

## **POLS 472 – State Terror**<sup>1</sup>

Spring 2014, Section 001

Burnett Hall (BURN) 119

Monday, Wednesday, Friday: 12:30pm-1:20pm

January 13, 2014 to May 9, 2014

Instructor: Matthew Morehouse

Office: Oldfather Hall 522

Office Hours: Fridays 1:25pm to 2:25pm, and by appointment

Email: [morehousema1@huskers.unl.edu](mailto:morehousema1@huskers.unl.edu)

This course examines the issue of state terror from a purely empirical perspective. The course is divided into four sections. In the first section, we will be learning the methods appropriate to the study of political phenomena, along with issues relating to empirically studying the issue of state terror. In the second section, we will be examining the causes of state terror. In the third section, we will be looking into a series of case examples of state terror. In the final section of the course, we will be investigating how state terror ends, how it is responded to, and how it may be prevented.

### **Important Dates to Keep in Mind:**

Syllabus Quiz 01-15

Research Question: 01-24

Draft Bibliography: 02-14

First Exam: 03-07

Research Design: 3-17

Second Exam: 04-25

Research Paper: 05-09

Extra Credit: 05-09

### **Required Texts**

Anna Funder, *Stasiland: Stories from behind the Berlin Wall*.

Janet Buttolph Johnson & H.T. Reynolds, *Political Science Research Methods* (7<sup>th</sup> ed).

*You will also be required to read all assigned articles, and watch all documentaries presented in class.*

---

<sup>1</sup> The instructor reserves the right to change (and/or) modify this syllabus, class date, subject matter, the timing of exams, etcetera, at any time.

## Grading

2 Exams: 40% (20% each)  
Research Question: 4%  
Draft Bibliography: 5%  
Research Design: 10%  
Research Paper: 40%  
Syllabus Quiz: 1%

Letter grades are calculated as follows:

97-100 = A+            94-96.9 = A            90-93.9 = A-, etc.

**Note:** Rounding up is not automatic. Factors that make rounding up more likely include: not missing class, attending office hours, and improved work throughout the semester.

## Class Policies

In order to pass this course, you will need to come to class because not all of the questions on the exams will come from the readings. If you need to be absent for a legitimate reason, you need to email me prior to class. **Everyone is allowed one unexcused absence. Every subsequent unexcused absence will result in a reduction in their final grade by a whole letter grade.** For example, an “A” will be taken down to a “B” if there is one additional unexcused absence, down to a “C” if there are two additional unexcused absences, etcetera.

**If there is a personal condition you have which may cause you to miss class or be late in turning in assignments, you need to inform me of this before January 22nd so we can make any necessary adjustments to assist you in having the best experience possible.**

In the words of UNL, “Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact the instructor for a confidential discussion of their individual needs for academic accommodation. It is the policy of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln to provide flexible and individualized accommodation to students with documented disabilities that may affect their ability to fully participate in course activities or to meet course requirements. **To receive accommodation services, students must be registered with the Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) office, 132 Canfield Administration, 472-3787 voice or TTY.**”

## Exams

There are two exams in this course. Each exam will account for 20% of your final grade. Hence, the two exams combined will make up 40% of your final grade. The exams will consist of short answers and essay questions. Exam questions will come from the books, articles, lectures, and the things we discuss in class. If you come to class and do the readings, you should be well prepared for the exams. **The final exam is not cumulative.**

Hats, headphones, electronics, and water bottles are to be placed in your backpack or under your chair during the exams. You will not be allowed to talk during the exams, except if

you are asking me a question or are having a health emergency. It is too difficult to distinguish inconsequential talking from cheating. Furthermore, it is disrespectful and disruptive to your classmates. Anyone who talks during an exam will receive a 0 for that portion of the final grade.

### **Makeup Policy for Exams**

I expect you to take each test as scheduled. Should you have a verifiable medical emergency or University sanctioned activity (and can document it) I will arrange for a makeup exam.

**Note:** if you will need to take a makeup exam, you must notify me **before** the exam is given or you will get a 0. E-mail is fine for this. **Note: All make up exams are oral.**

### **Grading Policy for Exams**

I am responsible for grading the exams. Should you have a question about how something was scored and would like us to reconsider your grade, you may proceed as follows: 1) **After waiting a minimum of 24 hours from the time you get your exam back, email me about it;** 2) if the dialogue between us did not produce a satisfactory result, inform me that you would like to dispute the score; 3) the exam is re-graded by another faculty member who regularly teaches POLS 472; whatever score the second grader gives you is final, whether it goes up or down.

### **Writing Assignment**

In addition to the exams, you will write a research paper that will help you exercise your research skills, and allow you to synthesize the information you have learned in class. In addition, this assignment will familiarize you with the methods used in political science research. Handouts will be handed out at the appropriate times. **All writing assignments must be turned in to Safe Assign on Blackboard, as well as being submitted as a hardcopy on the date the assignment is due. You WILL NOT receive a grade on an assignment until it has been submitted to Safe Assign.**

Your research paper will focus on a research question appropriate to the scope of the course. **All research questions must be approved by me.** The **first stage** of this project involves the selection of a research question. **See the Research Question Handout on Blackboard for further details.** Your research question will be the basis of the research design and a 12 to 15 page research paper. The research question assignment is **due on January 24<sup>th</sup>.**

The **second stage** is to create a draft bibliography, which is **due on February 14th.** Your bibliography must contain at least 10 substantive sources, which include books, chapters in books, journal articles, and analytical reports from think-tanks (e.g., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Rand Corporation) and specialist organizations (e.g., Human Rights Watch, the International Crisis Group). For a source to be considered substantive, it must be at least five pages in length. I expect students to perform exhaustive research. Use the library's search engines (e.g., Project Muse, Academic Search Premier, and JSTOR, Wilson OmniFile) to find

journal articles. All bibliographies must include a variety of sources. **Instructions for this are in the Draft Bibliography Handout on Blackboard.**

The **third stage** is to create a research design, which is **due on March 17<sup>th</sup>**. The purpose of this assignment is to help you conduct further research in a structured manner. This is also a failsafe in case I find that something in your design would be unworkable. **Instructions on how to complete this are in the Research Design Handout on Blackboard.**

The **final stage** is to write a research paper of 12-15 pages in length (See the **Research Project Handout on Blackboard for instructions**). **The research paper is due in class (and on Safe Assign on Blackboard) on Friday, May 9<sup>th</sup> 2013 at 10:00am.**

### Extra Credit

Hey, stuff happens. You may get sick and not do well on a test, be concerned about your grade, etcetera. So, in order to help you make up for any losses in your grades, you can get extra credit. You can write *up to two* 2-page (double-spaced) papers on a movie or TV show related to international relations. Your paper must examine how the movie or TV show portrayed one or more of the topics covered in class. Was it accurate? Or, was it Hollywood? **DO NOT WRITE A SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE FILM OR TV SHOW.** *You will not receive credit on the assignment if you do that.* A list of relevant movies and TV shows appears on the course Blackboard page under Course Documents. If a movie or TV show you would like to use does not appear on Blackboard, ask me for approval. Each extra credit paper is worth up to 2% of your final grade (ie. if you have an 89 in the course, and do two extra credit papers, you would have a 93 in the course). Again, all writing assignments must be turned in to Safe Assign on Blackboard, as well as being submitted as a hardcopy on the date the assignment is due. **Extra credit is not reflected in your grade on Blackboard, but it will be added to your final grade, which will be posted on MyRed.** Extra Credit is due no later than at 10:00am Friday, May 9<sup>th</sup> 2014. NO EXCEPTIONS! If you think you might have a printer problem or get pulled into a quantum singularity....get it done early!

### Academic Dishonesty/Civilities

Neither plagiarism nor cheating will be tolerated in this class. Such activities violate *Section 4.2 of UNL's Student Code of Conduct*. **You will be expected to cite the works of authors whose work and ideas you use.** Use the American Psychological Association (APA) format for your in-text citations and reference page. An online guide on how to use this format is available at the following location: <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/560/01/>. If you have any questions concerning the proper citation of sources or use of published content, please contact me or the university writing resource center. Again, no hats are to be worn during exams. No electronic devices or notes of any kind are permitted during exams. Exams are closed book, closed notes. **Any student engaging in dishonest activities will receive an immediate failing grade for the class and will be reported to the Dean.**

Considering that this is a political science course, it is safe to assume that potentially

controversial topics may be covered during class. Students must remember that they are studying political *science*, and must, therefore, behave in a scholarly manner. *You are being trained as a scholar, not a political apologist. Proper and civil discourse is a necessity. In conclusion, it is the goal of the instructor to create a safe and open learning community in the classroom. Ad hominem attacks (attacking an opponent's character rather than answering his argument) in the class are prohibited. Inflammatory/disparaging statements regarding race, ethnicity, religion, creed, national origin, political orientation, gender, sexual orientation, etcetera are prohibited. Students are expected to treat each other with respect. Everyone will receive a warning for their first offense. However, there will be a whole letter grade reduction of their final course grade for each subsequent offense.*

### Some Advice

There are several ways you can make this course a success for your personal development and grade point average. First, read and study efficiently. Highlight important terms and ideas, make notes in your book, outline, etcetera. Second, when you are reading, try to think of potential essay questions, and then figure out how you might answer them. Finally, come speak with me (or email me) if you have any questions or concerns about the assignments, readings, etcetera.

**In regards to the readings, I highly recommend you do the following.** For each reading, make a note of the research question, the data and methods used, and the main findings. In addition, take note of any concerns or criticisms you have of the readings. This will help you be well prepared for both class and the exams. **Part of the intent of this course is to prepare you for stepping up into higher levels of education.** When you read an article, make a note of the key question the researcher(s) are interested in, the methods they use to answer those questions, and whether you think they are making good choices or not. You should also take note that many sections feature a proponent of an idea, and a critic of that idea. Pay attention to how critics address the issues and ideas being discussed.

### Late Work Policy

I advise you to turn in assignments on time and take exams on the day they are administered. **Late assignments are accepted at a penalty of 10 points per 24 hours**, beginning the exact moment after I collect them in class. In other words, if you hand in something that is collected on Monday at 12:30pm, anytime from Monday at 12:31pm until Tuesday at 11:29am - that is a 10 point penalty you will pay. If you turn it in at 12:30pm on Tuesday, that is a 20-point penalty. The penalties only go to a total of 50 points, so if you are way late, you should still hand in the paper and get some credit for your work. It does make a difference.

## Course Assignments and Schedule

- January 13:                   **Introduction to POLS 472 and Key Theories of IR and CP**  
Read: The syllabus
- January 15:                   **Methods for Studying International Politics I**  
*Syllabus Quiz*  
Read: Johnson & Reynolds, pp. xxvii, 1-5, 33-59, 102-106 (36 pp)
- January 17:                   **Methods for Studying International Politics II**  
Read: Geddes, “How the cases you choose affect the answers you get” (18 pp)  
Gerring, “What is a case study and what is it good for?” (14 pp)
- January 20:                   No Class: Martin Luther King Jr. Day**
- \*\*\*January 21: Last day to drop a full semester course and receive a 100% refund\*\*\***
- January 22:                   **Methods for Studying International Politics III**  
Jackman, “Cross-National Statistical Research and the Study of Comparative Politics” (22 pp)  
Statistical Interpretation Handout (4 pp)
- January 24:                   **How to Study State Terror? I**  
Brysk, “The Politics of Measurement: The Contested Count of the Disappeared in Argentina” (16 pp)  
Tilly, “Terror, terrorism, terrorists” (9 pp)  
Wilkinson, “Can a state be “terrorist” (6 pp)  
**DUE: Research Question**
- \*\*\*January 24: Last day to drop a full semester course and receive a 75% refund\*\*\***  
**\*\*\*January 24: Last day to file a drop to remove course from student's record\*\*\***
- \*January 25: All course withdrawals noted with a grade of “W” on academic record\***
- January 27:                   **How to Study State Terror? II**  
Wood & Gibney, “The Political Terror Scale (PTS): A Re-introduction and a Comparison to CIRI” (33 pp)  
Davenport & Ball, “Views to a Kill: Exploring the Implications of Source Selection in the Case of Guatemalan State Terror, 1977-1995” (23 pp)

January 29: **Why do states use terror and repression? I**  
Conrad & Demerit, “Constrained by the bank and the ballot: Unearned revenue, democracy, and state incentives to repress” (16 pp)  
Krain, “State-sponsored Mass Murder: The Onset and Severity of Genocides and Politicides” (29 pp)

**\*January 31: Last day to withdraw from a full semester course and receive a 50% refund\***

January 31: **Why do states use terror and repression? II**  
Maher & Peterson, “Time and Country Variation in Contentious Politics: Multilevel Modeling of Dissent and Repression” (29 pp)  
Pion-Berlin, “Theories on Political Repression in Latin America: Wisdom and an Alternative” (8 pp)

February 3: **Why do states use terror and repression? III**  
Colarei & Carey, “To Kill or to Protect Security Forces, Domestic Institutions, and Genocide” (18 pp)  
Harff & Gurr, “Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies” (29 pp)

February 5: **Why do states use terror and repression? IV**  
Goldsmith et al, “Forecasting the onset of genocide and politicide: Annual out-of-sample forecasts on a global dataset, 1988 -2003” (16 pp)  
Wayman & Tago, Explaining the onset of mass killing, 1949-87 (11 pp)  
Zanger, “A Global Analysis of the Effect of Political Regime Changes on Life Integrity Violations, 1977–93” (22 pp)

**\*February 7: Last day to withdraw from a full semester course and receive 25% refund\***

February 7: **Why do states use terror and repression? V**  
Tir & Jasinski, “Domestic-Level Diversionary Theory of War: Targeting Ethnic Minorities” (24 pp)  
Bell et al, “Coercion, capacity, and coordination: Predictors of political violence” (23 pp)

February 10: **Why do states use terror and repression? VI**  
Carey, “The Dynamic Relationship between Protest and Repression” (11 pp)  
Gartner & Regan, “Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear Relationship between Government and Opposition Violence” (15 pp)  
Moore, “The Repression of Dissent: A Substitution Model of Government Coercion (21 pp)

- February 12: **Why do states use terror and repression? VII**  
 Shellman, "Leaders' Motivations and Actions: Explaining Government-Dissident Conflict-Cooperation Processes" (18 pp)  
 Sullivan, "Blood in the Village: A Local-Level Investigation of State Massacres" (24 pp)
- February 14: **Why do states use terror and repression? VIII**  
 Rummel, "Democracy, Power, Genocide, and Mass Murder" (24 pp)  
 Ritter, "Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression" (26 pp)  
**Due: Draft Bibliography**
- February 17: **Nazi Germany I**  
 Gellately, "Rethinking the Nazi Terror System: A Historiographical Analysis" (15 pp)  
 Gellately, "The Gestapo and German Society: Political Denunciation in the Gestapo Case Files" (40 pp)
- February 19: **Nazi Germany II**  
 Richards, "Terror and the Law" (14 pp)  
 Loeffel, "*Sippenhaft*, Terror and Fear in Nazi Germany: Examining One Facet of Terror in the Aftermath of the Plot of 20 July 1944" (18 pp)  
 Wheatcroft, "The Scale and Nature of German and Soviet Repression and Mass Killings, 1930-45" (34 pp)
- February 21: **Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc I**  
 Ellman, "Stalin and the Soviet Famine of 1932-33 Revisited" (31 pp)  
 Ellman, "Regional Influences on the Formulation and Implementation of NKVD Order 00447" (17 pp)
- February 24: **Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc II**  
 Weiner, "Robust Revolution to Retiring Revolution: The Life Cycle of the Soviet Revolution, 1945-1968" (23 pp)  
 Siegel, "Ideologic Learning under Conditions of Social Enslavement: The Case of the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s" (39 pp)  
 Kuromiya, "Stalinist terror in the Donbas: A Note" (6 pp)
- February 26: **Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc III**  
 Funder, "*Stasiland: Stories from behind the Berlin Wall*"
- February 28: **Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc IV**  
 Funder, "*Stasiland: Stories from behind the Berlin Wall*"



- March 3: **Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc V**  
Funder, “*Stasiland: Stories from behind the Berlin Wall*”
- March 5: Research Day – No Class
- \*\*\*March 7: Last day to change a course registration to or from “Pass/No Pass”\*\*\***
- March 7: **Exam 1**
- March 10: **The Cultural Revolution**  
Harding, “Reappraising the Cultural Revolution” (11 pp)  
Schoenhals, ““Why Don't We Arm the Left?" Mao's Culpability for the Cultural Revolution's "Great Chaos" of 1967” (23 pp)
- March 12: **Latin America and the Southern Cone I**  
McSherry, “Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor” (22 pp)  
McSherry, “Military Power, Impunity and State-Society Change in Latin America” (26 pp)
- March 14: **Latin America and the Southern Cone II**  
Buchanan, “The Varied Faces of Domination: State Terror, Economic Policy, and Social Rupture during the Argentine "Proceso," 1976-81” (47 pp)  
Smallman, “The Professionalization of Military Terror in Brazil, 1945-1964” (12 pp)
- March 17: **Latin America and the Southern Cone III**  
Pion-Berlin & Lopez, “Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1975-1979” (23 pp)  
Petras, “The Anatomy of State Terror: Chile, El Salvador and Brazil” (25 pp)  
**Due: Research Design**
- March 19: **The Middle East and North Africa**  
al-Khafaji, “State Terror and the Degradation of Politics in Iraq” (7 pp)  
Wedeen, “Acting ‘As If’: Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria.” (5 pp)  
Fielding & Shortland, ““An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth’: Political violence and counter-insurgency in Egypt” (15 pp)

- March 21:                   **Rwanda**  
 Read: Kuperman, “Provoking genocide: a revised history of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (25 pp)  
 Kuperman, “Rwanda in Retrospect” (11 pp)  
 Straus, “The Order of Genocide” (6 pp)
- March 24:**                   **No Class: Spring Break**
- March 26:**                   **No Class: Spring Break**
- March 28:**                   **No Class: Spring Break**
- March 31:                   **Are Democracies Immune?**  
 Read: White & White, “Repression and the Liberal State: The Case of Northern Ireland, 1969-1972” (23 pp)  
 Davenport, “When democracies kill: Reflections from the US, India, and Northern Ireland” (18 pp)
- April 2:                   **Responses to State Terror I**  
 Wintrobe, “Extremism, Suicide Terror, and Authoritarianism” (27 pp)  
 Katham & Wood, “Managing Threat, Cost, and Incentive to Kill: The Short- and Long-Term Effects of Intervention in Mass Killings” (26 pp)
- April 4:                   **Responses to State Terror II**  
 Read: Alan Kuperman, “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans” (32 pp)  
 Richard Betts, “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention” (10 pp)
- April 7:                   **Responses to State Terror III**  
 Read: Burg, “Intractability sand Third-Party Mediation in the Balkans” (25pp)  
 Cortright, “Sanctions and Stability Pacts (18 pp)
- April 9:                   **Preventing State Terror I**  
 Keith, Tate, & Poe, “Is the Law a Mere Parchment Barrier to Human Rights Abuse?” (17 pp)  
 Keith & Poe, “Are Constitutional State of Emergency Clauses Effective?  
 An Empirical Exploration” (27 pp)
- April 11:                   **Preventing State Terror II**  
 Read: Neumayer, Do International human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights? (30 pp)

**\*\*\*April 11: Last day to withdraw from one or more courses for the term\*\*\***

- April 14: **Preventing State Terror III**  
Read: Fen Osler Hampson, “Parent, Midwife, or Accidental Executioner” (20 pp)  
Jentleson, “Preventive Diplomacy and Ethnic Conflict” (13 pp)
- April 16: **After State Terror I**  
Kaminski & Nalepa, “Judging Transitional Justice: A New Criterion For Evaluating Truth Revelation Procedures” (25 pp)  
Collins, “State Terror and the Law: The (Re) judicialization of Human Rights Accountability in Chile and El Salvador” (18 pp)
- April 18: **After State Terror II**  
Taylor & Dukalskis, “Old truths and new politics: Does truth commission 'publicness' impact democratization?” (14 pp)  
Jones et al, “Dealing with international crimes in post-war Bosnia: A look through the lens of the affected population” (12 pp)
- April 21: **After State Terror III**  
Horne, “Assessing the Impact of Lustration on Trust in Public Institutions and National Government in Central and Eastern Europe” (34 pp)  
Kritz, “The Rule of Law in the Postconflict Phase” (20 pp)
- April 23: Research Day – No Class
- April 25: **Exam 2**
- April 28: No class, work on your papers!
- April 30: No class, work on your papers!
- May 2: No class, work on your papers!
- May 9: Final Class Meeting (Friday, May 9<sup>th</sup>: 10:00am to 12:00pm)**  
**Due: Research Paper**  
**Due: Extra Credit**