

POLI/PWAD 444 - Seminar on Terrorism Fall 2010

Instructor: Navin Bapat, 304 Hamilton Hall, 919.962.1438, email: bapat@unc.edu.

Time and Location: T R 9.30-10.45, Hamilton Hall 0452.

Office Hours: R 1-3 and by appt.

Introduction: Welcome to the study of terrorism. In this course, we will explore questions such as:

1. Why do individuals use political violence?
2. Why do groups decide to use terror to achieve their political ends?
3. How do states prevent challenges to their authority from terrorist groups?
4. When do terrorist groups succeed in dissolving state authority?
5. What are the international implications of terrorism?

The attack on 9/11 in the U.S. represents the defining terrorist attack to Americans, but in most parts of the world, terrorism has long been part of politics. The structure of the course is as follows. We will begin by examining what motivates individuals to consider violence against each other. We will then discuss how individuals organize to protect their political interests and eventually move to violent tactics, such as terrorism. We will discuss the types of tactics used by violent groups as well as the response of the state. We will then move to the study of collapsed states, where problems of terrorism have grown to very large proportions. Finally, we will discuss the international implications of political violence as well as possibilities for conflict resolution.

Though the theories of violence introduced in this course are very general and abstract, the purpose of the course is to use these theories to explain cases of terrorism and the problems terrorism causes in the real world. For us to do so, you must be familiar with current crises affecting the world and the key actors in each of these crises. **I therefore expect you to be keeping up with current events. This is required as part of the course.** Quick news sources can be found on the web, such as:

<http://www.nytimes.com>
<http://www.cnn.com>
<http://www.pbs.org>
<http://english.aljazeera.net/HomePage>

Finally, I would like to stress that this is a challenging course and the material presented will be difficult. My goal is for us to explore the theoretical explanations of violence and apply these to real world cases. Many of the theoretical arguments utilize formal mathematical modeling and/or advanced statistics. However, I do not expect any of you to have any background in either formal modeling or statistics. My main concern is not in the technical details, but that you develop an intuitive understanding of the central arguments and can explain them verbally. I therefore expect you to struggle with the material, but in the end, you should be able to use the arguments to understand real world cases and concepts.

Grading: Your final grade in the course will be determined as follows:

Position Papers	2 @ 20% each
First Exam	30%
Second Exam	30%

1. **Position Paper #1:** You will be asked to write two position papers based on what has been covered in class. These papers should be about 6-8 pages in length, double-spaced. These essays are designed to draw from what we know from our analyses of terrorism in order to inform policy. For this particular paper, you will pick a terrorist group you are interested in (either a historical group or an active one). You will then use the theoretical concepts discussed in class to explain and forecast the group's behavior. Your paper should first briefly introduce the group, discuss the trend, and explain the trend using the theoretical concepts discussed in the first part of the class, such as collective action, adverse selection, and/or moral hazard. In the final part of your essay, discuss whether or not you believe these theories accurately account for what is happening with your group. You will probably need to obtain outside sources, such as books or journal articles, to adequately discuss the dynamics of your group. **This paper will be due October 5.**
2. **Position Paper #2:** The format of this position paper will be identical to the first one - 6-8 pages in length, double spaced. However, in this position paper, you will be asked to choose a current or historical civil war for analysis. For example, you may focus your analysis on an older conflict such as the Mexican Revolution, a more contemporary one such as the Balkans, or an ongoing one such as Afghanistan or Iraq. Then, use the course concepts to discuss whether or not you believe the country or region's problem with terrorism will worsen, improve, or remain static for the near future. Use the course concepts to make an argument as to whether or not your conflict can be resolved through negotiation versus violence. Be sure and discuss the international implications of the conflict as well, including the possibility that it might escalate to an international or proxy war. In the final part of your essay, discuss whether or not a peaceful settlement is worth pursuing, given the evidence you have presented. If you use a historical conflict, use the course concepts to explain why violence terminated quickly or why the conflict ended violently, why certain conflict resolution strategies were successful, and why the conflict escalated or did not escalate to the interstate level. **Your second paper will be due November 30.** Failure to turn in either paper on time will result in a one letter grade penalty for each day that it is late, including weekends and holidays. The only exception to this is in the case of documented emergencies, in which case, I will need to see written documentation.
3. **First and Second Exams:** You will be given two exams during the semester. There will be ten multiple choice questions on the exam, of which you will pick eight to answer (40 pts, 5 pts. each). There will also be two essay questions, of which you will pick one to answer (60 pts.). The essay questions will typically ask about a current problem related to terrorism (which is why you should be keeping up with current events). You will then be asked to apply course concepts to the problem to explain what is occurring. You will next be asked if you believe the explanation, and to justify your answer. You will be required to bring a bluebook for both exams. **The first exam will be on October 7, the second exam will be on the day of the final exam, which is Friday, Dec. 17 @ 8 am.**

Required Reading: The remaining readings are articles drawn from scholarly journals and books. I have posted the readings on the course website. The powerpoint presentation will also be posted here for the day's lecture. I encourage you to check the website often for updates.

Course Schedule and Reading List

August 24. Introduction.

August 26. Studying Terrorism - Methodology and Patterns. Martha Crenshaw. 2000. The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the Twenty First Century. *Political Psychology* 20(2); David Lake. 2002. Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty First Century. *International Organization* 56(1): 15-29.

August 31. Motivations for Terrorism. James Fearon & David Laitin. 2000. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization* 54(4): 845-877.

- September 2. Problems in Forming Groups.** Scott Atran. 2003. The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539; Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Read article at: http://economics.about.com/cs/macroeconomics/a/logic_of_action.htm.
- September 7. The Internal Dynamics of Terrorist Organizations.** Jacob Shapiro. 2005. The Greedy Terrorist: A Rational-Choice Perspective on Terrorist Organizations' Inefficiencies and Vulnerabilities. *Strategic Insights* 4(1).
- September 9. Terrorist Tactics and Audiences.** Ethan Bueno de Mesquita & Erik S. Dickson. The Propaganda of the Deed. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 364-381. Andrew Kydd & Barbara Walter. 2006. The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security* 31(1): 49-80.
- September 14. The State's Response.** Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. 2002. What do we know about the Substitution Effect in Transnational Terrorism? in Andrew Silke and G. Ilardi (eds.) *Re-searching Terrorism Trends, Achievements, Failures*; Barbara F. Walter. 2006. Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but not Others. *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 313-330.
- September 16. Film. Inside the Mind of a Suicide Bomber.** Robert A. Pape. 2003. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.
- September 21. No Class.**
- September 23. Negotiation I: Getting to the Table.** Robert Powell. 2006. War as a Commitment Problem. *International Organization* 60(1); Navin Bapat. 2005. Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes. *Journal of Peace Research* 42(6): 699-717.
- September 28: Negotiation II. Fulfilling Agreements.** Barbara F. Walter. 1997. The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement. *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.
- September 30. Negotiation III. Divide and Conquer.** Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. Conciliation, Counter-terrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization* 59: 145-176.
- October 5. Review.** John Mueller. 2007. Reacting to Terrorism: Probabilities, Consequences, and the Persistence of Fear. Paper Presented at the International Studies Convention, February 26-March 4, 2007. **Paper #1 Due.**
- October 7. First Exam.**
- October 12. No Class.** University Day.
- October 14: Terrorism and Civil War.** James Fearon & David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- October 19: Spreading Abroad - Terrorists and their Hosts.** Navin Bapat. 2007. The Internationalization of Terrorist Campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24(4): 265-280; Navin Bapat. 2006. State Bargaining with Transnational Terrorist Groups. *International Studies Quarterly* 50(2): 215-232.
- October 21. No Class.** Fall Break!
- October 26: State Sponsorship of Terrorism I.** Navin Bapat. 2009. The Politics of Freedom Fighters: Understanding State Sponsorship of Insurgent Groups
- October 28. State Sponsorship of Terrorism II.** Navin Bapat. 2010. Understanding State Sponsorship of Militant Groups. *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming).
- November 2. External Support for the State.** Navin Bapat. 2010. Transnational Terrorism, U.S. Military Aid, and the Incentive to Misrepresent. *Working Paper*.
- November 4. Terrorism and International Conflict.** Idean Salehyan. 2008. No Shelter Here: Rebel Sanctuaries and International Conflict. *Journal of Politics* 70(1); Navin Bapat. 2009. Explaining 'Wars on Terrorism': Non-State Actors and International Crises. *Working Paper*.

November 9. Proxy Wars. Douglas Lemke. 2008. Power Politics and Wars Without States. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 774-786; James Fearon. 2007. Iraq's Civil War. *Foreign Affairs* 86(2).

November 11. Film. *Obama's War*.

November 16. Post Conflict Conditions. Hazem Ghobarah, Paul Huth, & Bruce Russett. 2004. The Post-War Public Health Effects of Civil Conflict. *Social Science and Medicine* 59(4): 869.

November 18: Conflict Resolution I. Stephen Gent. 2007. Strange Bedfellows: The Strategic Dynamics of Major Power Military Interventions. *Journal of Politics* 69(4): 1089-1102. Kuperman, Alan J. 2008. The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1): 49-80. Re-read Walter 1997.

November 23: Conflict Resolution II. Rebuilding Institutions. R. Harrison Wagner. 2003. How do you Build a State? *Working Paper*; Barbara F. Walter. 1999. Designing Institutions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace. *International Security* 24(1): 127-155; Charles Tilly. 1985. War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. In Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge; pp. 169-91.

November 25. No Class. Thanksgiving Holiday!!!

November 30. The United States and Terrorism. Michael Daxner. 2009. Afghanistan: Graveyard of Good Intent. *World Policy Journal* 3: 13-23.

December 2. Prevention and Early Detection. Andrew Reynolds. 2005. Constitutional Medicine. *Journal of Democracy* 16(1): 54-68; D. Scott Bennett. 2008. Governments, Civilians, and the Evolution of Insurgency: Modeling the Early Dynamics of Insurgencies. *Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation* 11(47).

December 7. Wrap up and Review.

Second Exam on December 17 @ 8 am.

Note on Disabilities. If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please tell the instructor as soon as possible. I am happy to do whatever I can to ensure that you have a productive and rewarding class. It is the student's responsibility to inform the instructor early in the term. Do not wait until just before an exam or another due date to decide you want to inform the instructor of a learning disability; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance.