

INTL 4410: Terrorism and Insurgency

Tuesday/Thursday 9:30 to 10:45 am
Park Hall 0139

University of Georgia
Department of International Affairs
Fall 2017

Austin Doctor
Email: adoctor@uga.edu
Office Hours: TBD

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

Who are terrorists? What motivates them to organize and use covert violence? Are terrorists simply insurgents by another name? Terrorism and insurgency are common forms of contemporary warfare. The study of terrorism is often isolated from broader studies of insurgency and armed conflict. This course focuses on scientific explanations for terrorism, placing it within a framework of contemporary warfare. After this class, participants will have not only an understanding of the political actors involved in terrorist organizations, but also a basic comprehension of the political processes that shape political violence and insurgency more generally.

The primary goal of this course is to lead students to their own understanding of theories and empirical evidence regarding the causes and conduct of terrorism and insurgency. Toward this end, this class is built around the reading of academic theories of political violence as well as primary sources. This class is designed to enhance students' capacity to engage social science research and understand its approaches and findings.

We will begin the semester by (1) properly defining and identifying insurgency. After this introduction, the class will be divided into three broad topics: (2) the causes and dynamics of insurgency, (3) theories on terrorism, and (4) approaches to counterinsurgency and counterterrorism.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Students are expected to have completed the reading assignments listed under each meeting noted in the course schedule below. Grades will be based on:

Class attendance and participation (25%)

The study of human behavior, political violence, and warfare is complex and often confusing. An upper-level course only works if we all have completed the readings for each class period and are willing to discuss these readings. As such, I will take attendance every day and will record whether you are willing and able to participate in

the course discussion and answer questions about the readings. As a general framework, you should come to class with answers to the following “guiding questions”:

1. What is the author’s main point or argument?
2. What evidence do they use to support their argument?
3. Is there contradicting evidence?
4. How does the author’s argument relate to the other readings from the course?

Each student will be allotted 2 course absences without penalty for your participation grade. Any additional unexcused absences will result in a 3-point deduction from your final grade (per absence). All excused absences will require documentation.

Response Essay (10%)

Class participants often have an interest in a particular theme of the course. This assignment gives students an opportunity to dive deeper and to demonstrate comprehension of the relevant academic literature. Each student will need to select one week’s readings as the base material for this assignment. Of course, students are welcome to reference additional sources not listed in the syllabus. **500 words.**

The response essay should include a brief summary of the assigned readings and then evaluate its merits and shortcomings. How do the readings speak to one another? What questions are sufficiently answered in the literature? What questions are still at large?

Policy Brief (20%)

Each week, one student “task force” will provide a single **15-minute presentation** on a *current* insurgent group, terrorist organization, or insurgent leader. Academics are often expected to speak to a broader audience, including journalists, military leaders, and policy makers. This presentation should be oriented toward such audiences, incorporating the theories we discuss in class to present a thorough analysis. Presentations should address, at minimum, the following issues:

- Background
- Group objectives
- Group leadership and recruitment
- Group funding
- Group attacks and activities
- Counterterrorism or counterinsurgency efforts
- What can be expected in the future

Presenters should also be prepared to accept questions from the class. Presenters will be graded on the quality of their sources, clarity of their presentation, strength of analysis, and ability to respond to questions. **Some visual aids ought to be included, such as PowerPoint, printed handouts, etc.**

Midterm Exam (20%)

The midterm will be **taken in class** on Thursday, **October 5, 2017**. The exam will test students' knowledge on Parts I & II of the course. There will be multiple choice and short answer questions. More information will be provided as the semester progresses. We will have a review session in class on October 2. The review session is meant to clarify last-minute questions; it alone will not be sufficient to pass the exam.

The Paper (25%)

In lieu of a final exam, students will need to complete a paper that demonstrates their knowledge of one or more recent insurgencies, their comprehension of the relevant academic literature, and their ability to distill the sea of available information into a succinct analysis. **2,500 words**. Examples of accepted paper styles are listed below:

- A *research proposal* that identifies a significant shortcoming or gap in current academic approaches to terrorism and/or insurgency. A paper of this sort evaluates the academic literature related to this research area and justifies the need for additional research. It then develops a research design—including a set of testable hypotheses, a description of the data and methods to be used, and implications of the proposed study—to address this shortcoming. This paper should incorporate empirical examples from our course, but will focus on making a contribution to a generalizable theory of insurgency and modern warfare.
- An *empirical paper* will identify a consistent element of terrorism and insurgency, evaluate an existing set of policies designed to address this problem, propose a new way of approaching the problem that takes the reader beyond existing research, and use data to demonstrate the plausibility of this new argument. This type of paper can focus on a single case or it can examine a set of cases. The primary content of this paper is a thorough description and analysis of the available on the selected case(s).
- Have a different idea? Let's talk about it!

Your final grade will be calculated on the following scale.

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|-----------------|--------------------|
| • 94 to 100 – A | • 74 to 76 – C |
| • 90 to 93 – A- | • 70 to 73 – C- |
| • 87 to 89 – B+ | • 67 to 69 – D+ |
| • 84 to 86 – B | • 64 to 66 – D |
| • 80 to 83 – B- | • 60 to 63 – D- |
| • 77 to 79 – C+ | • 59 and below – F |

COURSE MATERIALS

- Required Texts
 - Jones, Seth G. 2017. *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State*. Oxford University Press.
 - Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton University Press.
 - Walker, J.B. 2012. *Nightcap at Dawn: American Soldiers' Counterinsurgency in Iraq*. Skyhorse Publishing.

- Suggested Texts for Additional Reading
 - Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2007. *The Logic of Political Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
 - Crenshaw, Martha. 2010. *Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes and Consequences*. Routledge.
 - Nagl, John. 2002. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*. University of Chicago Press.
 - Kilcullen, David. 2009. *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. Oxford University Press.
 - Byman, Daniel. 2005. *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Wright, Lawrence. 2006. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. Alfred A Knopf Publishing.

- Helpful Online Resources
 - Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University
 - START, University of Maryland
 - Global Terrorism Database (GTD), University of Maryland
 - Empirical Studies of Conflict (ESOC), Stanford/Princeton
 - Political Violence @ A Glance, academic blog
 - Global Conflict Tracker, Council on Foreign Relations
 - Combating Terrorism Center, West Point

- Relevant Peer-Review Journals
 - Terrorism and Political Violence
 - Small Wars and Insurgencies
 - Civil Wars
 - Journal of Peace Research
 - Journal of Conflict Resolution
 - International Security

- Reliable News Sources
 - World News, via Reuters
 - The Interpreter, via New York Times
 - World News, via BBC
 - The Monkey Cage, via The Washington Post
 - War & Conflict, via VICE News
 - National Geographic
 - The Economist

UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND SERVICES

University Honor Code and Academic Honesty Policy

Verbatim from <https://curriculumssystemsga.edu/curriculum/courses/syllabus>:

“As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, A Culture of Honesty, and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in A Culture of Honesty found at: <https://ovpi.uga.edu/academic-honesty/academic-honesty-policy>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.”

Changes to the Syllabus Could Occur

Verbatim from <https://curriculumssystemsga.edu/curriculum/courses/syllabus>:

“The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.”

Disability Services

Verbatim from <https://drc.uga.edu/faculty/sample-access-statements>:

“If you plan to request accommodations for a disability, please register with the Disability Resource Center. They can be reached by visiting Clark Howell Hall, calling 706-542-8719 (voice) or 706-542-8778 (TTY), or by visiting <http://drc.uga.edu>.”

Verbatim from <https://online.uga.edu/documents/ugasyllabusguidelines.pdf>:

“Students with disabilities who require reasonable accommodations in order to participate in course activities or meet course requirements should contact the instructor or designate during regular office hours or by appointment.”

Useful Campus Resources

There are campus resources that can help you with your academic performance, including the Division of Academic Enhancement and the Writing Center.

Some material in this course contains references to violence. Some of the videos shown in class will contain disturbing themes or images. This is not “light reading.” You are always welcome to excuse yourself during class for any reason and I urge you to take your mental health seriously. There are campus resources to help.

CLASS OUTLINE AND WEEKLY READINGS

Part One: Defining and Identifying Insurgency

Week 1: Introduction and Defining Insurgency

- Tuesday (8/15)
 - Introduction and Syllabus
- Thursday (8/17)

- Jones, Seth. 2017. "Introduction." In *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State*. Oxford University Press: 1-15.
- US Army & Marine Corps. 2007. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency." In *Counterinsurgency Filed Manual (FM3-24)*: 1.1-1.19.

Week 2: What Does Insurgency Look Like On the Ground?

- Tuesday (8/22)
 - Walker, J.B. 2012. "Into the Labyrinth: Understanding Insurgency on the Ground." In *Nightcap at Dawn: American Soldiers' Counterinsurgency in Iraq*. Skyhorse Publishing: 101-167.
 - Jones, Seth. 2017. "Strategies" and "Tactics." In *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State*. Oxford University Press: 35-82.
- Thursday (8/24)
 - [VIDEO]: "The War Against Boko Haram." *VICE News*. 2015.
 - OR: "War in the Central African Republic." *VICE News*. 2014.

Part Two: The Causes and Dynamics of Insurgency

Week 3: Theories of Collective Action and Mobilization

- Tuesday (8/29)
 - Mason, David. 2004. "Theories of Revolution: The Evolution of the Field." In *Caught in the Crossfire: Revolutions, Repression, and the Rational Peasant*. Rowman & Littlefield: 28-57.
 - Van Belle, Douglas A. 1996. "Leadership and Collective Action: the Case of Revolution." *International Studies Quarterly* 40(1): 107-132.
- Thursday (8/31)
 - Jones, Seth. 2017. "Starting Insurgencies." In *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State*. Oxford University Press: 16-34.
 - Tarrow, Sidney. 2011. "Contentious Politics and Social Movements." In *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press: 16-36.

Week 4: Conflict Onset—Big Bang, Bargain Failure, or Something Else Entirely?

- Tuesday (9/5)
 - Dixon, Jeffrey. 2009. "What Causes Civil Wars? Integrating Quantitative Research Findings." *International Studies Review* 11: 707-735.
 - Ross, Michael. 2006. "A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 265-300.
- Thursday (9/7)
 - Buhaug, Halvard, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2014. "Square Pegs in Round Holes: Inequalities, Grievances, and Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 58: 418-431.
 - Staniland, Paul. 2010. "Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(12): 1623-1649.

Week 5: Funding Insurgent Organizations

- Tuesday (9/12)
 - [VIDEO]. “Firestone and the Warlord.” *PBS Frontline*. 2014.
 - OR: “Conflict Minerals, Rebels, and Child Soldiers in Congo.” *VICE News*. 2012.
- Thursday (9/14)
 - Financial Action Task Force. 2015. “Sources of Funding” and “Movement and Use of Funds and Other Assets.” In *Financing of the Terrorist Organization Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)*: 12-31.
 - Lidow, Nicholai. 2016. “External Patrons.” In *Violent Order: Understanding Rebel Governance Through Liberia's Civil War*. Cambridge University Press: 65-88.

Week 6: Recruitment

- Tuesday (9/19)
 - Humphrey, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. “Who Fights? Determinants of Participation in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 1-20.
 - Eck, Kristine. 2014. “Coercion in Rebel Recruitment.” *Security Studies* 23(2): 364-398.
- Thursday (9/22)
 - Arjona, Ana M. and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2009. “Rebelling Against Rebellion: Comparing Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Recruitment.” Presented at the CRISE Workshop *Mobilization for Political Violence: What Do We Know?* 1-31.
 - Forney, Jonathan Filip. 2015. “Who Can We Trust with a Gun? Information Networks and Adverse Selection in Militia Recruitment.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5): 824-849

Week 7: Leaders As A Focal Point of Intrastate Conflict and Contemporary Warfare

- Tuesday (9/26)
 - Prorok, Alyssa. 2016. “Leader Incentives and Civil War Outcomes.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1): 70-84.
 - Tiernay, Michael. 2015. “Killing Kony: Leadership Change and Civil War Termination.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(2): 175-206.
- Thursday (9/28)
 - The Rebel Leaders in Civil War Data Project.

Week 8: MIDTERM EXAM

- Tuesday (10/3)
 - In-Class Prep and Review
- Thursday (10/5)
 - In-Class Exam

Part Three: Terrorism

Week 9: Who Are Terrorists? What is a Terrorist?

- Tuesday (10/10)
 - Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism" (Chapter 1). In *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-41.
 - Ganor, Boaz. 2002. "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?" *Policy Practice and Research* 3(4): 287-304.
- Thursday (10/12)
 - Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young (2012). "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 285-305.
 - Lee, Alexander. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63(2): 203-245.

Week 10: The Logic of Terrorism, Part 1

- Tuesday (10/17)
 - Crenshaw, Martha. 2015. "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism." In *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, ed. Richard Betts. Routledge: 448-460.
 - Kilcullen, David. 2009. "The Accidental Guerrilla." *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. Oxford University Press: 1-38.
- Thursday (10/19)
 - Shapiro, Jacob. 2013. "The Terrorist's Dilemma." In *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton University Press: 26-62.
 - Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1): 49-80.

Week 11: The Logic of Terrorism, Part 2

- Tuesday (10/24)
 - Merari, Ariel. 1993. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 213-251.
 - Byman, Daniel and Sarah E. Kreps. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* 11: 1-18.
- Thursday (10/26)
 - Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31(2): 42-78.
 - Al-Muqrin, 'Abd Al-'Aziz. 2009. "Chapter One" and "Chapter Two." *Al-Qa'ida's Doctrine for Insurgency: Abd Al-Aziz Al-Muqrin's 'A Practical Course for Guerrilla War'*, trans. Norman L. Cigar. Potomac Books: 66-85.

Week 12: The Management and Organization of Terrorism

- Tuesday (10/31)
 - Shapiro, Jacob. 2013. "Introduction." In *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton University Press: 1-25.
 - Al-Zawahiri, Ayman. 2005. *Letter to Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi*. 1-13.
- Thursday (11/2)
 - Piazza, James A. 2009. "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous?: An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21: 62-88.
 - Asal, Victor, and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *Journal of Politics* 70(2): 437-449.

Week 13: Suicide Terrorism

- Tuesday (11/7)
 - Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. "Non-state Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 64(1): 33-64.
 - Pape, Robert. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.
- Thursday (11/9)
 - Speckhard, Anne. 2008. "The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31(11): 995-1023.
 - Jacques, Karen, and Paul J. Taylor. 2009. "Female Terrorism: A Review." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(3): 499-515.

Part Four: Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism

Week 14: Counterinsurgency Methods

- Tuesday (11/14)
 - US Army & Marine Corps. 2007. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency." In *Counterinsurgency Fied Manual (FM3-24)*. University of Chicago Press: 19-29.
 - US Army & Marine Corps. 2007. "Unity of Effort: Integrating Civilian and Military Activities." In *Counterinsurgency Fied Manual (FM3-24)*. University of Chicago Press: 33-77.
- Thursday (11/16)
 - Walker, J.B. 2012. "Into the Labyrinth: Understanding Insurgency on the Ground." In *Nightcap at Dawn: American Soldiers' Counterinsurgency in Iraq*. Skyhorse Publishing: 101-167.
 - Nagl, John A. 2005. "Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam." In *Learning to Eat Soup With A Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*. University of Chicago Press: 191-226.

Week 15: THANKSGIVING [NO CLASS]

Week 16: Counterterrorism Methods

- Tuesday (11/28)
 - Byman, Daniel. 2007. "US Counterterrorism Options: A Taxonomy." *Survival* 49(3): 121-150.
 - Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2006. "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
- Thursday (11/30)
 - Barrelle, Kate. 2015. "Pro-integration: Disengagement From and Life After Extremism." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7(2): 129-142.
 - Reinares, Fernando. 2011. "Exit from terrorism: A Qualitative Empirical Study on Disengagement and Deradicalization Among Members of ETA." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23(5): 780-803.

Week 17: Drones and Aerial Bombing

- Tuesday (12/5)
 - Byman, Daniel. 2013. "Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice." *Foreign Affairs* 92(4): 32-43.
 - Kocher, Matthew Adam, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis Kalyvas. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2): 201-218.