

**INTL 4290H: Modern Warfare
Terrorism, Ideology, Identity**
University of Georgia – Fall 2020
MWF 10:20-11:10, Psychology 304

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Virtual Office Hours: M&W, 1-3pm

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.

COVID Information and Face Masks:

UGA's social distancing requirements will limit our classroom to only a subset of the class. To accommodate these changes, we will be following a "hyflex" format: I will go through lectures both face to face and online through zoom at the beginning of each class, and student presentations/discussion will follow. You may participate in this class entirely online, with no impact to your grade.

Face Coverings

Effective July 15, 2020, the University of Georgia—along with all University System of Georgia (USG) institutions—requires all faculty, staff, students and visitors to wear an appropriate face covering while inside campus facilities/buildings where six feet social distancing may not always be possible. Face covering use is in addition to and is not a substitute for social distancing. Anyone not using a face covering when required will be asked to wear one or must leave the area. Reasonable accommodations may be made for those who are unable to wear a face covering for documented health reasons. Students seeking an accommodation related to face coverings should contact Disability Services at <https://drc.uga.edu/>.

Face masks are required while in class or in the College's common spaces. Please be considerate of your classmates and your professors. They may be at risk, or have susceptible people in their households (e.g., elderly or immunosuppressed family members or babies or children or family with respiratory problems). Let's protect each other and our friends and families. Please wear your face mask in class.

Face Shields

It is not known if face shields provide any benefit as source control to protect others from the spray of respiratory particles. CDC does not recommend use of face shields for normal everyday activities or as a substitute for masks. Some people may choose to use a face shield when sustained close contact with other people is expected. If face shields are used without a mask, they should wrap around the sides of the wearer's face and extend to below the chin. Disposable face shields should only be worn for a single use. Reusable face shields should be cleaned and disinfected after each use. Plastic face shields for newborns and infants are NOT recommended. For more information on why face shields are NOT a substitute for face masks, <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/cloth-face-cover-guidance.html>

DawgCheck:

Please perform a quick symptom check each weekday on DawgCheck—on the UGA app or website—whether you feel sick or not. It will help health providers monitor the health situation on campus: <https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/>

What do I do if I have symptoms?

Students showing symptoms should self-isolate and schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5 p.m.). Please DO NOT walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see <https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>.

What do I do if I am notified that I have been exposed?

Students who learn they have been directly exposed to COVID-19 but are not showing symptoms should self-quarantine for 14 days consistent with Department of Public Health (DPH) and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines. Please correspond with your instructor via email, with a cc: to Student Care & Outreach at sco@uga.edu, to coordinate continuing your coursework while self-quarantined. If you develop symptoms, you should contact the University Health Center to make an appointment to be tested. You should continue to monitor your symptoms daily on DawgCheck.

How do I get a test?

Students who are demonstrating symptoms of COVID-19 should call the University Health Center. UHC is offering testing by appointment for students; appointments may be booked by calling 706-542-1162.

UGA will also be recruiting asymptomatic students to participate in surveillance tests. Students living in residence halls, Greek housing and off-campus apartment complexes are encouraged to participate.

What do I do if I test positive?

Any student with a positive COVID-19 test is required to report the test in DawgCheck and should self-isolate immediately. Students should not attend classes in-person until the isolation period is completed. Once you report the positive test through DawgCheck, UGA Student Care and Outreach will follow up with you.

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 (especially under current circumstances). 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-andnecessities.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Course Requirements and Evaluation

Leading Class Discussions (10 points each for 30 points)

For each class meeting, a student will submit 3 or 4 discussion questions to a discussion board on the eLC. Multiple students may sign up for the same day and work together, provided all days have a discussion leader. These questions are meant to stimulate conversation; they should address problems and puzzles raised in the readings for that week. Some suggested ways of parsing the readings:

- Comparing and contrasting the readings to each other, and other readings from past weeks.
- Apply readings to current or historical events
- Criticizing an argument or supplementing it with another,
- Noting concepts or ideas that confused you, and possible explanations for them,
- Relating a reading to key concepts discussed in lectures or in class.

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 12-20 minutes. I will then hand the class over to the student 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 31: Topic proposal (1 point)
- September 9: Annotated bibliography (1 point)
- September 21: Timeline of events (1 point)
- October 12: Description of the situation (1 point)
- October 26: Elements of modern warfare (1 point)
- November 9: Comparison to historical case (1 point)
- November 20: First draft (4 points)
- December 7: Final draft (10 points)

Two Exams (15 points each for 30 points)

Lectures and class discussions are intended to supplement, not duplicate, the readings. Exams will draw upon both readings and class material. Each exam is non-cumulative, and will consist of multiple choice, true/false, and short essay questions.

All exams will be on ELC. Rather than make things more stressful through proctoring, each exam will be open note, and available to be started for 72 hours after it has been posted (exams will be posted at midnight of their date marked on the syllabus). While exams are open note, they will be timed: you will have two hours to complete the exams once they have been started.

Regular involvement and Participation (20 points)

Regular involvement 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. As this is an honor course, I'll be counting on each of you to drive discussion and topics of interest each class.

Your involvement and participations can come either in the form of face to face meetings or using Zoom to call into our class meetings. You may opt for either at any time, and your choice of medium will not affect your grade.

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

Academic Honesty

UGA Student Honor Code: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." A Culture of Honesty, the University's policy and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be found at www.uga.edu/ovpi.

The bottom line is simple – do not plagiarize the work of fellow students or other resources. This means that your exams are entirely your own work with no assistance from anyone else; papers are your own work (although suggestions and peer review from others are highly encouraged); and any material drawn from other sources should be properly cited. If you have questions about this, please contact me.

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.

Changes to the Syllabus

Please be sure to check ELC and your email often – updates may be sent through either. Remember that the course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Virtual Office Hours and Responses

My virtual office hours are from 1-3pm on Mondays and Wednesdays, or by appointment. This semester, my office hours will be virtual, so please send me an email if you would like to meet during this timeframe.

Any communication from me will primarily be over email, so check it often. Given we might need to move completely online if someone contracts COVID, this is crucial. I do my best to answer emails within 24 hours, but may not return emails that quickly in some cases (for instance, an email on Friday may not be answered until Monday).

Preliminary Course Schedule

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

Week 1: Introductions

August 21: Introductions/Expectations

- Read the syllabus

Week 2: Why Do People Fight?

August 24: War

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

Due: Completed reading worksheet

August 26: 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 28: 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 31: 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

September 2: 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.

September 4: 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 7: NO CLASS (Labor Day)

September 9: 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 11: 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 14: 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 16: 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 18: After the Cold War -**I'm taking an exam – NO CLASS MEETING**

- 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 21: Clash of Civilizations?

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

Due: Timeline of events

September 23: Imperialism

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

September 25: 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 28: Ethnicity

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

September 30: 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.

October 2: Catching Up and Review for Midterm

Week 8: Introduction to Civil War

October 5: **Midterm Exam Posted, open until Oct. 7 at 11:59pm**

October 7: 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 9: 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 12: 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 14: 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 16: 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 19: 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 21: 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 23: 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 26: 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 28: 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 30 **FALL BREAK – NO CLASS**

Week 12: Women and Terrorism

November 2: 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.

November 4: Female Terrorists

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

November 6: From the Outside, On the Inside

- Orbals, 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.

Week 13: Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism

November 9: 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 11: Counterterrorism

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

November 13: 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 & Intro to New Concerns

November 16: 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 18: 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.

November 20: 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

Week 15: New Technologies, New Concerns

November 23: Cyberterrorism – **LAST DAY OF IN PERSON CLASSES**

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

November 25: **THANKSGIVING BREAK – NO CLASSES**

November 27: **THANKSGIVING BREAK – NO CLASSES**

Week 16: You decide the topics!

November 30: Class Content Week

December 2: Class Content Week

December 4: Class Content Week

Week 17: Wrapping Up

December 7: Conclusion – Identity, Ideology,

Due: Final draft

December 9: Wrapping Up and Review for Final Exam

December 14-16: FINAL EXAM (Posted online, will close on December 16 at 11:59pm)

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

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- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.