

Government and Politics 459D
Terrorism as a political strategy.
Fall 2009

Instructor:	Office	Phone	email:
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Time and Location: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2-3:15 in Tydings 0139

Office hrs: Tuesdays and Thursdays from 1-2 (and by appointment)

About the course:

NOTE: This is not a course on transnational terrorism – we will not focus in any detail on al-Qaeda, 9/11 or strategies for combating international terrorism, though these topics will come up in readings and discussion. In contrast, the objective of this course is to explore the effect of intra-state terrorism on domestic politics world-wide. This course considers various aspects of domestic terrorism beginning with the objectives and conditions that lead a group to select terrorism as a strategy in a historical and case context. We will also explore the impact when terror attacks are used domestically and the very complicated aftermath of state and public response to terrorism perpetrated by nationals.

During the course you will be invited to participate in a complex, role-play simulation focused on how governments respond to terrorist threats within their own societies. The simulation, entitled “The Snake and the Axe: ETA and Domestic Terrorism in Spain.” focuses on the Basque country in Spain and the Spanish government’s response to terrorism conducted by the Basque separatist group know as ETA. The simulation will be conducted online, through the University of Maryland’s ICONS Project web-based interface. ***Students who choose to participate in the online simulation will pay a \$12 administration fee to ICONS for running the simulation. Participation in the simulation is not mandatory and students can opt to complete and alternative reading and writing assignment for equivalent course credit.***

Requirements:

Regular attendance at lectures is required. Class attendance is particularly important because lectures often do not overlap directly with the readings. Many key concepts and cases will be discussed in lectures only and training for simulation will take place during class time. Exams will draw on materials from readings and from materials presented in class only. Other requirements include short homework assignments and presentations, a midterm, a cumulative final and participation in a simulation or an alternative project. The exams will be comprised of short answer questions and short essays.

The final grade in the course is assigned based on the following class components:

- Participation (in class and in simulation or alternative) 25%.
- Terror group short papers and presentations 10%.
- Midterm 30%.
- Final 35%.

Academic conduct:

It is assumed that all students are familiar with and adhere to the code of academic integrity see: <http://www.studenthonorcouncil.umd.edu/index.html>

Absences due to religious holidays need to be cleared with the instructor at the beginning of the semester. Only the day of observance is excused while travel days are not. Other excused absences require full documentation (doctors note or other appropriate documentation).

No extra credit assignments or incompletes will be assigned in the class – *no exceptions*.

Required readings:

Books:

Available in the University bookstore and on reserve in the library.

Louise Richardson. 2006. *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*. Random House: New York.

David J. Whittaker. 2007. *The Terrorism Reader*. Third edition. Routledge: London and New York.

Other readings:

A number of articles and chapters available through ELMS.

Course outline: Note that the outline is a guide to the order of topics. The specific dates we address each topic may change while the order will stay roughly the same.

Week 1: 9/1, 9/3-No class

Introduction and organization.

Handout 1: Bard E. O’Neill. 2005. Appendix “Seminar 4: How to apply the framework”. In *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. 2nd edition revised. Potomac books: Washington D.C. (p. 209-210).

Handout 2: Simulation.

NOTE: No class Thursday 9/3 Professor Birnir will be attending the annual conference of the American Political Science Association in Toronto.

Week 2: 9/8, 9/10

Defining terrorism.

Whittaker Ch. 1, (p.3-13).

Richardson Ch. 1, (p.3-20).

Timothy Garton Ash. 2001. "Is There a Good Terrorist?" November 29. New York Review of books. 48(19). At www.nybooks.com/articles/14860

Old vs new. History of terrorism.

Whittaker. Ch. 3, (p. 28-44).

Richardson. Chs. 2 and 6, (p. 21-37, and p. 139-168).

Week 3: 9/15, 9/17

Who are these people, what motivates them and how do we find out. (Typologies, ideology and religion, regime type, economics)

Richardson. Ch. 3, (p. 38-103).

Whittaker. Ch. 2, (p.3-14).

William Eubank and Leonard Weinberg. 2001. "Terrorism and Democracy: Perpetrators and Victims." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 13(1):155-164.

Case study: Lebanon. Whittaker. Chs. 5 and 6, (p.58-75).

Krueger, Alan B. 2007. What makes a terrorist. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 pp.11-105.

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*. Vol 97(1):75-90.

Case study: Spain. Whittaker. Ch. 9, (p.117-130),

Watch "The Battle of Algiers" (movie). You can rent it or view it in the library non-print media services.

Week 4: 9/22 and 9/24

Supporting Terror.

Richardson. Ch. 4, (p. 71-103).

Bard E. O'Neill. 2005. "Popular support." In *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. 2nd edition revised. Potomac books: Washington D.C. (Ch 5, p. 93-114)

Case study: Peru. Whittaker. Ch. 12, (p.164-178),

Weeks 5 and 6: 9/29, 10/1-No class, 10/6

Financing Terror.

Loretta Napoleoni. 2005. "The Privatization of Terror and Terror Reaganomics." In *Terror incorporated: Tracing the dollar behind the terror networks*. Seven Stories Press: New York. (Chs. 3-4, p.31-64).

Jeanne K Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas. 2007. "The Political Economy of Terrorism Financing" In *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*. Stanford University Press: Stanford, California. (Ch. 1, p.7-20).

Case study: Ireland. Whittaker. Ch. 10, (p.131-150),

NOTE: No class Thursday 10/1 Professor Birnir will be attending a conference on democracy and violence at the Center for Comparative and International Studies at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology and the University of Zurich.

Weeks 6 and 7: 10/8 and 10/13

The effects of terrorism

Todd Sandler and Walter Enders. 2008. "Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing Countries." In Keefer and Loayza eds. *Terrorism, Economic Development and Political Openness*. Cambridge University Press: New York. (Ch. 1, p. 17-47).

Case study: Colombia. Whittaker. Ch. 13, (p.179-195).

Case study: Italy. Whittaker. Ch. 15, (p.215-232),

Week 7: 10/15

Midterm.

Weeks 8-9: 10/20, 10/22, 10/27, 10/29

Simulation Phase I

Simulation Phase II

Students who choose the alternate assignment over participating in the simulation turn in their paper at the time of the second lecture in the second week of the simulation (10/29)

Week 10: 11/3 and 11/5

Tactics and Learning.

James JF Forest. 2006. "Introduction." In *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham, Oxford. (Ch. 1, p. 1-32).

Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. 2006. "Transference". In *Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: New York, London. (Ch. 5, p. 111-133).

Case study: London. Whittaker. Ch. 17, (p.250-257),

Suicide attacks

Richardson. Ch. 5, (p. 104-138).

Mia Bloom. 2005. "Devising a Theory of Suicide Terror." In *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. Columbia University Press: New York. (Ch. 4, p.76-100)

Robert A. Pape. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." 2003. *American Political Science Review*. 97(3):343-361.

Case study: Sri Lanka. Whittaker. Ch. 8, (p.101-116).

Watch film. "Paradise now." You can rent it or view it in the library non-print media services.

Week 11: 11/10 and 11/12

The media, and the internet.

Brigitte L. Nacos. 2007. "Mass mediated Terrorism in the New World (Dis) Order." In *Mass Mediated Terrorism*. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham. (Ch. 1, p.11-40).

Yariv Tsfati and Gabriel Weimann, "www.terrorism.com: Terror on the Internet," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25:5 (September-October 2002), 317-332

Case study: The United States. Gus Martin. 2006. "The American Case." In *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives and Issues*. SAGE Publications. (Ch. 12, p. 424-474).

Week 12: 11/17 and 11/19

Government role I.

Richardson. Chs. 7-8, (p. 169-240).

Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (Eds). 2007. "Introduction and Conclusions." In *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons From the Past*. United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington D.C. (Chs. 1 and 16, p. 1-24 and 563-602).

Case study: United States.

Weeks 13-14: 11/24, 11/26-No class, 12/1, 12/3

Government role II

NOTE: No class Thursday 11/26 Thanksgiving.

Browse the Counterinsurgency manual available at:
<http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. "Is Counter Terrorism Counterproductive? Northern Ireland 1969-1992," *Criminology*, 47: 501-530.

Week 15: 12/8-12/10

The end of terrorism and conclusions.

Jeffrey Ian Ross and Ted Robert Gurr. 1989. "Why Terrorism Subsides." *Comparative Politics*. 21(4):405-426.

Audrey Cronin. 2008. "Historical Patterns in Ending Terrorism." In *Ending Terrorism. Lessons for Defeating al-Qaeda*. Routledge: New York. (C. 2, p 23-50).

Whittaker. Ch 18, (p.258-262).

Week 16: 12/15-12/19

Final exam.