

**INTL 4290: Modern Warfare
Terrorism, Ideology, Identity**
University of Georgia – Fall 2019
MWF 1:25-2:15, Park Hall 269

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Office: Holmes-Hunter 320H
Office Hours: Tuesdays 10am-12pm (or by appointment)

Course Description and Objectives

This course explores key changes in the nature of warfare over the past century. Even though terrorist attacks may be thought of as very recent phenomena, their evolution can be traced back to the shifting nature of warfare. Specifically, ideological (e.g. liberalism, fascism, communism, and religion-based worldviews) differences have come to the forefront of political conflicts involving the use of force. Moreover, the doctrine of warfare has experienced a shift as well, in that civilians have developed the intertwined roles as forces that fight wars, targets of war, and as war juries. We will systematically explore these changes, starting with the identification of that nature of “traditional” warfare. We then explore the shift toward conflicts with ideological and identity overtones and then move to the topics of guerilla warfare and terrorism. As warfare evolves, we track potential changes in the means of and reasons for fighting, roles of civilians and media, and rules of war. More broadly, we will dedicate much of our time to honing analytical reading, writing, and discussion skills that can be applied beyond the subfield of conflict and war.

As such, by the end of this course, you will be able to:

- Critically analyze arguments made by political scientists.
 - Identify research questions and thesis statements in academic articles.
 - Efficiently summarize academic articles.
 - Craft research questions and thesis statements on topics of interest.
- Relate theories of war to current events.
- Compare and contrast “traditional” warfare and “modern” warfare.
- Trace the emergence of ideological differences in the forefront of violent conflict.
- Define guerilla warfare and terrorism and discuss their place in modern political conflicts.
- Explain the evolution of civilians’ and media’s roles in warfare.
- Explore new and developing means of fighting wars.

Recommended Book

Betts, Richard K. 2017. *Conflict After the Cold War*, 5th ed. Pearson.

All of your readings will be shared with you on the eLC. Please do not distribute these readings to people beyond this class.

Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the UGA Disabilities Services Office will be accommodated according to university policy. For more information, contact Disabilities Services at (706) 542-8719 or visit their website at <https://drc.uga.edu/>. If you have difficulty reaching the classroom, please notify me as soon as possible.

Students with Financial or Emotional Hardships

Being a student can be hard. Your lives are changing, and college can be a stressful environment. *There is no shame in struggling with this.* If you are feeling depressed or otherwise concerned about your mental health, please reach out to UGA's Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS). Their website is <http://uhs.uga.edu/caps/welcome>.

If you are experiencing financial hardships, UGA has a number of services that may help. These include, but are not limited to, food pantries, hygiene closets, school supply closets, provision of professional clothes, and work-study arrangements. These are *free* services. A summary of services provided by UGA is here: https://financialhardship.uga.edu/content_page/food-and-necessities.

Course Requirements and Evaluation

Leading Class Discussions (10 points each for 30 points)

For each class meeting, a pair or group of students will each submit 3 or 4 discussion questions to a discussion board on the eLC. These questions are meant to stimulate conversation; they should address problems and puzzles raised in the readings for that week. Accordingly, they should not be simple factual questions ("What is this article about?" or "When did X happen?" or "What does the author write on page 12?"). Instead, questions should compare and contrast the readings to each other and other readings from class, apply the readings to current/historical events, and address holes in the argumentation or controversial topics of the readings. They will then lead the discussion on the readings for that day. *Questions must be submitted by 24 hours ahead of the class in which you will be leading the discussion, and it is recommended that all students read and think about them before coming to class.*

The day of class, I will begin by introducing the topic of the day, taking about 15-20 minutes. I will then hand the class over to the students who prepared the discussion questions. You will use a few slides to introduce and summarize the readings (taking no more than 5 minutes); the remainder of class will be spent discussing your questions.

5 points of your grade will come from your discussion questions. 5 points will come from your preparation for leading the discussion.

Research Project (20 points, in stages)

For the final project for the class (and with my approval), you will choose an ongoing war/conflict/case of terrorism to address. You will write policy brief analyzing the conflict and making a recommendation for bringing it to a close, addressed to the head of government of that country. The brief will take the following form: a **title** that clearly communicates your topic and/or position, a concise **description of the problem** that the policy should address (the history/context of the conflict, major players, key identities/ideologies, etc.), an **analysis of which elements of modern warfare or terrorism the case displays**, a **comparison/contrast with a historical example**, presentation and justification of at least two **specific and actionable recommendations** for strengthening or changing the national government's response, and a clear **conclusion**. The elements of modern warfare and recommendations should be particularly grounded in the literature, and all sources should be appropriately cited.

The final product should be 5 to 6 pages—part of the point of the assignment is writing clearly and *concisely*. You will be working on various pieces of this assignment (and turning them in) over the course of the second half of the semester. The due dates for each piece are listed below. Unless otherwise noted, each assignment is due at the beginning of class.

- August 26: Topic proposal (1 point)
- September 4: Annotated bibliography (1 point)
- September 16: Timeline of events (1 point)
- October 7: Description of the situation (1 point)
- October 21: Elements of modern warfare (1 point)
- November 5: Comparison to historical case (1 point)
- November 18: First draft (4 points)
- December 2: Final draft (10 points)

Two Exams (20 points each for 40 points)

Lectures and class discussions are intended to supplement, not duplicate, the readings. Exams will draw upon both readings and class material. We will discuss the exact format of exams closer to the exam dates. Makeup exams will only be given for excused absences.

- Midterm: September 30
- Final: December 9

Attendance and Participation (10 points)

Attendance and participation are a necessary condition for satisfactory achievement in this class. The best way for you to learn is to engage with the material and to debate and discuss it at length with your peers. Thus, excellence in participation means more than just talking a lot in class; rather, it requires that your participation be high in both quality and quantity. Each student gets one unexcused absence (for any reason). Additional unexcused absences will result in a 0 for attendance and participation for that day.

Grading Scale

Grades are constructed to reflect the university standards posted at http://bulletin.uga.edu/Bulletin_Files/acad/Grades.html and are summarized below. Grades will be based on how many points you earn according to the following distribution:

A	93-100 points
A-	90-92 points
B+	87-89 points
B	83-86 points
B-	80-82 points
C+	77-79 points
C	73-76 points
C-	70-72 points
D	60-69 points
F	Fewer than 60 points

Course Policies

Cell Phones and Other Noise-Making Devices

All cell phones and other devices that make noise should be turned off or put on silent upon entering the classroom. Repeated unnecessary disruptions of class caused by such devices may negatively affect a student's grade. Laptops should be used for class-related activities only. In the event that you need to keep your phone ready for personal reasons, please let me know before class.

Academic Honesty

Academic integrity is a core value of institutions of higher learning. All students, upon enrolling, must pledge: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." It is your responsibility to avoid plagiarism, cheating, and dishonesty. The university policy on academic integrity is posted at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty/>. To qualify the application of the policy in this course: exams should be entirely your own work with no assistance from anyone else; papers should also be your own work (though you may ask others for suggestions). Any material drawn from other sources should be properly cited. 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.

Class Discussion and Debate

Political debates and discussions can become quite heated. This passion is part of what makes the study of politics fun. However, the fun ends where personal attacks and disrespect begin. All students are expected to be courteous and considerate of their classmates. Disrespectful language and personal attacks will not be tolerated.

Communicating with the Instructor

My primary method of communicating with you outside of class time/office hours will be through e-mail. You have each been assigned an email address by the university and will be held responsible for regularly checking this account. Assignment changes, important dates, and other valuable information may be sent to this account over the course of the term. Please check it daily. I do my best to answer e-mails within 24 hours (but rarely answer e-mails at night or on weekends).

I have posted office hours on Tuesdays from 10am to 12 pm. During this time period, you should feel free to come by my office in Holmes-Hunter, Room 320H and discuss any questions you may have about the class. If this times does not work for you, I will be more than happy to set up an appointment.

Late Work

The late submission of assignments will result in a 10 percent reduction in points per day it is late, unless alternative arrangements are made with the instructor. *If you are worried about meeting deadlines or if something comes up, please come talk to me.*

Changes to the Syllabus

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations by the instructor may be necessary. As such, I reiterate the absolute necessity that you (1) come to class and (2) regularly check your e-mail.

Preliminary Course Schedule

Unless otherwise noted, assignments should be handed in at the beginning of the class period in which they are due.

Week 1: Introductions

August 14: Introductions and Expectations

August 16: Hobbes (Or, How to Read Difficult and Depressing Things)

- Hobbes, Thomas. 1651. *Leviathan*. (Chapter 13)

Week 2: Why Do People Fight?

August 19: War

- Art, Robert J. 1980. "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* 4(4):3-35.
Due: Completed reading worksheet

August 21: Why do states go to war?

- Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.
- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.

August 23: Is it just states that go to war?

- Walter, Barbara F. 2009. "Bargaining Failures and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:243-261.

Week 3: Modern Warfare

August 26: The Modern State

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 2002. "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:127-149.

Due: Topic proposal

August 28: Powerful States Losing Small Wars

- Lyall, Jason and Wilson III, Isaiah. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63:67-106.

August 30: Characteristics of Modern Warfare

- Hammes, Thomas X. 2005. "Insurgency: Modern Warfare Evolves into a Fourth Generation." *Strategic Forum* 214:1-7.

Week 4: Ideologies and Conflict, Part 1

September 2: NO CLASS (Labor Day)

September 4: WWII to the Cold War

- Kennan, George. 1946. "Long Telegram."
- George, Alexander L. 1969. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13(2):190-222.

Due: Annotated Bibliography

September 6: Mutually Assured Destruction

- Lebow, Richard Ned and Janice Gross Stein. 1995. "Deterrence and the Cold War." *Political Science Quarterly* 110(2):157-181.
- Borger, Julian and Ian Sample. 2018. "All you wanted to know about nuclear war but were too afraid to ask." *The Guardian*.

Week 5: Ideologies and Conflict, Part 2

September 9: The Cuban Missile Crisis

- Allyn, Bruce J., James G. Blight, and David A. Welch. 1989. "Essence of Revision: Moscow, Havana, and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *International Security* 14(3):136-172.

September 11: Proxy Wars

- Jervis, Robert. 1980. "The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24(4):563-592.
- Rosen, Stephen Peter. 1982. "Vietnam and the American Theory of Limited War." *International Security* 7(2):83-113.

September 13: After the Cold War

- Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16:3-18.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104(3):415-429.

Week 6: Identity and Conflict, Part 1

September 16: Clash of Civilizations?

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72(3):22-49.
Due: Timeline of events

September 18: Imperialism

- Lenin, Vladimir. 1939. "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." In *Conflict After the Cold War*, ed. Richard K. Betts.

September 20: Nationalism

- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. (Chapters 2 and 3)

Week 7: Identity and Conflict, Part 2

September 23: Ethnicity

- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil War." *International Security* 20(4):136-175.

September 25: Religion

- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. (Chapter 6)
- Philipp, Thomas. 1973. "Language, History, and Arab National Consciousness in the Thought of Jurji Zaidan (1861-1914)." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4(1):3-22.

September 27: Catching Up and Review for Midterm

Week 8: Introduction to Civil War

September 30: MIDTERM EXAM

October 2: Why do people rebel?

- Van Belle, Douglas A. 1996. "Leadership and Collective Action: The Case of Revolution." *International Studies Quarterly* 40(1):107-132.
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2):436-455.

October 4: Defining Civil War

- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6):814-858.

Week 9: Civilians, Guerrilla Warfare

October 7: International Impacts of Civil Wars

- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede, Idean Salehyan, and Kenneth Schultz. 2008. "Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(4):479-506.

Due: Description of the situation

October 9: Civilian Deaths

- Kocher, Matthew Adam, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2):201-218.
- Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3):331-362.

October 11: Guerrilla Warfare

- Lawrence, T. E. 1929. "Science of Guerrilla Warfare." In *Conflict After the Cold War*, ed. Richard K. Betts.
- Mao Tse-tung. 1937. "On Guerrilla Warfare." In *Conflict After the Cold War*, ed. Richard K. Betts.

Week 10: Defining Terrorism

October 14: Defining Terrorism

- Richards, Anthony. 2014. "Conceptualizing Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37:213-236.
- Philipps, Brian J. 2015. "Was what happened in Charleston terrorism?" *Washington Post*.

October 16: History of Terrorism

- Shughart II, William F. 2006. "An analytical history of terrorism, 1945-2000." *Public Choice* 128:7-39.
- Parker, Tom and Nick Sitter. 2016. "The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It's Not Waves, It's Strains." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28:197-216.

October 18: Strategies of Terrorism

- Asal, Victor and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *The Journal of Politics* 70(2):437-449.

- Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1):49-80.

Week 11: Explanations for and Effects of Terrorism

October 21: State Sponsorship

- Byman, Daniel and Sarah E. Kreps. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* 11:1-18.

Due: Elements of modern warfare/terrorism

October 23: Psychology, Poverty, and Belonging

- Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1):3-42.
- Krueger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4):119-144.

October 25: Effects of Terrorism

- Kam, Cindy D. and Donald R. Kinder. 2007. "Terror and Ethnocentrism: Foundations of American Support for the War on Terrorism." *The Journal of Politics* 69(2):320-338.
- Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Theresa Capelos, and Colin Provost. 2002. "The Consequences of Terrorism: Disentangling the Effects of Personal and National Threat." *Political Psychology* 23(3):485-510.

Week 12: Women and Terrorism

October 28: Female Terrorists

- Jacques, Karen and Paul J. Taylor. 2009. "Female Terrorism: A Review." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(3):499-515.

October 30: From the Outside, On the Inside

- Ortvals, Candice D. and Lori Poloni-Staudinger. 2014. "Women defining terrorism: ethnonationalist, state, and machista terrorism." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 7(3):336-356.
- Nacos, Brigitte L. 2005. "The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5):435-451.

November 1: NO CLASS (Fall Break)

Week 13: Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism

November 4: Counterinsurgency

- Byman, Daniel. 2007. "US Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy." *Survival* 49(3):121-150.

- Berman, Eli, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy* 119(4):766-819.

Due: Comparison to historical example

November 6: Counterterrorism

- Trager, Robert F. and Dessislava P. Zagorcheva. 2006. "Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done." *International Security* 30(3):87-123.

November 8: Torture

- Walsh, James I. and James A. Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5):551-577.
- Convention Against Torture

Week 14: International Interventions

November 11: Tick, Tick, Boom

November 13: International Law and Humanitarian Interventions

- Kuperman, Alan J. 2008. "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans." *International Studies Quarterly* 52:49-80.
- Schmid, Evelyne. 2009. "The Right to a Fair Trial in Times of Terrorism: A Method to Identify the Non-Derogable Aspects of Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." *Göttingen Journal of International Law* 1(1):29-44.

November 15: International Tribunals

- Hodgkinson, Sandra L. 2010. "Are ad hoc Tribunals an Effective Tool for Prosecuting International Terrorism Cases?" *Emory International Law Review* 24:515-525.
- Ambos, Kai. 2011. "Judicial Creativity at the Special Tribunal for Lebanon: Is There a Crime of Terrorism under International Law?" *Leiden Journal of International Law* 24:655-675.

Week 15: New Technologies, New Concerns

November 18: Lone Wolf Terrorism

- Spaaij, Ramon and Mark S. Hamm. 2015. "Key Issues and Research Agendas in Lone Wolf Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38(3):167-178.

Due: First draft

November 20: Autonomous Weapons Systems

- Levy, Yagil. 2016. "What is Controlled by Civilian Control of the Military? Control of the Military vs. Control of Militarization." *Armed Forces & Society* 42(1):75-98.

November 22: Cyberterrorism

- Gartzke, Erik and Jon R. Lindsay. 2015. "Weaving Tangled Webs: Offense, Defense, and Deception in Cyberspace." *Security Studies* 24(2):316-348.

Week 16: TBD

November 25: TBD

November 27: NO CLASS (Thanksgiving Break)

November 29: NO CLASS (Thanksgiving Break)

Week 17: Wrapping Up

December 2: TBD

Due: Final draft

December 4: Wrapping Up and Review for Final Exam

December 9: FINAL EXAM (12:00pm-3:00pm)