



# TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY CENTRAL TEXAS

## **POLI 3320** **Terrorism & Political Violence**

**Section 110 – Fall 2018**  
**6 PM- 9PM Thursdays**  
**Founder's Hall 304**



**Dr. Jeffrey Dixon**

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appointment

### **Course Description**

A study of the causes of terrorism and other forms of political violence, with particular emphasis on measures of prevention and counter-terrorism.

### **Course Overview**

This course is designed to address political violence other than armed combat, especially attacks on civilians by states or nonstate actors. These – often defined as terrorism or genocide -- are the most prominent and deadly forms of political violence in the world. The course seeks to understand the causes of these forms of political violence, the effectiveness of different responses to them, and ultimately the prospects for controlling them. This course meets face-to-face, with supplemental materials made available online through the A&M-Central Texas Canvas Learning Management System [<https://tamuct.instructure.com>].

### **Learning Objectives, Outcomes, and Assessment**

Upon completion of this course, students should be able to make use of political science scholarship to answer several fundamental questions about terrorism and political violence:

1. What are terrorism and genocide? How should they be defined and studied?
2. When, if ever, is violence against civilians ethically justifiable?
3. What are the root and more immediate causes of terrorism?
4. What are the root and more immediate causes of mass killing and genocide?
5. Under what circumstances does violence against civilians achieve its strategic objectives?
6. What policies best reduce terrorism, mass killing, and genocide?

The first homework assignment assesses Outcomes 1 and 2. The second further assesses Outcome 1. The weekly summaries, Assignment 3 (in part), and participation grades assess the other four outcomes at the micro-level, while preparation for the final exam (which contains two questions



randomly selected from Outcomes 3-6) further prepares students to answer these questions at the macro-level. The exam itself is thus an important assessment tool for the last four outcomes.

### Required Readings

The following book is required and available for purchase at the bookstore. You are under no obligation to purchase a textbook from a university-affiliated bookstore. The same textbook may also be available from an independent retailer, including an online retailer.

*Erica Chenoweth and Pauline Moore. 2018. The Politics of Terror. NY: Oxford University Press. ISBN-13: 987-0199795666*

The other required readings are available on Canvas.

### Technology Requirements and Support

This course will use the Texas A&M-Central Texas Instructure Canvas learning management system. [<https://tamuct.instructure.com>].

- **To log on:**

Username: Your MyCT username (everything before the "@" in your MyCT e-mail address)

Password: Your MyCT password

- **Canvas Support:** Use the Canvas Help link, located at the bottom of the left-hand menu, for issues with Canvas. You can select "Chat with Canvas Support," submit a support request through "Report a Problem," or call the Canvas support line: 1-844-757-0953. For issues related to course content and requirements, contact your instructor.

- **Other Technology Support:** For log-in problems, students should contact Help Desk Central. 24 hours a day, 7 days a week:

Email: [helpdesk@tamu.edu](mailto:helpdesk@tamu.edu)

Phone: (254) 519-5466

[Web Chat](http://hdc.tamu.edu): [<http://hdc.tamu.edu>]

*Please let the support technician know you are an A&M-Central Texas student*

### Class Policies

*Grading (90/80/70/60, rounded to the nearest percentage):*

- Academic Integrity Exercise: This consists of watching a brief lecture, taking a quiz, seeing where any mistakes on the quiz came from, and signing a statement. Once you successfully complete this exercise, you will no longer need to do so in future political science courses. If you have successfully completed this exercise in another one of my courses, then you need not complete it again to get the credit.

**\*\*\*Completing the Academic Integrity Exercise is a prerequisite to passing this course. It must be completed before you hand in Assignment 1 or the due date listed on the course schedule, whichever comes first.\*\*\***

- **Rubric: You will automatically fail the course if you have not completed the Academic Integrity exercise by its due date!**



- Participation (19.5%): This will be graded on a simple system that expects students to earn 15 points per session for full credit and allows room for a few points of extra credit per session as well. A student who attends and does little else will receive 6 points (40% credit). A student who constructively participates in one half of the class will receive 12 points (80% credit). A student who constructively participates throughout the entire class will receive 18 points (120% credit, a modest extra credit opportunity).
  - Constructive participation means making comments or asking questions that demonstrate familiarity with the assigned readings for the week. It also means actively engaging in any in-class exercises.
  - As the amount of class time devoted to lecture increases, the amount of participation expected from students decreases proportionally. A good rule of thumb is to be sure to contribute something relevant (even just a question that shows engagement with the course material) at least twice in a session that has no lecture or structured in-class exercise.
  - Lateness/leaving early reduces your credit proportionally, by the next highest 10% of the credit.
  
- Homework Assignments (30%): There are three major homework assignments which can be found at the end of the syllabus.
  - *Rubric for Assignment 1:*  
**Content Items (50%)**  
*Points Gained:*
    - \_\_\_ Essay contains a detailed position on the contexts in which different forms of violence are legitimate: timing, target attributes, forms of violence, cause served by violence (each 5 points)
    - \_\_\_ Essay applies the framework to McPherson’s argument about how most terrorism and some wars fail to meet just war criteria (10 points)
    - \_\_\_ Essay applies the framework to the argument for PATN by Jollimore (10 points)
    - \_\_\_ Essay applies the framework to whether genocide (as defined by Jones) can ever be justified (10 points)  
*Points Lost:*
    - \_\_\_ Essay is double-spaced and between 3-5 pages (up to 50% reduction for insufficient length, 3% if not double-spaced, 5% per page over limit).
    - \_\_\_ Essay uses APSA citation system, including an APSA-formatted works cited page for any outside sources used (up to 10% reduction if neither is provided; 5% if internal citations aren’t used or are not APSA format)
    - \_\_\_ The overwhelming majority of the essay is the student’s own words rather than direct quotes (even properly cited ones) from other sources. (Proportional reduction for anything over 10% quotes)



## Writing Quality (50%)

Grade	Thesis and Structure	Textual Support (relevant to the second half of the paper only)	Style
A	Answers the question (i.e. makes an argument required by the assignment) and drives the rest of the essay	Each element of the argument is supported by properly-cited textual support. Counter-arguments are addressed and defeated.	Few if any spelling or grammar errors. Paragraphs have topic sentences.
B	Answers the question, but some of the paper ignores it	Each element of the argument is supported by textual evidence, but major sources of evidence are ignored. OR The evidence used is insufficient to support one or more of the claims in the paper. OR Much of the support consists of direct quotes without interpretation.	About one spelling/grammar error per page, and/or many paragraphs lack topic sentences.
C	Does not match up with every element of the question, or the essay is a set of arguments that proceed without logical order	The evidence, when taken as a whole, fails to support the paper's thesis, with necessary steps in the argument being assumed instead of demonstrated. Much relevant evidence is omitted and irrelevant evidence may be present. Textual references lack specificity. Counter-arguments are ignored.	Paragraphs are poorly designed and there is at least one spelling or grammar error per paragraph.
D	Does not match up with most elements of the question; the essay is little more than a "data dump"	At least one major element of the essay's argument has substantial evidence that supports it. However, textual references are generally vague or irrelevant.	Spelling/grammar errors are found in every other sentence. Paragraph structure is poor.
F	The essay is devoid of structure	The answer fails to demonstrate a grasp of the relevant concepts or to interpret or critique them.	There is one spelling/grammar error per sentence, and paragraphs are not used properly.

### ○ Rubric for Assignment 2

- Completing Part A is worth 25 points. Only nonsensical definitions which fail to distinguish terrorism from crime in general will be marked down, provided that the student has a complete definition. *Any exclusions or limitations should be clearly defined themselves.*
- Completing Part B is worth 35 points. The definition itself is 10 points, while each of the five dimensions is worth 5 points.
- Completing Part C is worth 40 points. The student's definitions will be compared to each of the 20 cases for consistency with both the terrorism and genocide definitions. Each clear inconsistency will result in a loss of 2 points.



- Rubric for Assignment 3:
  - The credit for the first four questions (32 points total, or 8 per question) is based on how well you integrated evidence from throughout the course to suggest a clear answer.
  - The credit for the tables of evidence is 42 points, 1½ for each cell.
  - The credit for your evaluations and augmentations is 24 points (6 each), since you already did most of your work on the two tables.
  - Simply having completed all elements of the assignment is worth two more points.
  
- Weekly Summaries (22%): – These very short summaries essentially ask what the main question, the thesis or answer to that question, and the type of evidence for that thesis are for each reading. They may be typed or neatly handwritten (double space in either case to leave room for comments) and are due at the beginning of class. On days on which there is no other homework assignment (i.e. 10 class sessions), you should do the following *for each reading* (article or chapter, remembering that multiple chapters by the same author count as multiple readings):
  1. Write down what the author is trying to predict or explain (the dependent variable in most analyses). If there is no single dependent variable (for example, in a paper about ethics or a simple literature review), write down the question(s) the author(s) are trying to answer in the reading.
  2. Write down what their preferred explanation(s) for the dependent variable are (the independent variables or their thesis/answer to the main research question) – or what their answer is to the research question.
  3. Write down the nature of their evidence (e.g. a statistical study, case studies, a review of other literature, an argument or theory, etc), or if you prefer, a criticism of or unanswered question in that reading.
    - Each summary should take you no more than 2-3 sentences, given the above requirements. Most weeks will have 3-5 readings in all.
  
- Rubric: These summaries are primarily graded for content. Each summary (i.e. each assigned reading) is worth an equal amount of credit, so omitting one entirely is the easiest way to lose a substantial amount of credit. For each summary, each of the three elements above is worth one-third credit. A check system is used for grading these exercises: if all three elements exist for all assigned readings, the grade will be a check mark, or 100%. But if some elements or readings amounting to less than half of the credit are missing, the grade will be a check-minus, or 50% credit. If more than half of what is required is missing, no credit will be awarded.
  
- Final Exam (32%): There will be a single exam on the last day of class. It will consist of two essay questions drawn randomly from Questions 3-6 on the front page of the syllabus. The exam will be open-notes (including your summaries and all class handouts) but **not** open-book (i.e. you will not be permitted to use the actual readings to write your answers).



## POLI 3320 Course Rubric

Item	Points	Percent
Academic Integrity Exercise	* Required to pass!	0% *
Participation (13 weeks' worth)	195 (divided evenly between weeks)	19.5%
Assignment 1 (Ethics of Political Violence)	100	10%
Assignment 2 (Definition and Measurement)	100	10%
Assignment 3 (Applying Theories to Cases)	100	10%
Weekly Summaries (10 weeks' worth)	250 (divided evenly between weeks)	25%
Final Exam	255	25.5%
<b>TOTAL POSSIBLE</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>100%</b>
895+ = A    795-894=B    695-794=C    595-694=D    594 or lower = F		

### Course Policies

#### Attendance and Excused Absences

Attendance is required, as per Participation above. In the case of foreseeable absences, students must inform the instructor *prior to the absence*. Send me an email stating the dates(s) you will be missing and the reason(s). You should also hand me a written note with this information in class. Failure to contact the instructor *prior to class* will normally rule out any sort of make-up, but in the case of documented emergencies, the absence may be excused if the emergency is reported as soon as is reasonably possible.

#### Make-Up Work, Late Work, and Incompletes

- No late work will be accepted without an excused absence. For every excused absence, the missed participation must be made up. Unless otherwise instructed, the make-up work is to write a 2-3 page essay answering the question on the front of the syllabus that seems to be most clearly addressed by the day's readings, using those readings. Cite your sources, although you may dispense with a Works Cited page if you only use assigned readings from the course.
- There will be no incompletes in this class, barring actual hospitalization or unforeseen deployment after the withdrawal deadline has passed. By university policy, incompletes must be finished in the subsequent semester.

#### Regrades

The instructor is not perfect, and if you believe part or all of a written assignment has been graded incorrectly, you need only return it **within one week** of receiving it back from the instructor with a *brief* note specifying the part(s) to be regraded. The specified parts will be compared to the key again. After a week has passed, I can no longer be sure that you will be graded to the same standards as those used for all the other students, so work will not be regraded after this period. For participation regrades, I make my participation data available during the break and after the class so you can see how you are doing. If I failed to credit you with some or all of your participation, point it out to me after class (knowing what you said or asked would be helpful). Assuming it meets the requirements for constructive participation, the participation grade will be



changed on the spot. Requests for regrades of participation must be made on the evening we have class so I can still remember what you said.

### **Academic Integrity**

*University Code of Academic Honesty:* Texas A&M University – Central Texas values the integrity of the academic enterprise and strives for the highest standards of academic conduct. It expects its students, faculty, and staff to support the adherence to high standards of personal and scholarly conduct to preserve the honor and integrity of the creative community. Academic integrity is defined as a commitment to honesty, trust, fairness, respect, and responsibility. Any deviation by students from this expectation may result in a failing grade for the assignment and potentially a failing grade for the course. Academic misconduct is any act that improperly affects a true and honest evaluation of a student’s academic performance and includes, but is not limited to, cheating on an examination or other academic work, plagiarism and improper citation of sources, using another student’s work, collusion, and the abuse of resource materials. All academic misconduct concerns will be reported to the university’s Office of Student Conduct. Ignorance of the university’s standards and expectations is never an excuse to act with a lack of integrity. When in doubt on collaboration, citation, or any issue, please contact your instructor before taking a course of action.

Specific guidelines for this course, which supplement and do not replace University policy:

- *Violations:* There are plenty of ways to cheat listed by the Student Handbook. Some common violations of academic integrity that I have observed while teaching similar classes at TAMUCT are
  - Copying another student’s homework. I encourage study groups, but copying must be avoided. Discuss the readings as long as you wish, but don’t “share” the contents of your assignments before they are due. You may not “jointly” complete any of the homework exercises in this course unless otherwise indicated on the assignment; these are to be completed by yourself alone. If you provide another student with a copy of your homework and they copy it, both you and the copier will be deemed to have violated the policy.
  - Using direct quotes without quotation marks. Even if you are just using three- or four-word phrases, you need to surround them with quotation marks if you didn’t create them yourself. This is true even if you cite the source! Remember that changing a few words in a sentence does not transform a direct quote into a paraphrase; instead, it transforms one long direct quote into several shorter direct quotes with a word of your own between each. A true paraphrase is the expression of the cited source’s ideas in your own words.
  - Paraphrasing another person’s words without citing the source.
- *Penalties:*
  - The normal penalty for a violation of academic integrity (whether or not it is specifically listed above) in any of my classes is a grade of zero for the work or a deduction of 20% (two letter grades) from your course grade, whichever is **greater**. The infraction will be reported to the TAMUCT administration, with a recommendation for probation in the case of deliberate violation or remediation in the case of clearly inadvertent violation.
  - The (a) outright purchase, download, or completion by others of an exam/QLR



element, or (b) second or subsequent violation of academic integrity (in this course or other courses) display such serious disregard for academic integrity that either one of them will result in course failure **and** recommendation for appropriate action to the TAMUCT administration.

### **Drop Policy**

If you discover that you need to drop this class, you must complete a [Drop Request Form](https://www.tamuct.edu/registrar/docs/Drop_Request_Form.pdf) [https://www.tamuct.edu/registrar/docs/Drop\_Request\_Form.pdf]. Professors cannot drop students; this is always the responsibility of the student. The Registrar's Office will provide a deadline on the Academic Calendar for which the form must be completed, signed and returned. Once you return the signed form to the Registrar's Office, you must go into Warrior Web and confirm that you are no longer enrolled. If you still show as enrolled, FOLLOW-UP with the Registrar's Office immediately. You are to attend class until the procedure is complete to avoid penalty for absence. Should you miss the drop deadline or fail to follow the procedure, you will receive an F in the course, which may affect your financial aid and/or VA educational benefits.

### **Student Resources**

- **911Cellular** (Emergency Warning System for Texas A&M University – Central Texas): 911Cellular is an emergency notification service that gives Texas A&M University-Central Texas the ability to communicate health and safety emergency information quickly via email, text message, and social media. All students are automatically enrolled in 911Cellular through their myCT email account.
  - Connect at 911Cellular [https://portal.publicsafetycloud.net/Texas-AM-Central/alert-management] to change where you receive your alerts or to opt out. By staying enrolled in 911Cellular, university officials can quickly pass on safety-related information, regardless of your location.
- **University Library:** The University Library provides many services in support of research across campus and at a distance. We offer over 200 electronic databases containing approximately 250,000 eBooks and 82,000 journals, in addition to the 85,000 items in our print collection, which can be mailed to students who live more than 50 miles from campus. Research guides for each subject taught at A&M-Central Texas are available through our website to help students navigate these resources. On campus, the library offers technology including cameras, laptops, microphones, webcams, and digital sound recorders.
  - Research assistance from a librarian is also available 24 hours a day through our online chat service, and at the reference desk when the library is open. Research sessions can be scheduled for more comprehensive assistance, and may take place on Skype or in-person at the library. Assistance may cover many topics, including how to find articles in peer-reviewed journals, how to cite resources, and how to piece together research for written assignments.
  - Our 27,000-square-foot facility on the A&M-Central Texas main campus includes student lounges, private study rooms, group work spaces, computer labs, family areas suitable for all ages, and many other features. Services such as interlibrary loan, TexShare, binding, and laminating are available. The library frequently offers workshops, tours, readings, and other events. For more information, please visit our [Library website](http://tamuct.libguides.com/index) [http://tamuct.libguides.com/index].





- **Access & Inclusion:** At Texas A&M University-Central Texas, we value an inclusive learning environment where every student has an equal chance to succeed and has the right to a barrier-free education. The Office of Access and Inclusion is responsible for ensuring that students with a disability receive equal access to the university's programs, services and activities. If you believe you have a disability requiring reasonable accommodations please contact the Office of Access and Inclusion at (254) 501-5831. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such. For more information please visit our [Access & Inclusion](https://www.tamuct.edu/student-affairs/access-inclusion.html) web page [https://www.tamuct.edu/student-affairs/access-inclusion.html]. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such.
  - **Important information for Pregnant and/or Parenting Students:**
    - Texas A&M University-Central Texas supports students who are pregnant and/or parenting. In accordance with requirements of Title IX and related guidance from US Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, the Dean of Student Affairs' Office can assist students who are pregnant and/or parenting in seeking accommodations related to pregnancy and/or parenting. Students should seek out assistance as early in the pregnancy as possible. For more information, please visit the Student Affairs web page [https://www.tamuct.edu/student-affairs/index.html].
    - Students may also contact the institution's Title IX Coordinator. If you would like to read more about these requirements and guidelines online, please visit the website [http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/pregnancy.pdf].
    - Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex and gender—including pregnancy, parenting, and all related conditions. Texas A&M University-Central Texas is able to provide flexible and individualized reasonable accommodation to pregnant and parenting students. All pregnant and parenting students should contact the Associate Dean in the Division of Student Affairs at (254) 501-5909 to seek out assistance. Students may also contact the University's Title IX Coordinator.
- **Tutoring:** Tutoring is available to all A&M-Central Texas students, both on-campus and online. Subjects tutored on campus include Accounting, Advanced Math, Biology, Finance, Statistics, Mathematics, and Study Skills. Tutors are available at the Tutoring Center in Warrior Hall, Suite 111.
  - If you have a question regarding tutor schedules, need to schedule a tutoring session, are interested in becoming a tutor, or have any other question, contact Academic Support Programs at (254) 519-5796, or by emailing Dr. DeEadra Albert-Green at [deeadra.albertgreen@tamuct.edu](mailto:deeadra.albertgreen@tamuct.edu).
  - Chat live with a tutor 24/7 for almost any subject from on your computer! Tutor.com is an online tutoring platform that enables A&M-Central Texas students to log in and receive FREE online tutoring and writing support. This tool provides tutoring in over 40 subject areas. Access Tutor.com through Canvas.
- **University Writing Center:** Located in Warrior Hall 416, the University Writing Center (UWC) at Texas A&M University–Central Texas (TAMUCT) is a free workspace open to all TAMUCT students from 10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Monday thru Thursday with satellite hours in the



University Library Monday thru Thursday from 6:00-9:00 p.m. This semester, the UWC is also offering online only hours from 12:00-3:00 p.m. on Saturdays.

- Students may arrange a one-on-one session with a trained and experienced writing tutor by visiting the UWC during normal operating hours (both half-hour and hour sessions are available) or by making an appointment via [WCOOnline](https://tamuct.mywconline.com/) at [https://tamuct.mywconline.com/]. In addition, you can email Dr. Bruce Bowles Jr. at [bruce.bowles@tamuct.edu](mailto:bruce.bowles@tamuct.edu) for any assistance needed with scheduling.
- Tutors are prepared to help writers of all levels and abilities at any stage of the writing process. While tutors will not write, edit, or grade papers, they will assist students in developing more effective composing practices. By providing a practice audience for students' ideas and writing, our tutors highlight the ways in which they read and interpret students' texts, offering guidance and support throughout the various stages of the writing process. In addition, students may work independently in the UWC by checking out a laptop that runs the Microsoft Office suite and connects to WIFI, or by consulting our resources on writing, including all of the relevant style guides. Whether you need help brainstorming ideas, organizing an essay, proofreading, understanding proper citation practices, or just want a quiet place to work, the UWC is here to help!
- If you have any questions about the UWC, please do not hesitate to contact Dr. Bruce Bowles Jr. at [bruce.bowles@tamuct.edu](mailto:bruce.bowles@tamuct.edu).

**Amendments:** Not all exigencies can be foreseen. I reserve the right to amend the syllabus at any time. Any such amendment will be provided to the students in writing by uploading a revised syllabus to the course on Canvas.

### ***Instructor's Personal Statement (not required reading, but may be of interest)***

I strive to provide my students with a liberal arts education. Such an education is intended to expand human potential by emphasizing critical thinking skills, strong writing and oral communication skills, and perceptive responses to others' arguments. These goals enable students to become lifelong learners, community members, and ultimately to lead rewarding lives. Therefore, under the broad rubric of a liberal arts approach to teaching, I emphasize four objectives in my teaching: development of critical thinking skills, advancement of writing and speaking skills, moral development, and mastery of what in my judgment constitutes the "core" of the area under study. These goals determine how I construct course syllabi, which materials I use, and how I manage the classroom.

#### *Critical Thinking Skills*

I divide critical thinking skills into three components. First, students must be perceptive readers and listeners. In nearly all courses, there are either sections of the readings, lectures, or class handouts which we discuss and debate, nearly line by line. The point of these exercises is to draw students' attention to the multiple ways in which one might read a phrase or argument. Even where the course readings consist largely of a standard textbook, I try to model this skill in class discussions by initially responding to many



questions with “Are you asking X, Y, or Z?” Understanding the nuances of an argument is a prerequisite to analyzing it.

Second, students should have the ability to challenge and dissect arguments made by the course materials, fellow students, or myself. There are some students who are looking for “the way it is” to be handed to them from “on high.” While informing students is part of my responsibilities, I also aim to challenge those students by presenting concrete, unsolved puzzles, and then presenting a number of possible solutions, requiring them to compare the evidence for each. Since the questions I ask in class are usually open questions within the discipline of political science, there are no easy answers. When I open a class discussion, engage with students doing discussion exercises, or even grade homework assignments, I play “devil’s advocate” for each student or group, taking a different position as I interact with each student. It is therefore disappointing when students simply parrot back what they believe the professor wants to hear. Their own thoughts count.

Just as important as the ability to analyze an argument is the ability to construct and defend one, choosing one among several imperfect explanations as the “best bet” for explaining a phenomenon or the superior normative framework for evaluating its ethical implications. There are some students who are very good at critiquing existing explanations, but who then use this skill as an excuse to avoid argument altogether: “None of these explanations are perfect, so it’s all just a matter of opinion.” This is illustrated by Russian dissident Gary Kasparov (2017):

*“The point of modern propaganda isn’t only to misinform or push an agenda. It is to exhaust your critical thinking, to annihilate truth. Modern dictatorships have become far more sophisticated still in how to achieve their ends. They learned that by constant bombardment, your senses become overwhelmed. You start to doubt, to shrug your shoulders, to tune out, and that makes you vulnerable. Instead of pushing one lie, one fake, they can push a dozen, or a hundred, and that’s pretty good odds against one lonely truth. They win when you say: ‘Who can be sure what really happened?’”*

I press students to weigh the strengths and flaws of each competing explanation and identify the one which is most likely to be correct. For empirical questions, I require them to devise some way in which their preferred explanation could be tested. For normative questions, I require them to apply their framework to difficult moral questions. In sum, I try to combine the focus on argument dissection that one finds in debate with the focus on puzzle-solving that one finds in science and philosophy.

### *Writing Skills*

As a former debater and debate coach, I appreciate the importance of being able to write and speak clearly. Of course, one of the most important ways to accomplish this is by assigning writing (and, in other courses, speaking) activities that require effective argument. In order to help students proofread their work, I set up a web site illustrating the most common student grammatical errors: word mix-ups, sentence fragments, agreement of subject and verb, and improper comma or apostrophe usage.



### *Moral Development*

One goal of a liberal arts education is to render students more capable of self-reflection and positive development. Moral education is essential to this process, yet may be the most difficult task facing an educator. Students must first be convinced that the ethical life is the best life. Fortunately, most students already have a set of values, albeit sometimes under-examined and often inconsistent ones. The task of the professor is to challenge their moral beliefs in such a manner that students have to choose between competing values and become more consistent in their moral judgments. It is not the task of the professor to ensure that students adhere to a particular value system or ideology; instead, the ideal professor will challenge students of any ideology and make them more consistent in their judgments.

For this to be possible, students need to recognize their own underlying assumptions (often their religious faith, combined with a cynical view of human behavior) that make a system of values possible. They must then be able to defend the connections between those assumptions and their value choices. In short, political science needs to be seen as part of a broader liberal arts curriculum which prepares students to do justice (as students understand it) in the world. Otherwise, we risk training sophists who simply use their skills to manipulate others.

### *Subject Mastery*

Finally, each class I teach has a certain “core” of material I expect students to master. This material is the necessary data for intelligent discussion of the questions posed by the course. Mastery is different than memorization; it means being able to apply the material to an unanticipated question or situation. The learning outcomes of the course reflect the knowledge of the subject I expect students to have by the end of the course.



## Course Schedule

Date	Topic	Readings and Assignments
Aug 30	Defining and Measuring Political Violence	None
Sept 6	Ethics of Political Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ McPherson, "Is Terrorism Distinctively Wrong?"</li> <li>➤ Jollimore, "Terrorism, War, and The Killing of the Innocent"</li> <li>➤ Jones, "Genocide: Ethical and Normative Perspectives"</li> </ul> <p><b>Assignment 1 (Ethics of Political Violence) Due</b>  <b>Academic Integrity Exercise Due</b></p>
Sept 13	Studying Political Violence: Methods and Approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 1: Introducing Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Parker and Sitter, "The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It's Not Waves, It's Strains"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 9: Suicide Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Straus, "'Destroy Them to Save Us': Theories of Genocide and the Logics of Political Violence"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due</b></p>
Sept 20	What Do We Know About Genocide, Mass Killing, and Terrorism?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Straus, "Contested Meanings and Conflicting imperatives: A Conceptual Analysis of Genocide"</li> <li>➤ Valentino, "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence Against Civilians"</li> <li>➤ Campana and Lapointe, "The Structural 'Root' Causes of Non-Suicide Terrorism: A Systematic Scoping Review"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 6: Structural Approaches"</li> </ul> <p><b>Assignment 2 (Definition and Measurement) Due</b></p>
Sept 27	Is Terrorism Rational?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 2: Strategic Approaches"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 3: Organizational Approaches"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 4: Psychological Approaches"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 5: Ideological Approaches"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due (remember to summarize each chapter separately)</b></p>
Oct 4	Logics of Wartime Targeting of Civilians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Downes, <u>Targeting Civilians in War</u>, Excerpts</li> <li>➤ Kalyvas, <u>The Logic of Violence in Civil War</u>, Excerpts</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due (remember to summarize each chapter separately)</b></p>

Date	Topic	Readings and Assignments
Oct 11	Domestic Terrorism and "Lone Wolf" Attacks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Choi and Piazza, "Ethnic Groups, Political Exclusion and Domestic Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Ghatak and Prins, "The Homegrown Threat: State Strength, Grievance, and Domestic Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Beydoun, "Lone Wolf Terrorism: Types, Stripes, and Double Standards"</li> <li>➤ Schuurman et al, "End of the Lone Wolf: The Typology That Should Not Have Been"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due</b></p>
Oct 18	Critical Approaches to the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 7: Critical Approaches"</li> <li>➤ Weiss, "On Fear and Nuclear Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 12: Gender and Terrorism"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due (remember to summarize each chapter separately)</b></p>
Oct 25	Terrorist Organizational Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Asal and Rethemeyer, "The Nature of the Beast: Terrorist Organizational Characteristics and Organizational Lethality"</li> <li>➤ Abrahms and Potter, "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 8: Terrorist Target Selection"</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, "Chapter 10: Terrorism and Social Services"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due (remember to summarize each chapter separately)</b></p>
Nov 1	Cycles of Violence? A First Take	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Piazza, "Repression and Terrorism: A Cross-National Empirical Analysis of Types of Repression and Domestic Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Avdan and Uzonyi, "V for Vendetta: Government Mass Killing and Domestic Terrorism"</li> <li>➤ Uzonyi and Hanania, "Government Sponsored Mass Killing and Civil War Reoccurrence"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due</b></p>
Nov 8	Does Terrorism Work?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Abrahms, "The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited"</li> <li>➤ Abrahms and Gottfried, "Does Terrorism Pay? An Empirical Analysis"</li> <li>➤ Thomas, "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War"</li> <li>➤ Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes"</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due</b></p>



Date	Topic	Readings and Assignments
Nov 15	Responding to Terrorism and Political Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, “Chapter 13: Counterterrorism Instruments”</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, “Chapter 14: The Politics of Counterterrorism”</li> <li>➤ Gleditsch and Polo, “Ethnic Inclusion, Democracy, and Terrorism”</li> <li>➤ DeMeritt, “Delegating Death: Military Intervention and Government Killing”</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due (remember to summarize each chapter separately)</b></p>
Nov 29	Ending Terrorism: Decapitation, Failure, Settlement, and Victory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Tominaga, “Killing Two Birds with One Stone? Examining the Diffusion Effect of Militant Leadership Decapitation”</li> <li>➤ Falk and Hefetz, “Minimizing Unintended Deaths Enhanced the Effectiveness of Targeted Killing in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict”</li> <li>➤ Young and Dugan, “Survival of the Fittest: Why Terrorist Groups Endure”</li> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, “Chapter 15: How Terrorist Groups End”</li> <li>➤ Dixon and Sarkees, “The Arc of War-Scale Terrorism: Case Studies from Sri Lanka, Turkey, Peru, Colombia, and Chechnya”</li> </ul> <p><b>Assignment 3 (Applying Theories to Cases) Due</b></p>
Dec 6	Prospects for the Control of Terrorism and Political Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Chenoweth and Moore, <u>The Politics of Terror</u>, “Chapter 11: State Sponsorship of Terror”</li> <li>➤ Dragu and Polborn, “The Rule of Law in the Fight Against Terrorism”</li> <li>➤ Goldsmith and Butcher, “Genocide Forecasting: Past Accuracy and New Forecasts to 2020”</li> <li>➤ Paris, “The ‘Responsibility to Protect’ and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention”</li> </ul> <p><b>Weekly Summary Due</b></p>
Dec 13	Final Exam	Review Questions 3-6 on the First Page of the Syllabus







Instructions: Perpetrators of political violence – soldiers, terrorists, *genocidaires*, insurgents, and government officials – generally seem to believe themselves justified in resorting to such violence. When are they right? Write the following 3-5 page double-spaced essay:

1. In about two to three pages, develop your position on the legitimacy of different forms of political violence, taking into account context (e.g. wartime vs. peacetime), attributes of the targets of such violence (e.g. innocent vs. guilty, combatant vs. civilian, adult vs. child, etc), the nature of such violence (e.g. hostage-taking, torture, killing, etc) and the cause the violence purportedly serves (e.g. personal survival, God, the national interest, freedom, revenge or retaliation, Just War, etc).
2. In another page or two, apply your framework to the argument McPherson makes against terrorism and some wars, the argument for PATN by Jollimore, and the question of whether genocide (as Jones defines it) can ever be justified.

You may refer to outside sources if desired, but doing so is not really necessary. If you do use any outside source, be sure to cite it using APSA style and attach an APSA-formatted works cited page. If you only cite the assigned readings, you can skip the works cited page but should still use APSA style citations in the essay. As this is a reflective essay, the overwhelming majority of the essay should be your own words rather than direct quotes (even properly cited ones) from other sources.





## Assignment 2: Defining Political Violence

**Directions:** You must define terrorism and genocide -- and then apply your definitions to a series of “hypothetical” cases. The “right” answers to the cases are the ones consistent with the definitions you choose. The only definitions that are off-limits are nonsensical ones which do not actually distinguish terrorism/genocide from other behavior, e.g. “every crime is an act of terrorism.” The goal is to see what the effects of consistent, reasonable definitions of terrorism and genocide would be on both domestic and foreign politics.

**Section A:** Your definition of terrorism. Especially after completing the course readings, it should be clear that virtually all definitions of terrorism have to make a number of key choices, indicated by the table below. Even when a definition fails to mention one of these choices, the author normally just means “no matter which of these is true, it is or is not terrorism based on the other parts of my definition.”

**Terrorism is....**

*The following behavior(s)* (select **all** that apply)

- threat or use of violence       vandalism or destruction of property       marching without a permit  
 advocating a change in government       other behavior (specify)

*That targets* (select **one** only)

- civilians only       civilians, or military targets when civilians are likely to be hurt  
 anyone, whether military or civilian

*For the following purposes*

any reason, whether financial, sexual, political, or social

**OR** only when committed (select **all** that apply):

- to create fear       to advance a political/social goal       to resist a foreign occupier  
 to resist an unjust government       to retaliate for prior acts of terrorism       to serve some other goal (specify)

*If committed by* (select **all** that apply)

- A government’s uniformed soldiers or police       A government’s spies or secret agents  
 Uniformed soldiers in a rebel movement       Rebels who don’t wear uniforms

*During* (select **one** only)

- peacetime       anytime, even during a war

*Other conditions or limitations, if any:*

**Section B:** Your definition of genocide. Using the relevant article by Straus, define genocide and then describe your definition using each of his five conceptual dimensions. Your definition:

Dimensions:

1. Intentional Group Annihilation as Core Idea:

2. Formulation of Intent:

3. Mode of Annihilation:

4. Agent of Annihilation:

5. Target of Annihilation:

### Section C: Apply Your Definitions

Examine the attached cases. Apply your definitions fairly and consistently to each case. Depending on your definitions, it may be possible for something to be both terrorism and genocide, in which case you would record “Yes” to both. Alternatively, something could be awful and yet not qualify as either terrorism or genocide, in which case you would record “No” to both. Record your verdicts in the following table. Yes means this **was** terrorism or genocide. No means this **was not** terrorism or genocide.

<b>Case</b>	<b>Terrorism?</b>	<b>Genocide?</b>
<b>1</b>		
<b>2</b>		
<b>3</b>		
<b>4</b>		
<b>5</b>		
<b>6</b>		
<b>7</b>		
<b>8</b>		
<b>9</b>		
<b>10</b>		
<b>11</b>		
<b>12</b>		
<b>13</b>		
<b>14</b>		
<b>15</b>		
<b>16</b>		
<b>17</b>		
<b>18</b>		
<b>19</b>		
<b>20</b>		

**Case 1:** Powerful government troops ravage insurgent resources to hasten the end of civil war. They burn their way through a swath of rebel territory, sparing civilians and (sometimes) their homes but destroying crops, livestock, buildings, and railways. After seizing a major city, they expel its entire population and put the city to the torch. The government commander says, "If the people raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer that war is war and not popularity-seeking. If they want peace, they and their relatives must stop the war." Is this terrorism, genocide, or neither?

**Case 2:** A man fears that his wife might leave him, so he kills her pet in order to show her what will happen to her if she leaves. Is he a terrorist?

**Case 3:** A government wishes to force tens of millions of peasant farmers into collective farms, where more efficient techniques – and a greater degree of social control – are possible. It enacts a law prohibiting food distribution – even eating one's own crops – outside of collective farms, and then it proceeds to confiscate the entire harvest of those not living on collective farms. Mass starvation results across the state's breadbasket regions, hitting one region (dominated by a restive minority ethnic group) harder than the others, since food importation into the region is prohibited by the authorities. Millions die of starvation, most of them in the minority-dominated region. Was this terrorism and/or genocide?

**Case 4:** A group of Texans seeks to lead a march for the cause of secession from the United States. They are denied a permit, but boldly march through the streets of Austin anyway. The march is peaceful until police charge the crowd, at which point chaos ensues. Are the marchers terrorists?

**Case 5:** A group of Azars in the nation of Ruritania circulates a petition that calls for autonomy for the Azar people – freedom to speak the Azari language, local self-government in majority-Azar regions, and the ability to publish Azar-language newspapers. Their government responds by imprisoning the Azar leaders. After they are released, they form the Azar Liberation Front (ALF). The organization is promptly banned by the government and warrants are issued for the crime of "insulting Ruritania." The ALF turns to armed struggle, bombing police stations. When the government begins assassinating prominent Azar activists (even peaceful poets and professors), the ALF retaliates by assassinating "collaborators," including Ruritanian teachers who refuse to allow Azar pupils to learn in Azari. Is the Azar Liberation Front a terrorist group? Is it committing genocide?

**Case 6:** During peacetime, a group of dissidents bands together to protest what they regard as unfair tax policy. Wearing disguises, they trespass on the property of EIC (a corporation favored by the government) and vandalize goods bearing the EIC label. The dissidents are careful not to steal anything, even going so far as to bring a replacement padlock and key for the one they destroyed while breaking in. Are they terrorists?

**Case 7:** A group declares a "war of liberation" against an overseas democratic government -- which it did not elect and which it calls "an unjust occupying power." The group secretly plants a bomb in a hotel, part of which is being used as a military headquarters. The group calls shortly before the

bomb detonates, warning of the attack, but the warning is dismissed as a hoax and the blast claims scores of victims, including many civilians in the hotel. Is this a terrorist attack? Is it a genocidal act?

**Case 8:** During a civil war, Marxist rebels in uniform invade a foreign embassy during a party and take diplomats and other attendees hostage, demanding the release of “political prisoners.” No hostages are harmed by the rebels, but the government counter-attack kills several hostages in the cross-fire. Was the hostage-taking by the rebels terrorism?

**Case 9:** A government at war with its neighbor fears that some of its own citizens – who share a religion with its opponent – will take the opportunity to rise up and seek independence for their co-religionists in the disputed region. So it deports them from the region into virtually uninhabitable territory. The deportations are conducted with cruelty, and often rival groups of the state’s majority religion are allowed to massacre the deportees. In the end, millions of the religious minority die from these policies. Did the government commit terrorism, genocide, or neither?

**Case 10:** A band of political rebels, aiming to overthrow a government that they claim terrorizes and oppresses their people, assassinates the head of state. Are the conspirators terrorists?

**Case 11:** After a revolution in Wazzupistan, Rurutania decides to do everything in its power to overthrow the new Wazzupi government. Rurutania begins funding a guerrilla army that attacks Wazzupistan, using bases Rurutania establishes in Wazzupistan’s neighbor Instabilia. Rurutania supplies almost all of the weapons and supplies of the guerrilla army fighting Wazzupistan. The guerrillas generally try to avoid fighting the Wazzupi Army; instead, they attack clinics, schools, and farms. Sometimes they mine the roads. Many Wazzupi civilians are killed and maimed by the Rurutania-sponsored guerrillas. Is Rurutania sponsoring terrorism? Is it sponsoring a genocide?

**Case 12:** During wartime, the armed forces of a country bomb the cities of another country, hoping that the civilian victims of the bombing will be terrorized, become angry at their own government, and then overthrow it. Is this “terror bombing” terrorism, genocide, or neither?

**Case 13:** During peacetime, a weapons scientist goes to work for Freedonia. Fearing that his weapons might give Freedonia an advantage, Wazzupistan -- the longtime foe of Freedonia -- sends secret agents to assassinate the scientist. The assassination is carried out while the scientist is staying in a hotel in New Blogistan, a peaceful and neutral country. Should New Blogistan treat this as a terrorist attack on its soil?

**Case 14:** After a government blames it for terrorism and bombs its headquarters, an armed political group (neither uniformed nor employed by a government) responds by declaring war and then bombing a warship while it sits at anchor (far from any civilian vessels), killing many soldiers. Is this terrorism?

**Case 15:** After a war, a state occupies a region dominated by those of a different ethnicity and religion. For political reasons, it chooses not to make these people citizens or to formally annex the land it has occupied. However, it also refuses to allow them meaningful self-government. Long after the fighting has ceased, a small-scale rebellion breaks out in the region, with acts of terrorism

against the occupying state. While the state certainly targets terrorists, it also targets their families and even some development projects, making it illegal to dig wells for clean water or to fund development projects in the region. As a result, even though actual combat fatalities are low, death rates due to poverty and preventable disease skyrocket in the region. Moreover, settlers from the state's dominant ethno-religious groups are permitted to seize land from the inhabitants of the region and are given aid to construct development projects for themselves. Is this terrorism, a slow-motion genocide, or neither?

**Case 16:** After the government of Ribit finds out that an environmental group is planning to conduct a peaceful but illegal protest, it sends covert operatives to plant a bomb on the group's ship while it sits docked in the neutral, peaceful country of New Blogistan. The blast sinks the ship, killing the group's photographer. Was this a terrorist bombing?

**Case 17:** After a horrific incident in which nine of its citizens are killed by terrorists, a government retaliates by sending covert agents to assassinate the terrorists. The agents mistakenly shoot an innocent man in another country who resembles their target. Are the agents terrorists?

**Case 18:** An organization firebombs an establishment that provides goods or services that it finds morally repugnant. The arson occurs at night when the establishment is closed, and no one is injured. Was this terrorism?

**Case 19:** When Wazzupistan collapses into civil war and its government steadily loses ground to a motley mix of anti-modern insurgents, its powerful neighbor Ruritania fears that violence and extremism will spill over into its own territory. Ruritania invades and occupies Wazzupistan and tries to organize a friendly, stable government. Ruritania's enemy Freedonia decides to arm and fund Wazzupi insurgents in order to "give Ruritania a bloody nose." The insurgents are dominated by traditionalists who oppose equality, secularism, and democracy. Rival factions of insurgents torture and murder each other's followers and begin raising and selling illegal narcotics to fund their movements. Freedonia continues to fund them anyway, since they are steadily killing Ruritanian soldiers and "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Is Freedonia funding terrorism and/or genocide?

**Case 20:** A civil war wracks Instabilia. The government is dominated by the largest ethno-religious group, but is militarily weak. A minority ethnic group overruns a city held by government forces. Anticipating that the government might retake the town, the minority group gathers and executes all of the majority-group males of military age it can find in the captured city (thousands of them in all). Is the minority group that took the city a terrorist group? Has the minority group committed genocide?



### Objectives

This exercise is aimed at reinforcing course objectives 3, 5, and 6 on the front page of the syllabus. The asymmetric focus on late-course objectives is deliberate -- there is simply much more social-scientific research on the causes of terrorism than on its development, consequences, and the arc of strategic terrorist campaigns over time. For this reason, case studies provide important evidence about these processes and outcomes. You will read summaries of groups generally regarded as terrorists that nonetheless managed to inflict and suffer more than 1000 combatant deaths per year, a critical element in the definition of a full-scale civil war. Since wars are hard to hide, we have much more information on them than other terrorist campaigns, making them convenient to study.

### Instructions

1. Do the assigned readings for the week this assignment is due. Then, using sources drawn from throughout the course, type up a 1-2 paragraph answer to each of the following questions:
  - a. Why do potential terrorist groups begin their campaigns of violence?
  - b. How might terrorists be able to escalate their violence to meet the threshold of a full-scale civil war?
  - c. To what extent do terrorists achieve their strategic objectives? What strategies are most effective at achieving these objectives -- targeting civilians, targeting military forces, or other tactics?
  - d. What policies best reduce terrorism in such high-intensity conflicts?
2. Then use the information in Dixon and Sarkees (2016) on the civil wars fought by terrorist groups in Sri Lanka, Turkey, Peru, Colombia, and Chechnya to evaluate (and, if necessary, augment) your answers to the questions above. Use the attached two tables (or make similar ones) to help you systematically evaluate your earlier answers with the available evidence from each case. These evaluations should be in complete sentences, but there is no minimum length, provided that each one reflects the evidence from the case studies. You should fill in each cell of the tables with 2-6 words (typed or neatly printed) before typing up this second part of the assignment. The columns represent questions that parallel the more general ones above:
  - a. Why did the terrorist groups begin their campaigns?
  - b. How were the terrorists able to escalate their violence to meet the threshold of a full-scale civil war?
  - c. To what extent did the terrorists achieve their strategic objectives? Were their temporary or permanent successes due to targeting civilians, targeting military forces, or other tactics?
  - d. What policies best reduced terrorism in this case, ending the war?



**Table 1. Pathways to High-Intensity Terrorism for Selected Groups in Dixon and Sarkees (2016)**

<i>Group</i>	<i>Why did it choose terrorism?</i>	<i>How did terrorism escalate to war?</i>
PKK		
Chechnya/Chechens		
Sendero Luminoso		
FARK		
LTTE		

**Table 2. Evaluating Terrorism and Counter-terrorism in Civil Wars Using Dixon and Sarkees (2016)**

<i>War</i>	<i>How successful was terrorism?</i>	<i>What reduced or ended terrorism?</i>
First PKK		
Second PKK		
First Chechnya		
Second Chechnya		
Shining Path		
FARK		
Eelam War I		
Eelam Wars II-III		
Eelam War IV		