Dr. Bettina Koch Department of Political Science Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Course description:

The course aims at students with an interest in political theory and at students primarily interested in Security or Peace and Conflict Studies. First, it explores discourses on different forms of violence: Warfare, terror(ism), torture, structural, ethnic, and religious violence. Is there a particular link between religion and violence as it has been as often claimed as disputed? Is there a difference between what is usually phrased as "religious" and "political" violence? How do they relate to structural or ethnic violence? Does the use of violence depend on particular regime types? What difference does it make whether the actor is a state or a non-state actor (individual citizens or movements)? How are these concepts related to the (violent) actions' legitimacy? And under what circumstances may violent actions be legitimate?

Second, after exploring the theoretical foundations on violence, the course applies the theoretical discourses as an analytical tool to a variety of case studies. The cases studies to be explored depend on the students' interests and backgrounds. Thus the course seeks for the interaction of discourses in political theory with related subfields in political science such as peace and conflict studies or security studies.

Student Responsibilities and Course Requirements:

Course Requirements

10%
40%
20%
10%
20%

Essay

Each student is expected to complete one (approximately 7-10 pages). The short essay is designed to allow for an early exploration of the research paper's topic. Particular attention should be given to formal criteria of essay writing such as a well-defined research question, the argument's consistency, introduction, and conclusion. The essay is meant as a tool to internalize requirements of a research essay and eventually to help you getting started on the research paper. The essay should build on the readings we have discussed during the first six weeks of class.

Research Paper

Students who are enrolled in the seminar will write an 20-25 page research paper (40%). Students are free to write on any topic related to the course but the paper must relate directly to the themes of the seminar and address. The final essay needs to have a clearly defines research question; documentation must be consistent and in accordance with academic standards. The research paper can build on the previous essay.

Weekly Responses

Students are expected to write critical responses of one page maximum (double-spaced, typed) on the assigned readings. The critical responses are meant to foster discussion of the texts. Do not summarize. Rather, problematize an aspect of the reading you like to explore further, you find of particular interest (explain why), or you object to (explain why). The weekly responses are due in class as hardcopy. Summaries without any critical reflection are at best B work.

Presentation

Students are expected to make one presentation during the course of the semester (10%). This presentation should be a critical engagement (NOT simply a summary although some summary of the main arguments will be required) with one of the core readings. The presentation should last about 10 minutes. The presenter is advised to distribute a handout that could also be a collection of controversial quotations taken from the reading. The presenter will be responsible for initiating and moderating a class discussion for a further 20 minutes.

Participation

Students are expected to be current with the reading assignments (readings not in the required textbooks are available on Scholar under Resources). The course is designed as a seminar. There will be no formal lectures, but rather the primary classroom work will be discussion of the assigned reading for the week. The professor will facilitate and direct discussion, and sometimes offer relevant background or conceptual information. Each student will be expected to contribute on a weekly basis to the debate and interchange within the class. Participation will be graded on the level, quality, and frequency of participation.

Further student responsibilities

Many of the ideas that we will discuss can be politically volatile. Please keep an open mind and maintain a tolerant attitude toward the philosophical materials being read as well as those individuals who might express ideas in class that differ from your own. This is part of the educational process.

All students are required to attend classes regularly, to be prepared for class discussion, and to participate actively in our class discussions. Every kind of entertainment, which is not related to the class, is not accepted – please refrain from using iPods/Pads, MP3 players, laptop computers, etc. Mobile phones must be switched off during class.

The Virginia Tech Honor Code will be strictly enforced in this course. All assignments submitted shall be considered graded work, unless otherwise noted. All aspects of your coursework are covered by the Honor System. Any suspected violations of the Honor Code will be promptly reported to the Honor System. Honesty in your academic work will develop into professional integrity. The faculty and students of Virginia Tech will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty.

A note on email communication: During the week, one can expect to receive a response to an email inquiry within 24 hours; however, it might take longer over the weekend. A number of issues, particular those involving confidential or sensitive information, might be better discussed during office hours or by appointment than by email. For legal reasons, I cannot discuss any grades related issues via email. For excused absences, provide the necessary documentation (documented medical excuse or a note from the Dean of Students Office).

If you need adaptation or accommodations because of a disability, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need special arrangements in the case the building must be evacuated, please make an appointment with me as soon as possible.

Bring your texts to class!

Grade Scale 100-93: A 92.99-90: A 89.99-86: B+ 85.99-83: B 82.99-80: B 79.99-76: C+ 75.99-73: C 72.99-70: C 69.99-66: D+ 65.99-63: D 62.99-60: D

Required books:

- Goodin, R.E. (2006). *What's Wrong with Terrorism?* Cambridge: Polity. ISBN 978-0745634982.
- Grann, D. (2018). *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI*. New York: Doubleday. ISBN 978-0307742483.
- Greene, G (2004). *The Quiet American*. London: Penguin. ISBN 978-0143039020.
- Walzer, M. (2015). *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. New York: Basic Books. ISBN 978-0465052714.

All further required readings as listed in the syllabus will be made available through the library's reserve system.

Week 1: Introduction to the course

Reading: Mider, D. (2013). The Anatomy of Violence: A Study of the Literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 18, 702–708. Gómez, J. M., M. Verdú, A. González-Megías, and M. Méndez (2016). The phylogenetic roots of human lethal violence. *Nature* 538, 233–237.

Week 2: Cold War Violence

Reading: Greene, G. (2004). *The Quiet American*. London: Penguin.

Week 3: Just & Unjust Wars

Reading: Walzer, M. (2006). *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. 4th ed. New York: Basic Books, part I & II.

Week 4: Varieties of Warfare

Reading: Walzer, M. (2006). *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. 4th ed. New York: Basic Books, part IV & V.

Week 5: Terror(ism) and Just War Theory

Reading: Duquette, D. (2007). From Rights to Realism: Incoherence in Walzer's Conception of *Jus in bello*. In S.P. Lee (Ed.), *Intervention, Terrorism, and Torture: Contemporary Challenges to Just War Theory* (pp. 41–57) Dordrecht: Springer. Goodin, R.E. (2006). *What's Wrong with Terrorism?* Cambridge: Polity, Chap. 1-3.

Week 6: Acts and Actors of Terrorism

Reading: Goodin, R.E. (2006). What's Wrong with Terrorism? Cambridge: Polity, Chap, 4-7.

Week 7: Terror & Torture

Reading: Waldron, J. (2010). *Torture, Terror, and Trade-Offs: Philosophy for the White House*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chap 3. Shue, H. (1978). Torture. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 7 (2), 124-143.

Week 8: Violence, Counter-Violence, & Liberation

Reading: Dussel, E. (2013). *Ethics of Liberation: In the Age of Globalization and Exclusion*. Durham: Duke University Press, Chap. 6.

Week 9: Structural Violence

Reading: Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3), 167-191. Farmer, P. (2004). An Anthropology of Structural Violence. *Current Anthropology*, 45 (3), 305-325. Beyer, C. (2008), *Violent Globalisms: Conflict in Response to Empire*. Aldershot: Ashgate, Chap. 4.

Week 10: Ethnic Violence

Reading: Oberschall, A. (2007). *Conflict and Peace Building in Divided Societies: Responses to Ethnic Violence*. London: Routledge, Chap. 1. Vanhanen, T. (2012). Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Heterogeneous Societies. *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 37 (1), 38-66. Tang, S. (2011). The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict: Toward a Dynamic and Integrative Theory of Ethnic Conflict. *Review of International Studies*, 37, 511–536.

Week 11: Religion & Violence

Reading: Kippenberg, H.G. (2011). *Violence as Worship: Religious Wars in the Age of Globalization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, chap. 1&2. Abdullah, M.A. (2007). Introductory Elaboration on the Roots of Religious Violence: The Complexity of Islamic Radicalism. In H.M. Barth, Christoph Elsas (Eds.), *Innerer Friede und die Überwindung der Gewalt: Religiöse Traditionen auf dem Prüfstand. V. Internationales Rudolf-Otto Symposion, Marburg* (pp. 150-158) Hamburg: EB-Verlag.

Week 12: Case Study I—Ethnic Structural Violence

Reading: Grann, D. (2018). *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI*. New York: Doubleday.

Week 13: Case Study II

Reading: To be assigned.

Week 15: Case Study III

Reading: To be assigned.

Week 15: Summary of the course

Students will have the opportunity to discuss the topics of their research papers with their fellow students and the instructor.

Selected Bibliography:

Abdullah, M.A. (2007). Introductory Elaboration on the Roots of Religious Violence: The Complexity of Islamic Radicalism. In H.M. Barth, Christoph Elsas (Eds.), *Innerer Friede und die Überwindung der Gewalt: Religiöse Traditionen auf dem Prüfstand. V. Internationales Rudolf-Otto Symposion, Marburg* (pp. 150-158) Hamburg: EB-Verlag.

Abou el Fadl, K. (2001). *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ahmad, A.A. (2009). *Islam, Modernity, Violence, and Everyday Life*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Arat, Y. (2013). Violence, Resistance, and Gezi Park. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45 (4), 807-809.

Arendt, H. (1970). On Violence. Orlando: Harcourt Brace.

Assmann, H. (1991). The Strange Imputation of Violence to Liberation Theology. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, (3/4), 80-99.

Barber, B.R. (2003). Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism, and Democracy. New York: Norton.

Beyer, C. (2008), Violent Globalism: Conflict in Response to Empire. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Campos, N.F., & Gassebner, M. (2013). International Terrorism, Domestic Political Instability, and the Escalation Effect. *Economics & Politics*, 25 (1), 27-47.

Duquette, D. (2007). From Rights to Realism: Incoherence in Walzer's Conception of *Jus in bello*. In S.P. Lee (Ed.), *Intervention, Terrorism, and Torture: Contemporary Challenges to Just War Theory* (pp. 41–57) Dordrecht: Springer.

Dussel, E. (2013). *Ethics of Liberation: In the Age of Globalization and Exclusion*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Farmer, P. (2004). An Anthropology of Structural Violence. *Current Anthropology*, 45 (3), 305-325.

Galicki, Z. (2005). International Law and Terrorism. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 48 (6), 743-757.

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3), 167-191.

Gehring, V.V. (Ed.) (2003). War After September 11. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Goldstone, B. (2007). Violence and the Profane: Islamism, Liberal Democracy, and the Limits of Secular Discipline. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 80 (1), 207-235.

Gómez, J. M., M. Verdú, A. González-Megías, and M. Méndez (2016). "The phylogenetic roots of human lethal violence." *Nature* 538, 233–237.

Grand, S. (2008). Sacrificial Bodies: Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism, Torture. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, (18), 671-689.

Grann, D. (2017). *Killers of the Flower Moon: The Osage Murders and the Birth of the FBI*. New York: Doubleday.

Greenberg, K.J. (Ed.) (2006). *The Torture Debate in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Greene, G. (2004). *The Quiet American*. London: Penguin.

Hegghammer, T. (2010). *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Held, D. (2002) "Violence, Law, and Justice in a Global Age". *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory* 9 (1), 74-88.

Jackson, R., Murphy, E., & Poynting, S. (Eds.) (2010). *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

Jefferis, J.L. (2010). *Religion and Political Violence: Sacred Protest in the Modern World.* London: Routledge.

Jukka, G., & Hilppö, J. (1970). Violence, Ethics and Politics. *Journal of Peace Research*, 7 (4), 311-320. Kippenberg, H.G. (2011). *Violence as Worship: Religious Wars in the Age of Globalization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Koch, B. (2015). *Patterns Legitimizing Political Violence in Transcultural Perspectives: Islamic and Christian Traditions and Legacies.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Koch, B., (Ed.) (2016). State Terror, State Violence: Global Perspectives. Wiesbaden: SpringerVS.

Lee, S.P. (Ed.) (2007). *Intervention, Terrorism, and Torture: Contemporary Challenges to Just War Theory*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Lusthaus, J. (2011). Religion and State Violence: Legitimation in Israel, the USA and Iran. *Contemporary Politics*, 17 (1), 1–17.

Lynch, C. (2000). Acting on Belief: Christian Perspectives on Suffering and Violence. *Ethics & International Affair*, 14 (14), 83 - 97.

Madriz, E. (2001). Terrorism and Structural Violence. Social Justice, 28 (3), 45-46.

Meisels, T. (2009). Defining Terrorism - A Typology. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, (12: 3), 331-351.

Meisels, T. (2008). *The Trouble with Terror: Liberty, Security, and the Response to Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mider, D. (2013). The Anatomy of Violence: A Study of the Literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 18, 702–708.

Mishali-Ram, M. (2008). Afghanistan: A Legacy of Violence? Internal and External Factors of the Enduring Violent Conflict. *Comparative Studies in South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 28 (3), 473-486.

Neumann, P.R., & Smith, M. (2008). *The Strategy of Terrorism: How it Works, and Why it Fails*. Oxon: Routledge.

Parsons, K.A. (2007). Structural Violence and Power. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 19 (2), 173–181.

Oberschall, A. (2007). *Conflict and Peace Building in Divided Societies: Responses to Ethnic Violence*. London: Routledge.

Robinson, K.K., Edward M. Crenshaw, J. Craig Jenkins. (2006). Ideologies of Violence: The Social Origins of Islamist and Leftist Transnational Terrorism. *Social Forces*, 84 (4), 2009-2026.

Ross, M.H. (1986). A Cross-Cultural Theory of Political Conflict and Violence. *Political Psychology*, 7 (3), 427-469.

Shue, H. (1978). Torture. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 7 (2), 124-143.

Tang, S. (2011). The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict: Toward a Dynamic and Integrative Theory of Ethnic Conflict. *Review of International Studies*, 37, 511–536.

Tilly, C. (2004). Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists. Sociological Theory, 22 (1), 5-13.

Vanhanen, T. (2012). Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Heterogeneous Societies. *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 37 (1), 38-66.

Vorobej, M. (2008). Structural Violence. *Peace Research*, 40 (2), 84-98.

Waldron, J. (2010). *Torture, Terror, and Trade-Offs: Philosophy for the White House*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.