

Political Science 347
Terrorism
Andrew Kydd
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin-Madison

About the Course

Course Description

This course will introduce the student to the subject of terrorism. The course will cover the history of terrorism, the causes of terrorism, the goals and strategies pursued by terrorist groups, the extent to which terrorism succeeds in achieving its goals, the potential for terrorism with weapons of mass destruction, counterterrorism and counterinsurgency, and the normative debates about torture and civil liberties in the context of terrorism.

Learning Outcomes

Students are expected to develop an understanding of the following topics.

1. The history of terrorism
2. The current state of terrorism, in the US and around the world.
3. The motivations, strategies and tactics of terrorism
4. Counter terrorism policies, both military and non-military.

In addition, students will develop their research and writing skills through working on a 4,000 word research paper.

Mechanics and Details

Meeting Time and Location

Classroom: Ingraham 19

Lecture Time: Monday and Wednesday, 11:00 am to 11:50 am

Instructional Mode

This class is a traditional face-to-face class, with a website for organizing course materials.

Course Website

The course uses the Canvas platform.

Credit Hours

This course counts for 3 credits. Credit hours are met according to the Carnegie definition by two 50 minute lectures per week plus one 50 minute discussion section per week. In addition, students must do the readings, write the paper, and prepare for the final exam.

Contact Information

Name	e-mail	Office Hours
Andrew Kydd	kydd@wisc.edu	Monday, 1:00-3:00 pm
Sujeong Shim	sshim22@wisc.edu	Monday, 8:50-10:50 am
David Bates	dcbates2@wisc.edu	Wednesday 2:30-3:30 pm, Friday 10:00-11:00 am
Yumi Park	yumi.park@wisc.edu	Thursday 8:45-10:45 am
Hohyun Yoon	hyoon73@wisc.edu	Wednesday 1:20-3:20 pm

Course Designation and Attributes

Breadth-Social Science.

Counts as Liberal Arts and Science credit in L&S.

Requisites

1. Sophomore standing or above
2. An introductory course in international relations, either
 - a. Political Science 140-Introduction to International Relations or
 - b. International Studies 101-Introduction to International Studies

Readings

The following books are available at the bookstore.

- Gottlieb, Stuart. 2014. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts and Responses*. Los Angeles: Sage CQ Press.
- Law, Randall. 2016. *Terrorism: a History*. (Second Edition) Polity.

The readings not found in these books are available the Canvas website for this course.

Learning Disabilities

The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071)

require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform faculty [me] of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. Faculty [I], will work either directly with the student [you] or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA.

Students with disabilities should contact the McBurney Center for guidance. We will be happy to accommodate your needs as instructed by the center.

<http://mcburney.wisc.edu>

Academic Integrity

The University of Wisconsin has a strict policy against plagiarism, so make sure you cite sources appropriately. If you have any doubt, err on the side of citing. Exams are closed book. Any suspected cases of plagiarism or cheating on exams will be referred to the Dean of Students office. More information can be found at http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/QPA_plagiarism.html, and <https://www.students.wisc.edu/doso/academic-integrity/>.

Course Work and Grading

Course Requirements

The grade will be based on the following elements.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Percent of Final Grade</u>
Attendance and Participation	30%
Research Paper	
Prospectus	5%
First Draft	10%
Final Draft	20%
Final Exam	35%

The grading scheme is the following.

A	93-100
AB	88-92

B	83-87
BC	78-82
C	70-77
D	60-69
F	0-59

Numerical scores will be rounded to integers using the usual convention, so that 87.5 will be rounded up to 88 and therefore get an AB, whereas 87.4 will be rounded down to 87 and get a B.

Attendance and participation

Attendance at lectures is strongly recommended. Lecture slides will be made available after lecture, but it will be difficult to interpret them unless you have been at the lecture. You are encouraged to interrupt and ask questions at any point.

Discussion sections will be structured around weekly debates on topics that are related to the readings for the week. Participation will be graded on a scale from zero to four, with one point for attendance, and three more for active and constructive participation.

The Research Paper

Each student will write a research paper of around 4,000 words. The paper should take one of the topics we cover in class as a starting point and develop an argument with both theoretical and empirical aspects. The paper must have four components. First, a question derived from the course, such as “what motivates terrorists,” or “is terrorism successful?” Second, an argument or claim, such as “terrorists are not rational” or “religious motivations are necessary for suicide bombing.” Third, a discussion of the relevant theoretical literature or debate on the question, both supporting your point of view and presenting alternatives. Fourth, a discussion of some empirical cases that support your point of view as opposed to the relevant alternatives. The articles in *International Security* may be taken as role models. The paper must make reference to at least three serious sources not found on the syllabus. By serious we mean either an academic article or book, or a government document.

A suggested outline for your paper is the following.

1. Introduction
 - a. What is the question?
 - i. Why is it important?
 - b. What is your answer or thesis?
 - c. What is your theoretical approach?
 - d. What empirical cases will you discuss?
 - e. Roadmap of the paper.
2. Literature review
 - a. Scholarly literature/debate on the question

- b. Policy debate/reporting on the question (optional)
- 3. Theory section
 - a. Exposition of your theory
 - b. Discussion of alternative theories, and, possibly, why yours is logically better
- 4. Empirical section
 - a. Why these cases are appropriate to assess your question/theory
 - b. Discussion of details of cases, and why they support your thesis/theory better than alternative theories
- 5. Conclusion
 - a. Summary of results
 - b. Broader implications

To help keep you on track towards a good final paper, there will be two interim products due along the way. First will be a one page prospectus of the paper. Second is a first draft that will be a complete, but unpolished, draft of the entire paper. Feedback will be provided by the TA to guide revision of the final paper.

The One Page Prospectus

In order to make sure that your paper is off to a good start, a one page prospectus of your project is due about a month into the course, on the date noted on the course schedule. You should start thinking about your research paper as soon as possible. Scan down the syllabus to look for topics that are interesting and do a little advance reading to investigate them. The prospectus will be worth five points and be graded according to the following rubric.

1. Is the prospectus on time? (According to the schedule below)
2. Is the prospectus correctly formatted? (According to the guidelines below)
3. Does the prospectus clearly articulate the question the paper will seek to answer, and is that question appropriate for the class?
4. Does the prospectus clearly articulate the research plan? (How will the paper answer the question, what cases or countries will you examine, etc.?)
5. Does the prospectus adequately discuss some sources you will make use of? (Some from the syllabus and at least three additional sources not on the syllabus. Sources should be academic articles or books comparable to those on the syllabus.)

Your TA will provide feedback on the prospectus that will help refine your research plan.

The Rough Draft

The rough draft should reflect a substantial amount of research. It should be basically complete, in the sense that there are no large sections totally missing or represented by “discuss al-Shabaab here” sorts of place holders. However, as a rough draft, it can be

unpolished, with some sections more complete than others, and with notes to develop specific ideas or sources further, eg. “find more on Israeli counterinsurgency” or “get more on 19th century anarchists.”

The rough draft is worth ten points. It will be graded according to the following rubric.

Format and Style issues

1. Is the draft on time? (According to the schedule below)
2. Is the draft correctly formatted? (According to the guidelines below, including citation style.)
3. Is the draft clearly structured? (Good introduction, use of sections and headings, etc.)
4. Is the writing clear, with complete, grammatically correct sentences?
5. Does the draft reflect significant work? The basic metric here will be length. The final draft target is 4,000 words. The rough draft should be between 3,500 and 4,500 words.

Content issues

6. Is the question appropriate and clearly articulated?
7. Are the theoretical framework and thesis of the paper clear?
8. Does the draft adequately engage the existing literature on the question? (Does it refer to the relevant literature from the syllabus and at least three additional sources?)
9. Does the draft adequately consider alternative theories or explanations?
10. Does the draft adequately discuss and reflect knowledge of the empirical cases?

Your TA will give you comments on the rough draft that will help you as you work on the final draft.

The Final Paper

The final paper is the polished version of the rough draft. It should be complete and well written, with any holes identified in the rough draft in logic, evidence or connection to the literature filled in.

The final paper is worth 15 points and is graded according to the following rubric. The first ten categories are carried over from the rough draft, and the remaining five are new.

Format and Style issues

1. Is the paper on time? (According to the schedule below)
2. Is the paper correctly formatted? (According to the guidelines below, including citation style.)
3. Is the paper clearly structured? (Good introduction, use of sections and headings, etc.)
4. Is the writing clear, with complete, grammatically correct sentences?

5. Does the paper reflect significant work? The basic metric here will be length. The target is 4,000 words. The paper should be between 3,500 and 4,500 words.

Content issues

6. Is the question appropriate and clearly articulated?
7. Are the theoretical framework and thesis of the paper clear?
8. Does the paper adequately engage the existing literature on the question? (Does it refer to the relevant literature from the syllabus and at least three additional sources?)
9. Does the paper adequately consider alternative theories or explanations?
10. Does the paper discuss and reflect detailed knowledge of the empirical cases?

Quality issues

11. Are the theoretical arguments relatively free from logical gaps?
12. Are alternative explanations or perspectives fairly treated?
13. Does the empirical discussion support the theoretical argument?
14. Have obvious counterexamples that would point the other way been discussed?
15. Is the paper free from tendentious or polemical content?

Format for Written Work

All written work must have a title page including the title of the document (your project title), your name, the date, the name of the class, the professor and TA's names, and the type of assignment it is, (one page prospectus, first draft, or final paper). The pages must be numbered. References are to be done with American Political Science Association (APSA) system. Check out the writing center website for information on this citation style: <http://www.writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/DocAPSA.html>. Make sure to cite specific page numbers so the reader can easily find the source for what you are saying. The last page in the document should be the reference list. It does not count in the word count for the paper. For information on writing and formatting references, see the UW Writing Center website, particularly, their writer's handbook, where you can find information about proper citing and the APSA system.

<https://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/DocAPSA.html>

All documents must be submitted to the appropriate dropbox on the Canvas website for the course. The name of the document must be your last name, followed by 1 for the paper proposal, 2 for the first draft and 3 for the final paper, followed by the relevant document suffix. For instance, Smith's first draft would be named Smith2.docx.

This serves as your notice for proper format and documentation. Documents not meeting these standards will be marked down accordingly with no appeal.

The Final Exam

The final exam will be multiple choice. The exam will cover the entire course and will be closed book. A good way to study for the exam is to make an index card for each reading with the author, title, topic, main argument, who they are arguing against, if anyone, and empirical cases discussed. You will need to know the names of authors and associate them with their arguments for the exam.

The exam location has not yet been scheduled, an announcement will be made in class when we find out.

Course Schedule: Fall 2019

Module	Event	Day	Date	Month
Introduction	Lecture 0 Defining Terrorism	Wednesday	4	September
Module 1: Terrorism Before 1979	Lecture 1.1 Antiquity to the Renaissance	Monday	9	
	Lecture 1.2 France and Russia	Wednesday	11	
	Lecture 1.3 Anarchism	Monday	16	
	Lecture 1.4 The KKK	Wednesday	18	
	Lecture 1.5 Nationalist Terrorism	Monday	23	
	Lecture 1.6 Communism and Fascism	Wednesday	25	
	Lecture 1.7 The New Left Paper Topic Due	Monday	30	
Module 2: Terrorism Since 1979	Lecture 2.1 The Global Terrorism Database	Wednesday	2	October
	Lecture 2.2 Islam and the West	Monday	7	
	Lecture 2.3 The Origins of Islamist Terrorism	Wednesday	9	
	Lecture 2.4 Al Qaida	Monday	14	
	Lecture 2.5 9/11	Wednesday	16	
	Lecture 2.6 The Islamic State	Monday	21	
	Lecture 2.7 Jihad in Africa	Wednesday	23	
	Lecture 2.8 White Nationalism	Monday	28	
	Lecture 2.9 The Great Replacement	Wednesday	30	
Module 3: Motivations, Strategies and Tactics	Lecture 3.1 Motivations	Monday	4	November
	Lecture 3.2 Strategies of Terrorism	Wednesday	6	
	Lecture 3.3 Suicide Terrorism	Monday	11	
	Lecture 3.4 WMD	Wednesday	13	
	Lecture 3.5 Does Terrorism Work?	Monday	18	
Module 4: Counter- Terrorism	Lecture 4.1 The Cost of Terrorism Paper Rough Draft Due	Wednesday	20	December
	Lecture 4.2 Non-Military Means	Monday	25	
	No Class (Thanksgiving)	Wednesday	27	
	Lecture 4.3 Regime Change	Monday	2	
	Lecture 4.4 Drones and Assassination	Wednesday	4	
	Lecture 4.5 Torture	Monday	9	
	Lecture 4.6 Civil Liberties	Wednesday	11	
Final Deadlines	Final Exam Time: 12:25 pm to 2:25 pm Location: TBA	Monday	16	
	Final Paper Due Time: Noon	Wednesday	18	

Lectures and Readings

Introduction

Lecture 0 Introduction and Definition of Terrorism

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Introduction.
- Connor Huff and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. How the Public Defines Terrorism. *American Journal of Political Science*. 62(1) 55-71.

Module 1: Terrorism before 1979

Lecture 1.1 Terrorism from Antiquity to the Renaissance

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapters 1-3.
- David C. Rapoport, 1984. Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions. *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677.

Lecture 1.2 Revolutionary Terrorism: France and Russia

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapters 4, 5.
- David C. Rapoport. 2004. The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism. In *Attacking Terrorism*, edited by Audrey Cronin and James Ludes. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Lecture 1.3 Anarchy in the UK, USA, France, etc.

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapters 6, 7.

Lecture 1.4 The KKK

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapter 8.

Lecture 1.5 Nationalist Terrorism

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapter 9, 11, 12

Lecture 1.6 The Return of State Terror: Communism and Fascism

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapter 10.

Lecture 1.7 The New Left and State Responses

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapter 13.

Module 2: Terrorism Since 1979

Lecture 2.1 Global Terrorism

- LaFree, Gary. Global Terrorism Database (GTD): Accomplishments and Challenges. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(1): 24-46.

Lecture 2.2 Islam and the West

- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*: Chapters 1, 4.

Lecture 2.3 The Origins of Jihad

- Law, Randall. *Terrorism: A History*. Chapter 14.

Lecture 2.4 Al Qaida

- Bin Laden, Osama. 1996. "Declaration of Jihad."
- Bin Laden, Osama. 1998. "The World Islamic Front."
- Bin Laden, Osama. 2002. "To the Americans."
- The 9/11 Commission Report. Chapters 2, 4-6.

Lecture 2.5 September 11, 2001

- The 9/11 Commission Report. Chapters 1, 7, 8.

Lecture 2.6 The Islamic State

- Alexandra A. Siegen and Joshua A. Tucker. 2018. The Islamic State's information warfare: Measuring the Success of ISIS's online strategy. *Journal of Language and Politics* 17(2): 258-280.

Lecture 2.7 Islamist Terrorism in Africa

- James A. Falode. 2016. The Nature of Nigeria's Boko Haram War: 2010-2015 A Strategic Analysis. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10(1): 41-52.
- Christopher Anzalone. 2018. Black Banners in Somalia: The State of al-Shabaab's Territorial Insurgency and the Specter of the Islamic State. *CTCSentinel* 11(3).

Lecture 2.8 White Nationalism

- Powell, Enoch. 1968. "Birmingham speech."
- Pierce, William. 1978. *The Turner Diaries*. Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, 27, 28, Epilogue.

Lecture 2.9 The Great Replacement

- David Lane. "14 Words."
- Whitaker, Robert. "The Mantra."
- Breivik, Anders, "2083 A European Declaration of Independence." Pages 8-25, 30-33, Sections 2.93, 3.13, 3.17, 3.23, 3.44
- Roof, Dylan, Manifesto.
- Tarrant, Brenton. "The Great Replacement", pages 1-22, 33.
- Crusius, Patrick. "The Inconvenient Truth."

Module 3: Motivations, Strategies, and Tactics

Lecture 3.1 Motivations: Political Economy vs. Sacred Values

- Krieger, Tim and Daniel Meierrieks. 2011. What Causes Terrorism? *Public Choice* 147: 3-27.
- Atran, Scott. 2016. The Devoted Actor: Unconditional Commitment and Intractable Conflict across Cultures. *Current Anthropology* 57(13) 192-203.
- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*: Chapter 2.

Lecture 3.2 The Strategic Approach

- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1):49-80.

Lecture 3.3 Suicide Terrorism

- Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97 (3):343-61.
- Bloom, Mia. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 2008. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security* 33 (3):46-78.
- Bradley A. Thayer and Valerie M. Hudson. 2010. Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism. *International Security* 34(4): 37-62
- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*: Chapter 5.

Lecture 3.4 Terrorism with WMD

- Lieber, Keir A. and Daryl G. Press. 2013. Why States Won't Give Nuclear Weapons to Terrorists. *International Security* 38 (1), pp. 80-104.
- McIntosh, Christopher and Ian Storey. 2018. Between Acquisition and Use: Assessing the Likelihood of Nuclear Terrorism. *International Studies Quarterly* 62(2): 289-300.
- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*: Chapter 6.

Lecture 3.5 Does Terrorism Work?

- Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31 (2):42-78.
- Rose, William, Rysia Murphy and Max Abrahms. 2007. "Does Terrorism Ever Work? The 2004 Madrid Train Bombings." *International Security* 32(1): 185-192.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3): 519-556.

Module 4 Counterterrorism

Lecture 4.1 The Cost of Terrorism

- Mueller, John and Mark G. Stewart. 2012. "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11." *International Security*. 37(1): 81-110.

Lecture 4.2 Non-Military Approaches

- Jessica Stern. 2010. Mind over Martyr: How to Deradicalize Islamist Extremists. *Foreign Affairs* 89(1): 95-108.
- Yara Bayoumy and Katy Gilsinian. 2019. A Reformed White Nationalist Says the Worst is Yet to Come. *The Atlantic Monthly*. August 6, 2019.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. Terrorism and Democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science* 16:355-378.
- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Chapters 7,8.*

Lecture 4.3 War, Regime Change, Occupation and Counterinsurgency

- Monica Duffy Toft and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2015. Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus. *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 222-238.
- Downes, Alexander B. and Lindsey O'Rourke. 2016. You Can't Always Get What You Want: Why Foreign Imposed Regime Change Seldom Improves Interstate Relations. *International Security* 41(3) 42-89.

Lecture 4.4 Drone Strikes and Assassination

- Patrick B. Johnston and Anoop K. Sarbahi. 2016. The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan. *International Studies Quarterly* 60: 203-219.
- Aqil Shah. 2018. Do U.S. Drone Strikes Cause Blowback? Evidence from Pakistan and Beyond. *International Security* 42(4): 47-84.

Lecture 4.5 The Torture Debate

- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Chapter 10.

Lecture 4.6 Surveillance and Civil Liberties

- Bergen, Peter, and David Sterman, Emily Schneider and Bailey Cahall. 2014. "Do NSA's Bulk Surveillance Programs Stop Terrorists?" New America Foundation.
- Richard A. Clarke, Michael J. Morell, Geoffrey R. Stone, Cass R. Sunstein and Peter Swire. Liberty and Security in a Changing World: Report and Recommendations of the President's Review Group on Intelligence and Communications Technologies.
- Gottlieb, Stuart. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Chapter 11.