

POS 394: Terrorism and Insurgency

Course Information:

POS 394: 88156
MWF: 12:00-12:50
Coor Hall 120

Contact Information:

Dr. Reed M Wood
Office: 6664 Coor Hall
Phone: 965-4686
Email: Reed.Wood@asu.edu

Office Hours:

MW: 1:00-2:30;
other times
by appointment

Course Description and Objectives

Insurgency, civil war, revolution and terrorism are traditionally thought of as domestic events or "intrastate" conflicts between one violent domestic political group and the state. However, recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Libya, and Syria as well as the 9/11 attacks on the US demonstrate that insurgencies often spill across borders and draw in actors far removed from the original conflict site. These conflicts also demonstrate that insurgencies and terror campaigns necessitate global policy responses. The international character of insurgency therefore requires students of political violence to consider a wide array of both international and domestic factors in order to better understand the origins, dynamics, and resolution of modern insurgencies and terror campaigns.

This course provides a framework for studying these complex events. The course will first provide a brief introduction to research on civil war, insurgency, and terrorism. It will also devote significant attention to the international dimensions of non-state actor violence. The primary goals of the course include: 1) To present a variety of theories on the origins and evolution of civil wars and insurgencies; 2) to understand the linkages between "domestic" conflicts and international politics; 3) to apply theories from the class to current conflicts and be able to make predictions about their trajectories as well as make predictions about the likelihood of future conflicts; 4) for students to conduct research and write an original paper on a topic related to the class.

Academic Expectations

While there is no official prerequisite for this course, please note that this course assumes a basic knowledge of world politics. Students who have not previously taken courses such as POS 150 (Comparative Government) or POS 160 (Global Politics) may experience difficulty with the material and basic concepts. Social science research methods courses such as POS 301 and 401 are also helpful. Please evaluate your own level of preparedness for this course.

The reading load for this course is fairly demanding. There is no textbook for the course, per se; rather, readings are drawn from a variety of scholarly sources, including both academic articles and books. Students will be expected to read, comprehend, and comment on multiple articles or book chapters for each class. Readings should be completed before the class for which they are assigned. Completing readings is a critical component of the course because failing to complete

assigned readings will inhibit your ability to contribute to class discussion. On a related note, this course is designed to function more as a seminar rather than a lecture course. At times, lectures might be necessary in order to convey specific information. However, the majority of course time will be devoted to discussion of the assigned readings. Students are therefore expected to participate in class discussion by raising questions, critiquing readings, and applying the theories discussed to real world cases. Part of your grade will depend on your participation in the course (see below). Lastly, this is a writing intensive course.

Assignments and Grading

Exams (30% [10% each]): There will be three tests over the course of the semester. Each exam will cover only topic covered since the last exam—that is, they are **not** cumulative. Exams will typically be several short answer questions. Please make every effort to attend class during exams days. All **make up exams** will be given during the scheduled **Final Exam Day (Dec. 9th)**.

Research Paper (30%): Each student will write a formal research paper based on the course material. You will apply the theories, themes, and concepts covered in the class to answer an important question about a group or conflict. These papers should be **10-12 pages** in length and will be due **December 4th**. Late papers will be penalized 1 **letter grade** per day. You must turn in a hardcopy of the paper. As always, there is a zero-tolerance policy for plagiarism! If you are caught plagiarizing or cheating in any way I must report a violation of university academic integrity standards, and you will receive an “E” for the course. There are no excuses and no exceptions. I will provide more specific instructions at a later date.

Research Presentation (25%): The last few class sessions of the semester are reserved for research presentations. During these class periods, each student will be given 8 minutes to present the central findings from their research paper and will then have an additional 2 minutes to respond to questions from the class about their research. Students should prepare slides, handouts, or any other materials that they believe will assist the class in understanding and appreciating their findings. Note: You must present your project during the scheduled time. There are **no exceptions**.

Participation (15%): Students are expected to read all material prior to the start of class, to attend class, and to actively engage in discussion. Missing class or attending but failing to participate in discussion will adversely impact your grade in the course. Routinely missing class will result in “0” points for this portion of the grade. In addition, note that attendance does not mean participation—you are expected to contribute to discussion, and only students that routinely contribute will receive full points.

Grading Scale. The following grading scale is used for this course:

99-100: A+	93-98: A	90-92: A-	87-89: B+	83-86: B
80-82: B-	77-79: C+	70-76: C	60-69: D	< 60: E

Behavior and Expectations

Classroom behavior: Students are expected to show respect for the professor, teaching assistants, and other students. This means arriving a few minutes prior to the start of class, so that lectures and sections can begin on time without disruption; refraining from distracting behaviors during lectures and sections; and generally paying attention to what's being said in class. Laptops should be used **only** for taking notes. Any behavior that would be inappropriate while watching a live performance (arriving after the first act has started; leaving your cell phone on; talking during the performance) is also inappropriate for lecture.

Texting, answering your phone in class, surfing the web, etc. will adversely affect your participation grade. I may also ask you to leave if you decide that these activities are more interesting or important than participating in the course.

Students are encouraged to ask questions during lecture. If you do not understand something, please ask questions; others in the class likely will thank you for doing this! We will not be able to cover every reading or idea in class; if a concept is unclear, please ask questions during lecture, in section, or during office hours.

Email etiquette: When you contact me (or any other faculty member or teaching assistant) via email, you should communicate professionally and avoid informal salutations and unprofessional or casual language. The appropriate salutations in emails to me are "Dear Dr. Wood" or "Professor Wood." I will not read emails that lack a salutation or begin with an informal salutation such as "Yo" or "Hey". You should also include your name at the end of any email. If you do not include your name I will not take the time to look you up based on your email address, will have no idea who sent the email, and will therefore not respond.

Cell phone etiquette: Generally, don't use them in class. You should only leave class to make or receive a call in an absolute, life or death emergency. Answering calls in class as well as sending texts will result in deductions from your participation grade.

Student Obligations to Academic Integrity: Each student must act with honesty and integrity, and must respect the rights of others in carrying out all academic assignments. A student may be found to have engaged in academic dishonesty if, in connection with any Academic Evaluation or academic or research assignment (including a paid research position), he or she:

- A. Engages in any form of academic deceit;
- B. Refers to materials or sources or uses devices (e.g., computer disks, audio recorders, camera phones, text messages, crib sheets, calculators, solution manuals, materials from previous classes, or commercial research services) not authorized by the instructor for use during the Academic Evaluation or assignment;
- C. Possesses, reviews, buys, sells, obtains, or uses, without appropriate authorization, any materials intended to be used for an Academic Evaluation or assignment in advance of its administration;
- D. Acts as a substitute for another person in any Academic Evaluation or assignment;
- E. Uses a substitute in any Academic Evaluation or assignment;

- F. Depends on the aid of others, including other students or tutors, in connection with any Academic Evaluation or assignment to the extent that the work is not representative of the student's abilities;
- G. Provides inappropriate aid to another person in connection with any Academic Evaluation or assignment, including the unauthorized use of camera phones, text messages, photocopies, notes or other means to copy or photograph materials used or intended for Academic Evaluation;
- H. Engages in Plagiarism;
- I. Uses materials from the Internet or any other source without full and appropriate attribution;
- J. Permits his or her work to be submitted by another person in connection with any Academic Evaluation or assignment, without authorization;
- K. Claims credit for or submits work done by another;
- L. Signs an attendance sheet for another student, allows another student to sign on the student's behalf, or otherwise participates in gaining credit for attendance for oneself or another without actually attending;
- M. Falsifying or misrepresenting hours or activities in relationship to an internship, externship, field experience, clinical activity or similar activity; or
- N. Attempts to influence or change any Academic Evaluation, assignment or academic record for reasons having no relevance to academic achievement.

*Note: There are severe sanctions for cheating, plagiarizing and any other form of dishonesty. An initial incident will result in the student receiving an E and zero points for exam. A second incident will result in a failure (E or possibly an XE – failure for academic dishonesty) for the course. All work must be yours and it must be original to this class. If you have questions about this, please ask us. All instances of academic dishonesty will, per CLAS policy, be reported to the appropriate authority in CLAS.

Disability Accommodations: Qualified students with disabilities who will require disability accommodations in this class are encouraged to make their requests to me at the beginning of the semester either during office hours or by appointment. **Note:** Prior to receiving disability accommodations, verification of eligibility from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) is required. Disability information is confidential.

Establishing Eligibility for Disability Accommodations: Students who feel they will need disability accommodations in this class but have not registered with the Disability Resource Center (DRC) should contact DRC immediately. Their office is located on the first floor of the Matthews Center Building. DRC staff can also be reached at: 480-965-1234 (V), 480-965-9000 (TTY). For additional information, visit: www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc. Their hours are 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM, Monday through Friday.

Required Texts and Readings

Many are available as e-books via the ASU library. The readings for this course offer conflicting interpretations of theory and history. Students should read these texts with the goals of identifying, comparing, evaluating, and contesting contending arguments. Several books are required for this course. In general, **any editions of these works are acceptable**.

*Kilcullen, David. 2009. *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press (**book store**).

*Mason, T. David. 2004. *Caught in the Crossfire: Revolution, Repression and the Rational Peasant*, Oxford, UK: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers (**book store**)

*Mitchell, Neil. 2004. *Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and Human Rights Violations in Civil War*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (**available as e-book**)

*Taber, Robert. 2002. *War of the Flea: The Classic Study of Guerilla Warfare*, Dulles, VA: Potomac Books (**book store**)

*Tse-Tung (Zedong), Mao. 2005[1937] *On Guerrilla Warfare* Barnes and Noble, Incorporated (**book store**).

*United States Army. 2006. *Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24* (**available online**)

Other reading materials come from academic journals or from academic books. These reading will be made available via **Blackboard**. They will be organized by date. Be sure to read them – either in electronic or printed form—prior to class. Please email me if you can't find a reading that is supposed to be on Blackboard.

Tentative Readings Schedule

8/21 (F) Introductions

*Overview of syllabus

8/24 (M) Definitions and History

*Fearon, "Iraq's Civil War"

*Boot, "The Evolution of Irregular Warfare"

8/26 (W) What is "Terrorism"

*Ganor, "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter?"

8/28 (F) Comparing Terrorism and Insurgency

*Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency"

8/31 (M) Classical Guerrilla Theory: Rural Insurgency

*Mao, *On Guerrilla Warfare* (chpt 1-7)

9/2 (W) Classical Guerrilla Theory: Urban Insurgency

*Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*

9/4 (F) The Irish Rebellion: A Study in Guerrilla War

*Film: *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* [*note: no class meeting; watch on your own]

9/7 (M) Labor Day—No class

9/9 (W) Case Studies in Guerrilla Warfare

*Taber, *War of the Flea* (chpts 1-4)

9/11 (F) Case Studies in Guerrilla Warfare

*Taber, *War of the Flea* (chpts 5-7)

9/14 (M) Case Studies in Guerrilla Warfare

*Taber, *War of the Flea* (chpts 8-11)

9/16 (W) Exam 1

9/18 (F) What Drives "Extremism"

*USAID, *Guide to Drivers of Extremism* (parts 1-3)

9/21 (M) What Drives "Extremism"

*USAID, *Guide to Drivers of Extremism* (parts 4-6)

9/23 (W) "Global" Insurgency

*Kilcullen, *Accidental Guerrilla* (chpts 1 & 2)

9/25 (F) “Global” Insurgency

*Kilcullen, *Accidental Guerrilla* (chpt 3 [chpt 4 is optional])

*Film: *The Return of the Taliban*

9/28 (M) “Global” Insurgency

*Kilcullen, *Accidental Guerrilla* (chpt 5 & conclusion)

9/30 (W) Collective Action and Free riding

*Summary of Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*

*Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire* (chpts 1)

10/2 (F) Theories of Rural Insurgency

*Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire* (chpts 2-3)

*Film: *The Battle for Syria*

10/5 (M) Peasant Social Movements

*Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire* (chpt 4)

10/7 (W) State Violence and Collective Action

*Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire* (chpts 5)

10/9 (F) How Civil Wars End

*Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire* (chpt 6)

* *Discussion with Sen. Jon Kyl*

10/12 (M) Fall Break—No class

10/14 (W) Exam 2

10/16 (F) Ethnic Conflict

*Muller, “Us and Them: Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism”

*Habyarimana et al, “Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable?”

10/19 (M) Ethnic Terror

*Byman, “The Logic of Ethnic Terror”

10/21 (W) Ethnic Violence and Criminality and Manipulation

*Mueller, “The Banality of Ethnic War”

10/23 (F) A Case Study in “Ethnic Conflict”

*Mitchell, *Agents of Atrocity* (chpt 1-2)

*Film: *The Battle for Ukraine*

10/26 (M) Principles, Agents, and Abuse

*Mitchell, *Agents of Atrocity* (chpt 3)

10/28 (W) Principles, Agents, and Abuse

*Mitchell, *Agents of Atrocity* (chpts 4)

10/30 (F) Principles, Agents, and Abuse

*Mitchell, *Agents of Atrocity* (chpts 5-6)

11/2 (M) Countering Insurgency: Learning and Adapting

*Biddle, “Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare”

*Nagl, “Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife”

11/4 (W) Understanding How Wars End

*Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire* (Chpt 7)

11/6 (F) ISIS and the Legacy of the Iraq War

*Cronin, “ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group”

*Holbrook, “Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS”

*Film: *The Rise of ISIS*

11/9 (M) The Phenomena of Foreign Fighters

*Hegghammer, “The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters”

11/11(W) Veterans Day—No Class

11/13 (F) Drones and Leader Decapitation

*Jordan, “Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark”

*Film: *Kill Capture*

11/16 (M) Exam 3

11/18 (W) Presentations

11/20 (F) Presentations

11/23 (M) Presentations

11/25 (W) Presentations

11/27 (F) Thanksgiving Holiday—No Class

11/30 (M) Presentations

12/2 (W) Presentations

12/4 (F) Presentations

****Final Papers Due**