

Government and Politics 459D
Terrorism as a political strategy.
Tydings Hall 1102
Fall 2008

Instructor:	Office	Phone	email:
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Office hrs: Mondays and Wednesdays from 12:30 to 1:30 (and by appointment)

About the course:

NOTE: This is not a course on international 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 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.

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. 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) 25%.
- Terror group research and short 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>

Required readings:

Books:

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

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

David J. Whittaker. *The Terrorism Reader*. Third edition. 2007. Routledge.

George Kassimeris. *Playing politics with Terrorism*. 2008. Columbia University Press.

Other readings:

A number of articles and chapters available through ELMS.

Course outline: Note 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: 9/1-9/6

First class Wednesday 9/3.

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.

Week 2: 9/8-9/12

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).

Kassimeris. Ch. 2, (p. 15-35).

Weeks 3-4: 9/15-9/19 and 9/22-9/26

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).

S. Brock Blomberg and Gregory D. Hess. 2008. "From (No) butter to Guns. Understanding the Economic Role in Transnational Terrorism. In Keefer and Loayza eds. *Terrorism, Economic Development and Political Openness*. Cambridge University Press: New York. (Ch. 3, p. 83-115)

David D. Laitin and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2008. "The Political Economic, and Organizational Sources of Terrorism." In Keefer and Loayza eds. *Terrorism, Economic Development and Political Openness*. Cambridge University Press: New York. (Ch. 7, p. 209-232).

Case study: Spain. Whittaker. Ch. 9, (p.117-130),
Kassimeris. Ch. 9, (p.203-219)

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

Week 5: 9/29-10/3

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),
Kassimeris. Ch. 4 (p.62-100).

Week 6: 10/6-10/10

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),
Kassimeris. Ch. 6, (p.139-156).

Week 7: 10/13-10/17

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).

Ch 13. Kassimeris (p. 301-320).

Case study: Italy. Whittaker. Ch. 15, (p.215-232),
Kassimeris. Ch. 3, (p.36-61).

Week 8: 10/20-10/24

Applying the theory:

Case study: Algeria. Whittaker. Ch. 11, (p.151-163).
Case study: Colombia. Whittaker. Ch. 13, (p.179-195).
Case study: Germany. Whittaker. Ch. 14, (p.196-214).
Case study: South Africa. Whittaker. Ch. 16, (p.233-249).

and Midterm.

Week 9: 10/27-10/31

Simulation Phase I

Week 10: 11/3-11-7

Simulation Phase II

Week 11: 11/10-11-14

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).

Watch film "Lumo" 2006. By Bent-Jorgen Perlmutt.). You can view it in the library non-print media services.

Case study: London. Whittaker. Ch. 17, (p.250-257),
Kassimeris. Ch. 5 (p.101-138).

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 12: 11/17-11/21

The media, and internet.

Kassimeris. Ch. 12, (p.277-300)

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).

Gabriel Weiman. 2006. "Cyberterrorism: How Real is the Threat." In *Terror on the Internet*. United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington D.C. (Ch. 5, p 147-172).

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 13: 11/24-11/28

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. Kassimeris. Chs. 7 and 8, (p.157-202).

Week 14:12/1-12/5

Government role II

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

Week 15: 12/8-12/12

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).

Kassimeris. Ch 14, (p.321-330).

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

Week 16: 12/15-12/19

Final exam.