

INSS 4350/5380
Civil Wars & Terrorism

Spring 2017

Tuesday & Thursday: 4:30pm to 5:50pm

Room: Physical Sciences 314

Instructor

Professor: Dr. Christopher Linebarger

Email: cdlinebarger@utep.edu

Course Website: <https://blackboardlearn.utep.edu/>

Phone: 915.747.6981

Office: Kelly Hall 222

Office Hours: By appt., or open door

Description

Civil wars and terrorism are among the most common types political violence on the planet. Indeed, since the end of World War II in 1945, conflict within countries has become more common than the international wars that are fought between them. Terrorist attacks like 9/11 substantially altered the American approach to foreign policy and homeland security, and civil wars like the present conflict in Syria continually threaten to spread instability and radicalism throughout their regional neighborhoods. It therefore serves us to understand the causes and consequences of these deadly phenomena. The approach taken to these topics will be broadly analytical, with special focus placed on the underlying drivers that produce terrorism and civil wars.

Upon successfully completing this course, you will be familiar with the causes and consequences of some of the most important forms of political violence. More importantly, you will be able to apply this knowledge to real-world scenarios, including historical cases, current events, and the prospects for political violence in the future. Finally, you will develop skills that are useful regardless of your post-college career choices. Such skills include thinking analytically and critically, and presenting logically sound arguments in written and oral form.

Learning Objectives

This is a combined undergraduate and postgraduate seminar in which students are expected to independently research the topics covered in the seminar and to form their own opinion.

On completion of the course, students should be able to:

- Understand the broad history of civil wars and terrorism since 1945;
- Evaluate the origins of al-Qaeda, ISIS, and the 9/11 attacks;
- Analyze competing theories and explanations of terrorism and civil war;
- Understand the tactics employed by participants in political violence;
- Demonstrate knowledge of how episodes of political violence end; and,
- Assess the likelihood of terrorism and civil war in the future.

Required Readings & Course Material

There are two textbooks that are required for this course. Students should purchase these books and read the relevant sections as assigned. Additional readings consisting of journal articles and webpages can be found in the Blackboard Learn system. These are listed on the course calendar below.

- Bruce Hoffman. 2006. *Inside Terrorism. Revised and Enlarged Edition*. Columbia University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0231126991.
- Karl DeRouen. 2015. *An Introduction to Civil Wars*. CQ Press. ISBN-13: 978-1452244327.

Optional Resources

A number of blogs and websites are also useful to our area of study. These include:

- “Political Violence at a Glance.” <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/>
- “War on the Rocks.” <http://warontherocks.com>
- “The D-Brief.” (Defense One) <http://www.defenseone.com/topic/The-d-brief/>
- “CFR Daily News Brief.” http://www.cfr.org/publication/editorial_archive.html
- “Teaching Terrorism.” <http://www.teachingterror.net/>
- “START Center.” <http://www.start.umd.edu/>
- “UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia.” <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/database/>
- “Politics & Strategy.” <https://www.iiss.org/en/politics-s-and-s-strategy>

Assignments

Attendance & Participation (15% of grade). Although lectures comprise a large part of this class, it is my intention to also emphasize discussion. Because discussion is impossible without your presence, attendance is expected. Attendance will be taken each day throughout the semester. If you are unavoidably late, please inform me at the end of class so that you receive credit for your attendance. Excused absences may be given for family medical emergencies, university recognized activities in which the student is a direct participant, military activities, and religious holidays recognized by the state of Texas. Documentation for these activities must be provided in accordance with university policies.

Students should interact with the lectures by asking questions, responding to prompts, providing thoughtful analysis, etc. My hope is that the classroom will have an atmosphere in which ideas and opinions will be welcomed and addressed. As such, please note that you will be graded on a number of criteria beyond simple participation, under the rubric of “professionalism,” and as such you are expected to act in a professional manner.

Your attendance and participation grade will be based upon the proportion of times I take attendance and you are in class. Then, I will adjust that grade up or down depending on your participation. To maximize this part of your grade, it is highly recommended that you come to class prepared (e.g., having done the assigned readings) and be willing to participate. Merely showing up and occupying a seat will not constitute full participation.

Other ways to lose participation points include, but are not limited to: being a disruption to others (e.g., side conversations with friends, reading for other classes, texting, browsing the internet), leaving class early without my explicit prior approval, repeatedly failing to answer a question if called upon, and not participating in classroom discussions and exercises in a productive manner.

Finally, there will be a simulation occurring at the end of the course. Your participation in this simulation is required to secure your participation grade, and at least one final exam question will be based upon it.

Two Exams (Midterm 25% of grade; Final 25% of grade). There will be two exams in this class: a midterm and a final. These exams pose short answer questions based on lectures and readings. Study guides will be provided one week before each exam.

“Make up” exams are available only for legitimate family emergencies and medical-related reasons, and school-sanctioned events in which the student is a direct participant. Students seeking a “make up” exam must provide documentation and must contact me as far in advance of the exam as possible. I will then set a time and a place for you to take the exam. Please note that although “make up” exams will test the same material as the standard exams, the questions themselves may be altered.

Film Reaction Paper (10% of grade). No classes will be held on the week of February 21–23. In lieu of class, there will be a writing assignment due on date specified on the calendar below. Your task is to watch the film “The Battle of Algiers,” which is available for streaming from the UTEP Library. You are then to write a short essay that reacts to the following prompt:

- Which theory of political violence do you think best explains the motivations for the terrorist actions seen in the film, and why? You may choose from one of the following theories: the Psychological, Rational Choice, or Social Movement theories.

The assignment is to be 500 words in length, written in a standard font and with 1 inch margins.

Please submit the assignment through the submission system in Blackboard by 5:00pm on the due date.

To make sure your essay respects the word-count, use the “review” tab in Microsoft Office and click on “word count,” make sure to un-tick “Include, textboxes, footnotes...”). A word count should appear at the end of your assignment.

The prompt asks for your opinion, but your thoughts should be informed by the readings, lecture, and/or discussions that we undertake in the prior weeks.

The assignment should cite at least two sources from the readings that we have covered to date (citations should be in Chicago format).

The assignment will be graded according to clarity of prose (the presence of complete sentences, paragraphs, correct spelling), the logic of your argument (free of contradictions, with a logical conclusion), and incorporation of material covered in prior classes.

Without proper documentation, assignments that are submitted late will receive an automatic 10 percent reduction in the grade. Essays submitted more than 24 hours after the deadline will not be accepted and will receive a zero.

Research Paper (25% of grade). All undergraduate students are to submit **one 2,000 word paper due on the date specified on the calendar below** (to make sure your essay respects the word-count, use the “review” tab in Microsoft Office and click on “word count,” make sure to un-tick “Include, textboxes, footnotes...”). A word count should appear at the end of your essay. Please ensure that you keep to within +/-10% of the specified word limits. Essays that do not keep to within these limits will be penalized. **Graduate students are to submit a 3,000 word paper.**

The details of the paper are as follows:

1. The paper will cover a case of civil conflict, a terrorist organization or rebel group, or an episode of political violence from the perspective of the theories discussed in the class. A list of acceptable cases can be found in the addendum at the end of this document.
2. Your paper is to apply one or more of the theories, themes, or concepts that we cover in class to the case you have selected. You should discuss how these concepts explain the origins of the conflict or organization, how it was fought, and how it was resolved (or is likely to be resolved if it is still ongoing). Alternatively, you may also write about how course theories, themes, or concepts *fail* to explain your case.
3. The paper should not simply summarize the case you are writing about. The aim here is for you to apply a social-scientific perspective to the topic of your choice, and to examine your cases analytically, rather than descriptively. You should therefore think about how theory

can explain the overall pattern of events in your case. Papers that merely summarize will be severely penalized.

4. Students are encouraged to consult with me on their projects.
5. If you want to write about a conflict, rebel organization, or terrorist group not listed in the course materials, then please consult with me. Such cases should begin after 1989 (e.g., after the Cold War). I also discourage students from selecting cases with an over-abundance of current media attention, or cases that I will cover extensively in the lectures. For those reasons, I do not allow students to select: 9/11, the core al-Qaeda organization, ISIS, major American counter-insurgency operations (e.g., the Vietnam, Iraq, or Afghanistan conflicts), or the current civil wars in Syria, Ukraine, or the Arab Spring (especially Libya). Nor do I allow students to select individual rebel leaders or terrorists as subjects, simply because the course focuses on group processes and dynamics. This course is also international in its focus, and so cases of domestic terrorism and conflict will not be considered.

The paper must be submitted through the submission service in Blackboard. I will not accept hard copies or email submissions.

I will set Blackboard to allow repeated submissions until the deadline. In this way, you can check for plagiarism and modify your paper. Only your final submission will be graded, and only the final plagiarism report will be counted.

Late submissions will only be tolerated in exceptional cases (such as a medical or family emergency). Without proper documentation, papers that are submitted late will receive an automatic 15 percent reduction in the grade. Papers submitted more than 72 hours after the deadline will not be accepted and will receive a zero.

The paper must be of suitable scholarly standard, with all quotes and citations properly referenced. Undergraduate students must use at least **five scholarly sources** (journal articles, academic books, government reports, etc.). The aim of the exercise is to gain practice at original research and to learn how to recognize a good source on which to base an argument. As such, websites and encyclopedias (including Wikipedia) are not permitted for use as references. There is no guideline for the number of sources for graduate students — use the number of sources that adequately cover the topic.

All citations must be referenced in a footnote and use the Chicago referencing style. A style sheet is available in Blackboard.

A full bibliography must also be included at the end of the essay, listing all sources in alphabetical order. The bibliography must be excluded from the word count.

The aim of the paper is to gain practice at building an argument and to learn how to recognize good research. As such, students must provide attribution throughout their paper for each fact, assertion, or argument. Attribution is given with citations and a bibliography. All quotations should be cited, of course, but overly extensive use of quotes to inflate your word-count will result in a lower grade.

Plagiarism, which is defined as claiming the work of others as your own, is totally unacceptable. As well, using the language of another source with only a few word changes is a form of plagiarism, even if you provide a properly cited reference. Attempting to artificially construct a paper by

pasting together the words of others, with little or no original writing of your own, is simply another form of plagiarism and will be treated as such. The aim here is for you to generate your own research.

Essay grading criteria

- **Argument:** Stated in introduction? Convincing? Original?
- **Analysis:** Critical discussion/evaluation of facts? Conclusions logical?
- **Coherence & Structure:** Line of argumentation? Contradictions? Terms used consistently? Logical Structure?
- **Research:** Enough relevant sources? Quality of sources? Primary sources?
- **Language and form:** Grammar/punctuation? Page numbers? Paragraphs? Referencing? Bibliography? Respecting word-count?

Grades

Grades are assigned according to the following scale:

Letter Grade	Percentage
A	90–100%
B	80–89%
C	70–79%
D	60–69%
F	0–59%

Classroom Conduct

Lecture and discussion based classes often present numerous issues. My goal is to make sure that everyone has an equal chance to do well. This means that rules are well understood, that an orderly environment exists that is conducive to learning, and that interference with other's learning is minimized so that all students have a fair shot. With this preamble in mind, I ask that all students accede to the following rules:

Classroom Conduct. Classroom courtesy is an essential component of creating an effective learning environment. All students have the right to learn without unnecessary distractions, and to do so without awkward confrontations with their fellow students. These distractions include: laptops, cell phones/smartphones and the like, talking during the lectures (unless recognized by the instructor), reading non-class material, falling asleep, etc. If you use a laptop to take notes during class, turn off the sound and restrain yourself from browsing the internet. If you need a

phone for emergency purposes, leave it set to vibrate. Entering and leaving also creates significant distraction. It is your responsibility to be on time and stay for the entire class. In circumstances where you need to leave early, tell the professor beforehand. If you are unavoidably late, please enter the classroom with as minimum a disruption as possible. Repeated disruptions of class will lead to a reduction in your final grade.

Civility. The topic of the course is a contentious one fraught with numerous ethical and moral issues, dispute over the proper role of government, and questions of ends and means. In order to tackle these issues, to expose you to a variety of viewpoints, and to develop your analytic skills, this course is designed to emphasize discussion.

I therefore ask that all of you respect the opinions of your fellow students, even if you do not agree with them. This means not interrupting other students while they are speaking or verbally attacking them for their beliefs. Although it is necessary to connect theory and current events, I will cut short any debate that does not enhance the understanding of course concepts. I expect that you will offer substantive comments and questions when appropriate in class. I also expect you not to dominate a discussion, but to allow ideas to exchange freely. You are to maintain civility, respect for others, and professionalism.

Disabilities Statement

I will make any reasonable accommodations for students with limitations due to disabilities. Please send me an email or call me before or after class in the first two weeks to discuss any special needs you might have. If you have a documented disability and require specific accommodations, you will need to contact the Center for Accommodations and Support Services (CASS) in the East Union Bldg., Room 106 within the first two weeks of classes. CASS can also be reaching in the following ways:

Web: <http://sa.utep.edu/cass/>

Phone: (915) 745-5148

Fax: (915) 747- 8712

Email: <mailto:cass@utep.edu>

Plagiarism and Academic Dishonesty Statement

Cheating is unethical and not acceptable. Plagiarism is using information or original wording in a paper without giving credit to the source of that information or wording; it is also not acceptable. Do not submit work under your name that you did not do yourself. You may not submit work for this class that you did for another class. If you are found to be cheating or plagiarizing, you will be subject to disciplinary action, per UTEP catalog policy. Refer to: <http://www.utep.edu/dos/academic.htm> for further information.

Course Calendar & Assigned Readings

The following calendar is only a guide. Dates and topics are subject to change. Any changes will be announced in-class well ahead of time. It is your responsibility to keep up to date with any schedule alterations.

Readings marked “**BB**” are to be found in the Blackboard Learn system.

Week 1, January 17: Course introduction

- No readings.

Week 1, January 19: Definitions of terrorism

- Hoffman, Ch. 1.
- Weinberg, et al. 2004. “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16(4).

Week 2, January 24: A brief history of terrorism

- Hoffman, Ch. 2 & 3.

Week 2, January 26: Left-wing (revolutionary) & Right-wing (reactionary) terrorism

- James J.F. Forest, Ch. 11. & 12 “Left-wing terrorism.” & “Right-wing terrorism.” **BB**

Week 3, January 31: Identity-based (religious & ethno-nationalist) terrorism

- Hoffman, Ch. 4
- James J.F. Forest, Ch. 10. “Ethnonationalist terrorism.” **BB**

Week 3, February 2: Al-Qaeda, 9/11, and ISIS (part I)

- James J.F. Forest. Ch. 14, “Al-Qaeda: History and Evolution.” & 15 “Al-Qaeda: Ideologies and Strategies.” **BB**

Week 4, February 7: Al-Qaeda, 9/11, and ISIS (part II)

- Thomas Hegghammer. 2010/11. “The rise of Muslim foreign fighters: Islam and the globalization of jihad.” *International Security* 35(3). **BB**

Week 4, February 9: Psychological theories of terrorism and political violence

- Jeff Victoroff. 2005. "The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 19(1). **BB**

Week 5, February 14: Rational theories of terrorism and political violence

- Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter. 2006. "The strategies of terrorism." *International Security* 31(1). **BB**

Week 5, February 16: Social movement theory and political violence

- Colin J. Beck. 2008. "The contribution of social movement theory to understanding terrorism." *Sociology Compass* 2/5. **BB**

Week 6, February 21 / 23: Application of theory to reality

- Watch "The Battle of Algiers" and complete the Film Reaction Paper described in the syllabus. Assignment is due at 5:00pm on February 23.
- No regular class meeting.
- Read Hoffman, ch. 8.

Week 7, February 28: Suicide terror

- Hoffman, Ch. 5.

Week 7, March 2: How terrorism ends

- Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2006. "How al-Qaida ends: the decline and demise of terrorist groups." *International Security* 31(1). **BB**

Week 8, March 7: Is terrorism effective & how threatening is it?

- Hoffman, Ch. 9.
- John Mueller. 2005. "Six rather unusual propositions about terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17(4). **BB**

Week 8, March 9: MIDTERM EXAM

- No reading.

SPRING BREAK: March 13–18

Week 9, March 21: Definitions of civil wars and historical trends

- DeRouen, Ch. 1 & 3.

Week 9, March 23: The causes of civil wars I (motivations; greed vs. grievance)

- DeRouen, Ch. 4.

Week 10, March 28: The causes of civil wars II (natural resources & mobilization)

- DeRouen, Ch. 5.

Week 10, March 30: The causes of civil wars III (opportunity & repression)

- T. David Mason and Dale A. Krane. 1989. "The political economy of death squads." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2). **BB**

Week 11, April 4: Ethnic conflict I

- David Lake and Donald Rothchild. 1996. "Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict." *International Security* 21(2). **BB**

Week 11, April 6: Ethnic conflict II

- John Mueller. 2000. "The banality of 'ethnic war.'" *International Security* 25(1). **BB**

Week 12, April 11: Conflict dynamics I (insurgency and counter-insurgency)

- Insurgency reading packet (with excerpts from the writings of Carl von Clausewitz, T.E. Lawrence, Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, Abraham Guillen, and Ayman al-Zawahiri).

Week 12, April 13: Conflict dynamics II (mass killing and civilian victimization)

- Daniel Byman. 2016. "Death solves all problems: The authoritarian model of counterinsurgency." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39(1). **BB**

Week 13, April 18: Civil war duration and termination

- DeRouen, Ch. 6.

Week 13, April 20: International intervention

- DeRouen, Ch. 7.
- *Paper due by April 21 at 5:00pm.*

Week 14, April 25: The effects of civil war

- DeRouen, Ch. 2.

Week 14, April 27: The future of terrorism, civil wars, and political violence

- Human Security Report. 2013. Ch. 1 (pg. 17–48), "The decline of violence and its critics."
BB

Week 15, May 2: In-class simulation

- No readings.

Week 15, May 4: In-class simulation

- No readings.

Finals Week: Final exam on Tuesday, May 9, 4:00pm–6:45pm.

- No readings.

This syllabus is a guideline and is subject to change.

UPDATED: January 16, 2017

Addendum

This appendix contains a list of conflicts, groups, and episodes of political violence that are appropriate topics for your research paper. These cases are contemporary: most were ongoing or erupted after 1989.

1. Abu Sayyaf Group (Philippines; 1991–present)
2. Afghanistan (Taliban v. Northern Alliance) (1994–2001)
3. Algeria (1991–2002)
4. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Mahgreb (2003–present)
5. Al-Shabaab (2007–present)
6. Angola (1975–2002)
7. Aum Shinrikyo (1990s)
8. Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh) (1991–1994)
9. Boko Haram (2009–present)
10. Bosnia (1991–1995)
11. Burundi (1993–2005)
12. Chechnya (1st, 1994–1996; or 2nd, 1998–2009)
13. Colombia (FARC) (1964–present)
14. Croatia (1991–1995)
15. Darfur (2003–present)
16. DRC War (1st, 1997; or 2nd, 1998–2003)
17. East Timor (1975–1999)
18. Ethiopia (1975–1991)
19. Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) (1959–2011)
20. EZLN (Zapatistas) (1994)
21. Fatah (1959–present)
22. Georgia (Abkhazia / South Ossetia) (1992–1993)
23. Guatemala (1966–1996)
24. Hamas (1987–present)
25. Hezbollah (1983–present)
26. Intifada (Israel/Palestine) (1st, 1987–1993; or 2nd, 2000–2005)
27. Irish Republican Army (1968–1998)
28. Ivory Coast (Cote d’Ivoire) (2002–2007)
29. Kach/Kahane Chai (1971–1994)
30. Kashmir (1989–present)
31. Kosovo (1998–1999)
32. Kurdish insurgency in Turkey (1984–present)
33. Kurdish and/or Shia uprising in Iraq (1991)
34. Liberia (1st or 2nd) (1989–1996; 1998–2003)
35. Moro insurgency (Philippines; 1969–present)
36. Nepal (1996–2006)
37. Peru (MRTA) (1982–1997)
38. Peru (Shining Path) (1980–2000)
39. Rwanda (1991–1994)
40. Sierra Leone (1991–2002)
41. Sri Lanka (LTTE) (1983–2009)
42. Somalia (internationalized period; 1991–1995)
43. South Africa (ANC v. IFP) (early 1990s)
44. Sudan (2nd; SPLA) (1985–2005)
45. Uganda (Lord’s Resistance Army) (1987–present)

A couple good places to begin your research include the following websites:

1. UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia: <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/database/>
2. START Terrorist Groups: <http://apps.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/BrowseBy.aspx?category=perpet>