

WWS 555B
Terrorism, Civil War, and Non-State Threats

Princeton University
Fall Semester, 2016

Tuesday - Thursday 9-10:30am
Robertson 020

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Terrorism, Civil War, and Non-State Threats is a seminar devoted to understanding (1) non-state security threats including forms of political violence other than interstate war and (2) how policy makers can—and sometimes cannot—take action to ameliorate the threat from non-state violence. The course will require careful reading of 1-2 policy statements and 2-3 moderately technical articles each week on topics including: terrorism, the causes of civil war, the duration and cessation of civil war, the transition from violence to democracy, violence and social order, economic development and violence, the institutional structure of insurgent organizations, government violence and expropriation, revolution, and ethnic violence.

Course Requirements:

1. Class participation, 35%. Since this is a seminar I expect that you will complete all the required readings before class to the point where you can critique or defend any reading. Feel free to work in groups and pool notes, I will never know if you don't actually do the reading if the notes are good and it's good training for the future.

Here are some thoughts on how to attack the readings:¹

- Some of the readings are descriptive, these are intended to provide context for thinking about a specific kind of threat. As you read these try to identify key facts or examples that you find puzzling and/or surprising.
- Some of the readings are theoretical, providing you with ways of thinking about the phenomena we are studying. Before approaching each theoretical reading think about the key questions from previous weeks and how that reading relates to things we covered in previous weeks. Then skim over the reading to get a sense of the themes it covers, and, before reading further, jot down what questions you hope the reading will be able to answer for you. Next, read the introduction and conclusion. This is normally enough to get a sense of the big picture. Ask yourself: Are the claims in the text surprising? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples of

¹ Courtesy of Professor Macartan Humphrey's excellent graduate syllabus on political violence.

- places that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument? Is the reading answering the questions you hoped it would answer? If not, is it answering more or less interesting questions than you had thought of? Next ask yourself: What types of evidence or arguments would you need to see in order to be convinced of the results? Now read through the whole text, checking as you go through how the arguments used support the claims of the author.
- For any reading you should keep notes as you read. When you come across issues that you are not convinced by, write them down and bring them along to class for discussion. Also note when you are pleasantly surprised, when the author produced a convincing argument that you had not thought of.

2. Develop some expertise, 35%. You and your classmates will be placed into teams of 2 or 3 (depending on class size) to become our class expert for a specific non-state threat. We will work as a class to make a list of threats during our first meeting, but here are a few examples of organizations current and past organizations that could be or were considered non-state security threats:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan | 8. African National Congress |
| 2. Afghan Taliban | 9. USAID/World Bank |
| 3. Sinaloa Cartel | 10. Allied Democratic Forces |
| 4. Islamic State | 11. Democracy International |
| 5. Boko Haram | 12. Lord's Resistance Army |
| 6. Earth Liberation Front | 13. Syrian Kurdish parties. |
| 7. Lords Resistance Army | 14. Greenpeace |

For each threat your team will produce a fact sheet that should include sections addressing the following:

- Short description of the organization/threat.
- Why does this group use violence and/or why is it a security threat?
- For violent groups were other means available to achieve the political end?
- Why did people take part? Why did non-participants support the organization?
- Did the violence achieve its purpose and/or has the organization been successful at its stated goal?
- Was the violence justified or what arguments do proponents offer for the organization's activities?
- What could be done to reduce the threat from this organization?
- Describe a question this case raises for approaches to non-state security threats broadly understood.

Fact sheets should be posted on Blackboard before class and provided as a handout. Feel free to include links to images and videos. We will choose presentation dates on the first day of class.

3. There will be a term paper on some aspect of a non-state security threat, 30%. The research paper should be exactly as long as needed to address the issue it studies, approx. 20 pages is typical.

I will not allow incompletes in this course, so please plan accordingly. Papers will be due at 4:30 p.m. on January 17, Dean's Date. No late papers will be accepted under any circumstances.

Readings:

Books can be purchased online or I can place them on reserve at Stokes Library. Articles can be downloaded and book chapters will be available on Blackboard or library e-reserves.

We will divide the course into three sections:

1. Terrorism
2. Civil War
3. Policy Responses

Depending on class interest we may curtail the section on policy to spend a week or two discussing additional non-state threats. Possible examples include climate change, piracy, or fresh water shortages.

SECTION 0: THINKING HARD ABOUT EVIDENCE

Week 1 (9/20 & 9/21 – not reschedule of 9/22 class to 9 a.m. on 9/21)

Presentation by Mike and Hoot re. Haqqani Network

Policy Readings

- Everyone brings their own, come prepared to discuss briefly:
 - o What is the argument?
 - o What is the evidence adduced for it?
 - o Is it credible?

Academic Readings

1. Angrist, Joshua D. and Pischke, Jörn-Steffen. *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), Chapters 1-2.
2. Fearon, James, "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science," *World Politics* 43 (January 1991): 169-195.
3. Nancy Cartwright and Jeremy Hardie, *Evidence-Based Policy: A Practical Guide to Doing it Better* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), Part One and Part Five. Preface and conclusion recommended.
4. A smorgasbord on ML and social science, including:
 - i http://stanford.edu/~jgrimmer/bd_2.pdf
 - ii Hal Varian, "Causal inference in economics and marketing", PNAS 113 (2016):7310-15.
 - iii <http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~hal/Papers/2013/ml.pdf>

SECTION 1: TERRORISM

Week 2 (9/27 & 9/29): Strategic Purposes and Threat

Presentation by Alex L. and Hoot on MQM

Policy Readings

- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/57618/michael-scott-doran/somebody-elses-civil-war>
- <http://www.nationaljournal.com/defense/insiders-poll/obama-s-isis-strategy-will-not-achieve-its-goals-security-insiders-say-20140917>
- <http://www.vox.com/cards/things-about-isis-you-need-to-know/what-is-isis>

Academic Readings

1. Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1): 49-79.
2. Why suicide terrorism?
 - a. Robert Pape. 2005. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House) or Robert Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 343-361.
 - b. Scott Ashworth, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz and Kristopher Ramsay. 2007. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," AMCR.
 - c. Robert Pape. 2008. "Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 102 (2): 275-277.
 - d. Scott Ashworth, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher Ramsay. 2008. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism: A Rejoinder," AMCR.

Week 3 (10/4 & 10/6): Organizing Terror Presentation by Jonathan and TBD on OAS

Policy Readings

- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63408/bruce-hoffman/the-myth-of-grass-roots-terrorism?page=show>
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2002/03/01/al_qaeda_the_ngo
- <http://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/12/14/the-terrorist-bureaucracy-inside-files-islamic-state-iraq/QtRMOARRYows0D18faA2FP/story.html>

Academic Readings

1. Sun-Ki Chai. 1993. "An Organizational Economics Theory of Antigovernment Violence", *Comparative Politics* 26 (1): 99-110.
2. Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapters 1-2.
3. Jacob N. Shapiro and David A. Siegel. 2012. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics*.
4. Eli Berman. 2000. *Radical, Religious, and Violent: The New Economics of Terrorism* (MIT Press), Chapters 1-2.

5. Jacob N. Shapiro. 2013. *The Terrorists Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton University Press), Chapters 1-2.
6. Max Abrahms and Philip B.K. Potter. 2015. "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics," *International Organization* 69 (2): 311-342.

Week 4 (10/11 & 10/13): Motivation of Terrorists
Presentation by Alex K. and Julia on Boko Haram

Policy Readings

- Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>.
- <http://www.newstatesman.com/2014/10/portsmouth-kobane>

Academic Readings

1. Alan Krueger. 2008. *What Makes a Terrorist: The Economics and Roots of Terrorism* (Princeton University Press), Introduction and Chapter 1.
2. Jeff Victoroff. 2005. "The Mind of A Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (1): 3-42.
3. Max Abrahms. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy," *International Security* 32 (4): 78-105.
4. Marc Sageman. 2008. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press), Chapter 3.
5. Alex Lee. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63(2):203-245.

Recommended for critique of reading #1 that we will discuss:

- Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. "[The Quality of Terror.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):515-530.
- Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi, and Esteban Klor. 2012. "Economic Conditions and the Quality of Suicide Terrorism." *Journal of Politics* 74(1):113-128.

Week 5 (10/18 & 10/20): Motivation of Terrorists' Supporters
Presentation by Asha and Steven re. Islamic State

Policy Readings

- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2006/01/29/think_again_islamist_terrorism
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/08/13/the_hearts_and_minds_guys
- <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/119857/polls-middle-east-about-islamic-state-have-surprising-results>

Academic Readings

1. Your choice of these two:

- a. C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. "Faith or Doctrine? Religion and Support for Political Violence in Pakistan." *Public Opinion Quarterly*
- b. Graeme Blair, C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. "Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan." *American Journal of Political Science*
2. Hannah Arendt. "A Special Supplement: Reflections on Violence," *The New York Review of Books*, 12 (4), February 27, 1969, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/11395Fanon>.
3. M. Najeeb Shafiq and Abdulkader Sinno. 2010. "Education, Income, and Support for Suicide Bombings: Evidence from Six Muslim Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (1): 146-178.
4. Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. (2013). "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107, No. 4 (November), pp. 679-705.
5. Christoph Mikulaschek, Saurabh Pant, and Beza Tesfaye. 2015. "Winning Hearts and Minds in Civil Wars: Governance, Leadership Change, and Support for Violence in Iraq." SSRN Working Paper 2702219. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2702219

SECTION 2: CIVIL WAR

Policy Readings Germane to the Whole Section

- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/56045/ted-robert-gurr/ethnic-warfare-on-the-wane>
- <http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSB2006/2006HumanSecurityBrief-FullText.pdf>, especially chapter 1

Week 6 (10/25 & 10/27): Causes and Duration of Civil War Presentation by Ann and Oscar re. FARC/UP

Policy Readings

- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2003/05/01/the_market_for_civil_war
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2007/06/11/africas_revolutionary_deficit.
- <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/climate-change-hastened-the-syrian-war/> and skim <http://www.pnas.org/content/112/11/3241.full.pdf>.

Academic Readings

1. Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. 2004. "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach," *Journal of Political Economy* 112: 725-753.
2. Saul Newman. 1991. "Does Modernization Breed Ethnic Political Conflict?" *World Politics* 43 (3): 451-478.

3. James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 75-90.
4. James Fearon and David Laitin. 2013. "How persistent is armed conflict?" Working Paper. <https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/persistenceofarmedconflict.pdf>

Week 7 (11/8 & 11/10): Settling Civil Wars
Presentation by Paco and Sadja on Anonymous

Policy Readings

- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/53600/charles-g-boyd/making-bosnia-work-a-report-from-the-field>
- <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2013/10/18/the-four-things-we-know-about-how-civil-wars-end-and-what-this-tells-us-about-syria/>
- <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/10/obstacles-to-ending-syrias-civil-war/>
- <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21589431-bringing-end-conflicts-within-states-vexatious-history-provides-guide>

Academic Readings

1. Barbara F. Walter. *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton University Press, 2001). Ch 1, 2, 8. Remainder recommended.
2. Virginia Page Fortna. 2003. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization* 57 (2): 337-372.
3. Monica Duffy Toft. 2010. "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34(4):7-36.
4. Yuri Zhukov. 2016. "Taking away the guns: Forcible disarmament and rebellion." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2):242-258.

Week 8 (11/15 & 11/17): Why People Fight
Presentation by Cillian and Mor on PKK

Policy Readings

- <http://www.fpri.org/enotes/20060331.sicherman.balkanghost.html>
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/05/13/rogue_generals
- <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero041311>
- <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/04/how-bashar-al-assad-became-so-hated/275058/>

Academic Readings

1. Ted Robert Gurr. *Why Men Rebel* (1971) Chapter 2.
2. Roger Petersen. 1993. "A Community-based Theory of Rebellion." *European Journal of Sociology* 34: 41-78.
3. Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (Penguin Books, 1996), Chapters 2 and 4.

4. Michael Fellman. 1989. *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 1990) Chapter 2, 166-176, and Chapter 6.
5. Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 436-455.

SECTION 3: POLICIES TO COMBAT NON-STATE THREATS

Week 9 (11/29 & 12/1): Counterterrorism and COIN

Policy Readings

- http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/Articles/2010spring/40-1-2010_choharisAndGavrilis.pdf
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/10/26/call_in_the_civilians
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/29/coin_toss
- <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/08/03/counterinsurgency-the-graduate-level-of-war-or-pure-hokum/>
- <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/08/20/an-open-rebuttal-to-gian-gentiles-essay-on-counterinsurgency/>

Academic Readings

1. FM 3-24, ch. 1.
2. Ramakrishna, Kumar. "Bribing the Reds to Give Up': Rewards Policy in the Malayan Emergency." *War in History* 9 (2002), pp. 332–353.
3. Berman, Shapiro, and Felter. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy*.
4. Benmelech, Berrebi, and Klor. 2015. "Counter-Suicide-Terrorism: Evidence from House Demolitions." *Journal of Politics* 77(1):27-43.

Week 10 (12/6 & 12/8): Development

Policy Readings

- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/07/31/help_not_wanted
- http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/04/30/aid_needs_help
- http://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/usaids-suspends-ird-its-largest-nonprofit-contractor-in-iraq-and-afghanistan/2015/01/26/0cafe16a-a599-11e4-a2b2-776095f393b2_story.html?hpid=z3
- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/142803/eli-berman-joseph-h-felter-jacob-n-shapiro/aid-for-peace>

Academic Readings

1. Brian Burgoon. 2006. "On Welfare and Terror." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 176–203.

2. James Fearon. 2008. "Economic development, insurgency, and civil war." Forthcoming in *Institutions and Economic Performance*, ed. Elhanan Helpman (Harvard University Press).
3. Raghurman Rajan and Arvind Subramanian, "Aid and Growth: What Does the Cross-Country Evidence Really Show?" *Review of Economics and Statistics* 90 (2008): 643-665.
4. Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian, "US Food Aid and Civil Conflict." *American Economic Review* vol. 104, no. 6 (2014): 1630–1666.

Week 11, part 1 (12/13): Peacekeeping, Top-down and Bottom-up

Policy Readings

- <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/56619/michael-hirsh/calling-all-regio-cops-peacekeepings-hybrid-future>
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/the-big-question-can-un-peacekeeping-succeed-in-lebanon-and-does-it-work-elsewhere-412348.html>.

Academic Readings

1. Virginia Page Fortna. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 269-292.
2. Mark Danner. "Clinton, the UN, and the Bosnian Disaster," *New York Review of Books*, December 18, 1997, pp. 65-81.

Week 11, part 2 (12/15): Demobilization, and Reintegration (or not)

Policy Readings

- <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/384-jardine.pdf>
- <http://www.ideaspaz.org/portal/media/docs/cartagenacontribution.pdf>
- <http://www.insightonconflict.org/2012/09/maoist-ddr-nepal/>

Academic Readings

1. Joanna Spear. 2002. "Disarmament and Demobilization." In John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens, eds. *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Lynne Rienner), pp. 141-182.
2. Jonathan Morgenstein. 2008. "Consolidating disarmament: Lessons from Colombia's reintegration program for demobilized paramilitaries." USIP Special Report. <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr217.pdf>.
3. Chris Blattman and Jeannie Annan. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda," *The American Political Science Review* 103 (2): 231-247.
4. Sean McFate. 2010. "I Built an African Army." *Foreign Policy.com*. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/01/07/i_built_an_african_army.

