

POLI/PWAD 444 - Terrorism and International Peace

Fall 2018

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

Time and Location: M W 3.35-4.50, Carolina Hall 0104

Office Hours: M W 12-2 and by appt.

Introduction: 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 the New York Times, NPR, or Al Jazeera English. 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 @ 35% each
First Exam	15%
Second Exam	15%

- 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 briefly introduce the group, describe its background, and identify the dispute it has with the government it is fighting. You should then identify how the group overcomes the collective action problem, what type of violence it is using and why, and how effective it has been in its conflict with the government. You should then conclude by discussing whether or not you believe that a negotiated settlement can be reached with this group. You will 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 8.** You should submit a copy of the paper to me using the Assignments feature in Sakai.
- 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, this paper should focus on analyzing a conflict versus a terrorist organization. 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. First, briefly introduce the conflict's background and history, along with the key actors.

Second, identify the central commitment problem that needs to be resolved for the conflict to end. Third, identify whether or not this conflict has internationalized, and how international forces are either helping to stop the conflict or prolonging it. Be sure to use course concepts to discuss why. Finally, discuss the possibilities for a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Is the conflict likely to reach a negotiated settlement? Or is the conflict likely to continue for the foreseeable future? If you are researching a historical conflict, discuss why the conflict ended as it did. **Your second paper will be due November 26.** As with the first paper, you should submit a copy of the paper to me using the Assignments feature in Sakai. 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 20 multiple choice questions on the exam. **The first exam will be on October 3, the second exam will be on the day of the final exam, which is December 8 at 4 pm (note that this is a Saturday).**

Required Reading: The remaining readings are articles drawn from scholarly journals and books. I have posted the readings on the course's Sakai 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 22. Introduction.

August 27. Studying Terrorism - Methodology and Patterns. Meagan Smith & Sean Zeigler. 2017. Terrorism before and after 9/11 - a More Dangerous World? *Research and Politics*, forthcoming.

August 29. No Class. American Political Science Association Meeting.

September 3. No Class. Labor Day!

September 5. Motivations for Terrorism. James Fearon & David Laitin. 2000. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization* 54(4): 845-877.

September 10. Problems in Forming Groups. Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Read article at: http://economics.about.com/cs/macroeconomics/a/logic_of_action.htm.

September 12. No Class - Hurricane Florence. Stay Safe!

September 17. No Class - Hurricane Florence. Stay Safe!

September 19. The Internal Dynamics of Terrorist Organizations. Combatting Terrorism Center. *Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting al Qaeda's Organizational Vulnerabilities*. pp. 1-55.

September 24. The State's Response. Laura Dugan and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel. *American Sociological Review* 77(4): 597-624.

September 26. Terrorism and the Logic of Violence. Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*.

October 1. Escalation. Robert Powell. 2006. War as a Commitment Problem. *International Organization* 60(1).

October 3: Negotiation. Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. Conciliation, Counter-terrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization* 59: 145-176; Rebecca Best and Navin Bapat. 2017. Bargaining with Insurgencies in the Shadow of Infighting. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, forthcoming.

October 8. First Exam.

October 10. Civil Wars. James Fearon & David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90. **Paper #1 Due!**

October 15. Internationalization. Navin Bapat. 2007. The Internationalization of Terrorist Campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24(4): 265-280.

October 17. No Class. Fall Break!

October 22. State Sponsorship of Terrorism. David Carter. A Blessing or a Curse? State Support for Terrorist Groups. *International Organization* 66(1): 129-151.

October 24. Fighting Transnational Terrorism. Navin Bapat. 2010. Transnational Terrorism, U.S. Military Aid, and the Incentive to Misrepresent. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 303-318.

October 29. Terrorism and International Conflict I. Navin Bapat and Sean Ziegler. 2016. Transnational Terrorism, Dynamic Commitment Problems, and Military Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2): 337-351.

October 31. Terrorism and International Conflict II. Navin Bapat, Luis de la Calle, Kaisa Hinkkainen, & Elena McClean. 2016. Economic Sanctions, Transnational Terrorism, and the Incentive to Misrepresent. *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 249-264.

November 5. The Postconflict Environment. Hazem Ghobarah, Paul Huth, & Bruce Russett. 2004. The Post-War Public Health Effects of Civil Conflict. *Social Science and Medicine* 59(4): 869.

November 7. No Class. Peace Science Society Meeting.

November 12. Peacemaking and the Problem of Re-occurrence. V. Paige Fortna. 2004. Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 269-292.

November 14. Rebuilding through the Private Sector. Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas. 2015. The Toll of Terrorism. *Finance and Development* 52(2).

November 19. U.S. Foreign Policy and Transnational Terrorism. No Reading Assignment.

November 21. No Class. Thanksgiving Holiday!

November 26. The Future of the War on Terror. No Reading Assignment. **Paper #2 Due!**

November 28. Terrorism and the Fear of Immigration. Vincenzo Bove & Tobias Böhmelt. 2016. Does Immigration Induce Terrorism? *Journal of Politics* 78(2): 572-588.

December 3. Rightist Terror in the U.S.

December 5. Wrap-up and Review. *Second Exam on Saturday, Dec. 8 @ 4 pm.*

Note on Disabilities. If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please inform me 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.