**UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**

**PLIR 3500**

**“Terrorism and Political Violence”**

Fall 2014 Instructor: Philip B. K. Potter

Day and Time: Mon./Wed. 11:00 – 11:50AM Office: S466 Gibson

Room: Physics Building 204 Office Hours: Wednesdays 2-4

Email: pbkp@virginia.edu **or by appointment**

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course introduces students to terrorism as a form of political violence. We will explore the origins of terrorism, the motivations of terrorists, and the tactics that terrorists employ. Finally, we will look closely at state responses in the form of counter-terrorism policy. Each class session will cover a theme relating to terrorism, the theoretical and policy issues that arise from it, and the applicability of these generalizations to cases drawn from around the globe.

**POLICIES**

I try to make myself very accessible to students, and you should always feel free to come talk to me or your teaching assistant. This class is relatively large, so it’s vital that you take the initiative and reach out to us if you need to. In addition to regular office hours I am happy to meet with you by appointment.

Students are expected to abide by the University’s Honor Code. If you have any question about what constitutes plagiarism please contact me.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

*Value Due Date*

Participation 15% -

Midterm 25% 10/20/14

Paper Proposal 5% 10/29/14

Research Paper 25% 12/3/14

Final 30% Friday, 12/12/14, 9AM

**Participation**

You are expected to attend all lectures and section meetings (contact your TA if you must miss a section meeting), having read the assigned readings beforehand. ***Note that sections will not meet the first week of class.*** Participation in section counts for 15% of your course grade. Please recognize that attendance in section is not the same thing as participation. Students are expected to actively engage with and contribute to the discussion.

**Midterm**

There will be an in-class midterm on **October 20**, which will cover material discussed in class, section, and the readings. The midterm will be worth 25% of your total grade. We will discuss the exam’s format in class.

**Writing Assignments**

The primary assignment for this class is a short research paper of no more than 2,500 words (approximately ten double-spaced pages, due **December 3**). You will be allowed some latitude in choosing a specific topic for your research paper, but your subject must be immediately linked to one of the class titles on this syllabus. The idea is to allow you to dig into a question that interests you in more detail while practicing your social science research skills. A more detailed description of the assignment will be distributed early in the semester.

You must clear your paper topic with your teaching assistant prior to submitting the first assignment. Even a very brief one-on-one discussion will help you craft a better project. Once you have identified a topic, you will be in a position to write the research proposal (again, detailed instructions will be distributed in class). The proposal (due **October 29**) is worth 5% of your grade and will be marked pass/fail. The proposal will expand the question driving your research, explain why the question is relevant and important, propose a hypothesis, and discuss some of the evidence that you expect to use in your analysis. The point of this exercise is to allow us to provide feedback on your paper prior to final submission and encourage you to get an early start on your research.

Late papers will be penalized one-third of a letter grade for each day late except in the event of a documented medical or family emergency. Only printed copies will be accepted.

**Final Exam**

There will be a final exam (25% of total grade) during the scheduled exam period **(Friday, 12/12/14, 9AM)**. This exam can only be taken at the scheduled time excepted in cases of documented medical or family emergencies. The final exam will assess your knowledge of the content of the lectures and readings since the midterm. There will review for the exam in your last section meeting.

**COURSE MATERIALS**

We will read these two books in their entirety. You can buy them from the University Bookstore or from Amazon:

Hoffman, Bruce (2006). *Inside Terrorism* (2nd edition), New York: Columbia University Press.

<http://www.amazon.com/dp/0231126999/ref=rdr_ext_tmb>

Jacobson, Sid and Ernie Colón. (2006) *The 9/11: A Graphical Adaptation.* New York: Hill and Wang.

<http://www.amazon.com/The-11-Report-Graphic-Adaptation/dp/0809057395>

All other readings will be available on the course Collab page.

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

**Wednesday, 8/27 – Introduction - Why Violence?**

* No Readings

**Monday, 9/1 – Definitions**

* Tilly, Charles (2004) “Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists” *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 5-13.
* Hoffman Chapters 1 and 2.

**Wednesday, 9/3 – Options in Asymmetrical Conflict**

* Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth (2008) “Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict” *International Security* 33(1): 7-44.
* Merari, Ariel (1993) “Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 213-251.

**Monday 9/8 – Ideologies (Right and Left Wing)**

* Horchem, Hans Josef (1991) “The Decline of the Red Army Faction” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3(2): 61-75.
* Jamieson, Alison (1990) “Entry, Discipline and Exit in the Italian Red Brigades” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 2(1): 1-21.
* Dobratz, Betty and Stephanie Shanks-Meile (2000) “Ideology” in *The White Separatist Movement in the United States,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press*,* pp. 89-163*.*

**Wednesday 9/10 – Ideologies (Religious)**

* Rapoport, David C. (1984) “Fear and trembling: Terrorism in three religious traditions” *The American Political Science Review*: 658-677.
* Hoffman Chapter 4.

**Monday, 9/15 – Ideologies (Ethno-Nationalist)**

* Byman, Daniel (1998) “The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 21(2): 149-169.
* Sanchez-Cuenca, Ignacio (2007) “The Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(3): 289-206.

**Wednesday, 9/17 – State Sponsorship**

* Byman, Daniel (2005) *Deadly connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism.* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 10-15, Chapters 2 and 3.
* Kreps, Sarah and Daniel Byman, (2010) “Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State Sponsorship of Terrorism” *International Studies Perspectives*: 1-18.

**Monday, 9/22 – Joining and Recruiting**

* Lee, Alexander (2011) “Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence” *World Politics* 63(2): 203-245.
* Victoroff, Jeff (2005) “The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of

psychological approaches.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

* Hegghammer, Thomas (2013) “The Recruiter’s Dilemma: Signaling and Terrorist Recruitment Tactics” *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 3-16.

**Wednesday, 9/24 – Terrorist Organizations (Structure)**

* Abrahms, Max, and Philip Potter. “Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics.”
* Joosse, Paul (2007) “Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion: The Case of the Earth Liberation Front” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(3): 351-368.
* Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette and Calvert Jones (2008) “Assessing the Dangers of

Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May be Less Threatening Than We Think”

*International Security* 33(2): 7-44.

**Monday, 9/29 – Terrorist Organizations (Financing)**

* Shapiro, Jacob (2008) “Bureaucratic Terrorists: Al-Qa’ida in Iraq’s Management of Finances” In Fishman, Brian, Ed., *Bombers, Bank Accounts and Bleedout: Al****‐****Qa`ida’s Road In and Out of Iraq*. West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, pp. 66-80.
* Zelinsky, Aaron, and Martin Shubik (2009) “Research Note: Terrorist Groups as

Business Firms: A New Typological Framework” *Terrorism and Political Violence*

21(2): 327-336.

**Wednesday, 10/1 – Terrorist Organizations (Cooperation and Decisionmaking)**

* Horowitz, Michael C., and Philip Potter (2013) “Allying to Kill: Terrorist Intergroup Cooperation and the Consequences for Lethality” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(2): 199-225.
* McCormick, Gordon H. (2003) “Terrorist Decision Making.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 6: 473-507.

**Monday, 10/6 – Targeting and Lethality**

* Piazza, James A. (2009) “Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous? An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(1): 62-88.
* Jackson, Brian and David Frelinger (2008) “Rifling Through the Terrorists’ Arsenal: Exploring Groups’ Weapon Choices and Technology Strategies” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31(7): 583-604.
* Bloom, Mia M. (2004) “Outbidding, Market Share, and Palestinian Suicide Bombing,” *Political Science Quarterly* 119(1): 61-88

**Wednesday, 10/8 – Suicide Bombing**

* Hoffman Chapter 5
* Pape, Robert (2003) “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.
* Ashworth, Scott, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz and Kristopher Ramsay (2007) “Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” *The American Political Science Review* 102(2): 269-273

**Monday, 10/13 – NO CLASS, READING DAY**

**Wednesday, 10/15 – WMD Terrorism**

* Bale, Jeffrey M., and Gary Ackerman (2009) “Profiling the WMD Terrorism Threat” (Chapter 2). In Stephen M. Maurer, Ed., *WMD Terrorism: Science and Policy Choices.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 11-46
* Allison, Graham (2004) *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe,* New York: Times Book, pp. 1-42.

**Monday, 10/20 – MIDTERM**

**Wednesday, 10/22 – Terrorism and the Media**

* Hoffman Chapters 6 and 7.

**Monday, 10/27 – Terrorism and Regime Type**

* Chenoweth, Erica (2013) “Terrorism and Democracy” Annual Review of Political Science Vol. 16: 355-378.
* Brooks, Risa (2009) “Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access Affects Militant Activity” *Security Studies* 18(4): 756-788.

**Wednesday, 10/29 – How it Ends**

* Cronin, Audrey K. (2006) “How Al Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups” *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
* Horgan, John (2008) “Deradicalization or Disengagement? A Process in Need of

Clarity and a Counterterrorism Initiative in Need of Evaluation” *Perspectives on*

*Terrorism* 2(4).

* Moghadam, Assaf (2012) “Failure and Disengagement in the Red Army Faction” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 35(2): 156-181.

**Monday, 11/3 – Lone Wolves and Domestic Terrorism in the United States**

* Levitas, Daniel (2002) “Militia Madness” in *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, pp. 301-316.
* Brooks, Risa (2011) “Muslim ‘Homegrown Terrorism’ in the United States”

*International Security* 36(2): 7-47.

* German, Mike “Behind the Lone Terrorist, A Pack Mentality,” *The Washington Post,* June 5, 2005. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html

**Wednesday, 11/5 – Does Terrorism Work?**

* Abrahms, Max (2006) “Why Terrorism Does Not Work” *International Security* 31(2): 42-78.
* Rose, W., Murphy, R., & Abrahms, M. (2007) “Does terrorism ever work? The 2004 Madrid train bombings” *International Security*, 32(1): 185-192.

**Monday, 11/10 – Counterterrorism (Intelligence)**

* *The 9-11 Report: A Graphical Adaptation*, All.

**Wednesday 11/12 – Counterterrorism (Deterrence)**

* Trager, Robert F. and Dessislava P. Zagorcheva (2005) “Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done” *International Security* 30(3): 87–123.
* Wilner, Alex (2011) “Deterring the Undeterrable: Coercion, Denial, and Delegitimization in Counterterrorism” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 34:13-37.

**Monday, 11/17 – Counterterrorism (Decapitation)**

* Price, Bryan C. (2012) “Targeting top terrorists: How leadership decapitation contributes to counterterrorism” *International Security* 36(4): 9-46.
* Johnston, Patrick B. (2012) “Does decapitation work? Assessing the effectiveness of leadership targeting in counterinsurgency campaigns” *International Security* 36(4): 47-79.
* Steven R. David, (2003) “Israel’s Policy of Targeted Killing” *Ethics & International Affairs* Vol. 17: 111-126.

**Wednesday, 11/19 – Case 1 - al Qaida**

* Hegghammer, Thomas (2011) “The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the

Globalization of Jihad” *International Security* 35(3): 53-94.

* Mudd, Philip (2013) “Algeria Attack Represents al Qaeda’s Dying Gasp.” *The Daily*

*Beast*, 24 January.

* Riedel, Bruce (2013) “New Al-Qaeda Generation May Be Deadliest One.” *Al-*

*Monitor*, 24 January.

**Monday, 11/24 – Case 2 - IRA**

* Moloney, Ed *A Secret History of the IRA,* pp. 1-92, 455-492.

**Wednesday, 11/26 – NO CLASS, THANKSGIVING**

**Monday 12/1 Case 3 – ETIM**

* Reed, J. T. and Diane Rashke (2010) *The* *ETIM.* Santa Barbara: Praeger. Chaps 1-4.

**Wednesday 12/3 Conclusion**

* Hoffman Chapters 8 and 9.