technology

It is university policy that you may not use your cell phones while in class. This includes texting, looking things up, surfing, and (obviously) talking. You may have them on, since the university alert system goes over text, but I expect you to have them on silent mode, and if I see anyone using a cell phone I reserve the right to confiscate it until the end of class. If you have a good reason to have a cell phone or pager on (e.g. you have children or anticipate an emergency call), please let me know at the beginning of class. My cell phone will also be on in case of university emergencies.

I would prefer you NOT bring laptops to class. If you have a particularly good reason why you need to take notes on a laptop instead of paper, please talk to me. I will ask anyone who needs to bring a laptop to sit near the back of the class so as not to distract or disturb other students.

Disabilities

If you have a disability of any kind (learning, mental, or physical) for which you need accommodation in the classroom or with assignments/exams, you MUST contact the Student Disability Services Office and get certification from them. I am afraid I cannot offer any accommodations unless you have the paperwork from the SDS. If you have a non-disability-related issue for which you feel you need special consideration (e.g. if English is not your native language), please come and talk to me about it and I will do what I can, but I cannot promise anything.

Illness

If you are sick and believe you may be contagious, please do us all a favor and stay home. Please let me know (preferably before class) that you will be out because of illness. It will be your responsibility, NOT MINE, to get notes from a classmate and/or from WebCT. If you are out frequently for illness and are afraid that this will adversely affect your grades, you may speak to me about extra credit opportunities.

Confidentiality

I am open to anyone who needs help or guidance, but you must know up front that I am legally required to inform the Office of Compliance and Equity Management and/or the Dean of Students if I believe there is harassment, discrimination, violence, abuse, or other prohibited activity going on. I am not allowed to keep your secrets. In cases of alcohol or substance abuse, I strongly encourage you to seek advice from the Counseling Center or the Student Health Center, as they are in a far better position than I am to help.

Course Outline

Week 1

1. **Introductory Discussion** (23 Aug)
2. **What is terrorism and why do we care?** (25 Aug)

Week 2

3. **How do we know what we know?** (30 Aug)
 - * Clausewitz, Book 2 Ch. 5, "Critical Analysis" pp. 156-169
 - *** **Research Topic Due** ***
4. **Sun Tzu** (1 Sep) (65)
 - * Sun Tzu/Griffith Translation, "War in Sun Tzu's Age" and "Sun Tzu on War" pp. 30-44; pp. 59-110 ("Something more than one hundred years..." – "This is the method of employing troops")

Week 3

5. **Sun Tzu cont. and Clausewitz** (6 Sep) (59)
 - * Sun Tzu/Griffith, Translation pp. 111-149
 - * Clausewitz, *On War*, Book 1 Ch. 1 #1-6, 9-28, and Ch. 2: pp. 75-77, 80-99
6. **Clausewitz cont.** (8 Sep) (39)
 - * Clausewitz, *On War*, Book 1 Ch. 6-8, Book 2 Ch. 3, Book 8 Ch. 3B-7, pp. 117-123, 148-150, 585-616

Week 4

7. **Strategy and Tactics** (13 Sep) (33)
 - * Clausewitz, *On War*, Book 3 Ch. 1, 3, 6-10, Book 6 Ch. 1-5, pp. 177-182, 184-5, 190-203, 357-371
8. **Terrorism** (15 Sep) (50)
 - * Weinberg, *Global Terrorism*, Ch. 1-2

Week 5

9. **New Terrorism?** (20 Sep) (57)
 - * Weinberg, *Global Terrorism*, Ch. 3 (pp. 51-80)
 - * Audrey Kurth Cronin, 2002/3, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism", *International Security* 27(3): 30-58
 - *** **Research Question Due** ***
10. **Continued** (22 Sep) (61)
 - * Weinberg, *Global Terrorism*, Ch. 4 (pp. 81-110)
 - * William F. Shugart II, 2006, "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000", *Public Choice* 128: 7-39

Week 6

11. **Why? Who?** (27 Sep) (43)
 - * FFI Rapport, 2000, "Why Terrorism Occurs: a Survey of Theories and Hypotheses on the Causes of Terrorism", Rapport 2000/02769 (pp. 7-38)
 - * Jeffrey Ian Ross, 1993, "Structural Causes of Oppositional Political Terrorism: Towards a Causal Model", *Journal of Peace Research* 30(3): 317-329

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12. **Continued** (29 Sep) (65)

- * Gordon H. McCormick, 2003, "Terrorist Decision Making", *Annual Review of Political Science* 6: 473-507
- * Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, 2006, "The Strategies of Terrorism", *International Security* 31(1): 49-80

Week 7

13. **Psychology** (4 Oct) (39)

- * Jeff Victoroff, 2005, "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42
- * Jerrold M. Post, 2010, "When Hatred is Bred in the Bone: the Social Psychology of Terrorism", *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1208: 15-23

14. **Religion** (6 Oct) (47)

- * David C. Rapoport, 1984, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions", *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677
- * Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur, "Introduction" in *Religious Fundamentalism and Political Extremism* (pp. 1-10)
- * Mark Juergensmeyer, 1996, "The Worldwide Rise of Religious Nationalism", *Journal of International Affairs* 50(1): 2-20

Week 8

15. **Religion Continued** (11 Oct) (46)

- * Magnus Ranstorp, 1996, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion", *Journal of International Affairs* 50(1): 41-62
- * Eli Berman and David Laitin, 2008, "Religion, Terrorism, and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model", *Journal of Public Economics* 92: 1942-1967

16. **Socioeconomics** (13 Oct) (42)

- * Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Malečková, 2003, "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: is there a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4): 119-144
 - * Kristopher K. Robison, Edward M. Crenshaw, and J. Craig Jenkins, 2006, "Ideologies of Violence: the Social Origins of Islamist and Leftist Transnational Terrorism", *Social Forces* 84(4): 2009-2026
- *** **Literature Review Due** ***

Week 9

17. **Socioeconomics Continued** (18 Oct) (56)

- * James A. Piazza, 2008, "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52: 469-488
- * Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks, 2010, "Terrorism in the Worlds of Welfare Capitalism", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(6): 902-939

18. **Rationalism** (20 Oct) (50)

- * David A. Lake, 2002, "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the 21st Century", *International Organization* (spring): 15-29
- * Max Abrahms, 2006, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work", *International Security* 31(2): 42-78

Week 10

19. **Rationalism Continued** (25 Oct) (49)

- * Max Abrahms, 2008, "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy", *International Security* 32(4): 78-105
- * Erica Chenoweth, Nicholas Miller, Elizabeth McClellan, Hillel Frisch, Paul Staniland, and Max Abrahms, 2009, "Responses to Abrahms: What Makes Terrorists Tick", *International Security* 33(4): 180-202

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20. **Democracy and Terrorism** (27 Oct) (59)

- * Paddy Woodworth, 2001, "Why do they Kill? The Basque Conflict in Spain", *World Policy Journal* (spring): 1-12
- * Quan Li, 2005, "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-297
- * Burcu Savun and Brian J. Phillips, 2009, "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(6): 878-904

Week 11

21. **Media and Public Opinion** (1 Nov) (51)

- * Michelle Slone, 2000, "Responses to Media Coverage of Terrorism", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(4): 508-522
- * Shana Kushner Gadarian, 2010, "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes", *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 469-483
- * Mark Tessler and Michael D. H. Robbins, 2007, "What Leads Some Ordinary Arab Men and Women to Approve of Terrorist Acts against the United States?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(2): 305-328

22. **Terror Organizations** (3 Nov) (34)

- * Leonard Weinberg, 1991, "Turning to Terror: the Conditions under which Political Parties turn to Terrorist Activities", *Comparative Politics* 23(4): 423-438
- * Assaf Moghadam and Brian Fishman, 2010, "Executive Summary" and "Debates and Divisions Within and Around Al Qa'ida" in Moghadam and Fishman, *Self-Inflicted Wounds*, www.ctc.usma.edu (pp. v-18)

Week 12

23. **Suicide Terror** (8 Nov) (67)

- * Robert Pape, 2003, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism", *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361
- * Robert J. Brym and Bader Araj, 2006, "Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: the Case of the Second Intifada", *Social Forces* 84(4): 1969-1986
- * Assaf Moghadam, 2008/9, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks", *International Security* 33(3): 46-78

24. **Legal and Moral Aspects** (10 Nov) (54)

- * Antonio Cassese, 2005, "The International Response to Terrorism" in *International Law* (2nd ed), pp. 463-481 *** on reserve in library ***
- * Neta C. Crawford, 2003, "Just War Theory and the US Counterterror War", *PSOnline* 1(1): 5-25 www.apsanet.org
- * Daniel Byman, 2006, "Do Targeted Killings Work?", *Foreign Affairs* 85(2): 95-111

Week 13

25. **Terrorism in Context of Asymmetric Violence** (15 Nov) (57)

- * David Kilcullen, 2005, "Countering Global Insurgency", *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28(4): 597-617
- * Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, 2008, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks", *International Security* 33(2): 7-44
- *** **Research Design Due*****

26. **Counterterrorism** (17 Nov) (53)

- * Weinberg, *Global Terrorism*, Ch. 5 (pp. 111-144)
- * Sidney Weintraub, 2001, "Disrupting the Financing of Terrorism", *The Washington Quarterly* 25(1): 53-60
- * Frank J. Cilluffo, Ronald A. Marks, and George Salmoiraghi, 2002, "The Use and Limits of US Intelligence", *The Washington Quarterly* 25(1): 61-74

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Week 14

27.-28. **NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK** (22/24 Nov)

Week 15

29. **Counterterrorism Continued** (29 Nov) (49)

* US Institute of Peace, 1999, "How Terrorism Ends", Special Report, www.usip.org, pp. 1-11

* Peter Neumann, 2007, "Negotiating with Terrorists", *Foreign Affairs* 86(1): 128-138

* Gary Lafree, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte, 2009, "The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models", *Criminology* 47(1): 17-45

30. **Even More Counterterrorism** (1 Dec) (63)

* Weinberg, *Global Terrorism*, Ch. 6 (pp. 145-167)

* Audrey Kurth Cronin, 2006, "How Al Qaida Ends", *International Security* 31(1): 7-48

Week 16

31. **Global Order** (6 Dec) (36)

* Daniel L. Byman, 2006, "Friends Like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism", *International Security* 31(2): 79-115

32. **Review** (8 Dec)

Week 17

*** **FINAL EXAMS** ***

Paper or Exam due