**Political Science 142L**

**Insurgency and Terrorism
Winter 2014-2015**

David Mares (dmares@ucsd.edu) Tu,Th 6:30-7:50
SSB 366 CSB 002
858-534-4205 Office Hours: T 4-5 & by app’t

dmares@ucsd.edu [http://weber.ucsd.edu/%7Edmares/](http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dmares/)

This course is a systematic examination of the origins and tactics of terrorism as well as of the policies that democratic states have used to defend themselves from terrorism. We will analyze the logic of these unconventional violent acts as well as the political uses of the terms “terrorism,” “terrorist,” “freedom fighter,” “patriot,” and “guerrilla.” An historical and cross-cultural perspective will inform our study of the causes of terrorism and the range of responses to terrorism. These past international and domestic policy responses and trade-offs are discussed as we examine responses to terrorism and guerrilla warfare in the 21st century.

Please note that this is NOT a course on counterterrorism tactics or specifically on US policy in its War on Terrorism; if you are looking for that type of course please look elsewhere. From a social science perspective I find the ‘terrorist’ experiences in which military tactics have failed to defeat terrorism especially interesting – both why some groups using tactics labeled by their targets as ‘terrorism’ have been able to survive and how governments have come to terms with such failures (e.g., IRA in Ireland, Irgun and PLO in Palestine, Muqtada al-Sadr in Iraq).

**Readings**: Some readings are in a course reader and others are web-based; you can access JSTOR for these latter readings via your UCSD account. Course reader will be provided by University Readers, 4186 Sorrento Valley Blvd Ste H, San Diego, CA 92121, 800.200.3908 (phone), 858.552.1422 (fax) [www.universityreaders.com](http://www.universityreaders.com)

**TopHat software:** students are required to purchase a license for using this software. A license good for five years and useable across classes, or for this quarter use only can be purchased. To get started please go to <https://support.tophatmonocle.com/hc/en-us/categories/200000744-Student-Orientation> . You can also find a quick start tutorial at [https://s3.amazonaws.com/thm-corporate/Support/Guides/Student+Quick+Start+Guide+-W2014-.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/thm-corporate/Support/Guides/Student%2BQuick%2BStart%2BGuide%2B-W2014-.pdf)

**Course Requirements**: Grading will be based on class participation (10% via TopHat in-class software) a midterm (40%) and final exam (50%). The final exam is take-home; it will be distributed on the last day of class and is due at the time of our regularly scheduled final exam. You will need to use Turnitin.com; instructions will be provided in class. Please plan accordingly. You are responsible for material in the readings and that which is presented in lecture.PowerPoints summarizing the lectures will be available on the course web site, but lectures are not PodCast. *Cheating on exams will result in failure of the entire course.*

*Make-up finals are offered only if a student has a valid reason for not taking the final at the regularly scheduled time.  Valid reasons include: serious illness and family disasters.  Conflicting finals (either multiple finals on the same day or two finals at the same time) are NOT considered a legitimate reason – students are aware of the final exam schedule when scheduling their courses.*

## Readings

**Week 1: Terrorism – Problems of Definition and Classification**

Charles Tilly, “Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists” *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 22, No. 1, Theories of Terrorism: A Symposium (Mar., 2004), pp. 5-13 accessible via UCSD - JSTOR

Eqbal Ahmad, “Terrorism: Theirs and Ours” presentation at the University of Colorado, October 12, 1998. <http://www.indiatogether.org/opinions/talks/ahmad01.htm>

Shannon E. French, “Murderers, Not Warriors: The Moral Distinction Between Terrorists and Legitimate Fighters in Asymmetric Conflicts” pp. 31-46 in James P. Sterba, ed,. *Terrorism and International Justice* Oxford University Press, 2003 in READER.

Cyra A. Choudhury, “Comprehending “Our” Violence: Reflections on the Liberal Universalist Tradition, National Identity and the War on Iraq” *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* Volume 3, Issue1 2006 accessible via UCSD access to Berkeley Electronic Press

**Week 2: Debating the** **Origins of Terrorism**

David C. Rapoport, “Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (Sep., 1984), pp. 658-677 access via JSTOR and your UCSD connection

Martin A. Miller, “The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe,” Reader.

Bruce Hoffman, “The Modern Terrorist Mindset: Tactics, targets and technologies´

[Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, St. Andrews University, Scotland](https://vpn-2.ucsd.edu/%2BCSCO%2B0h756767633A2F2F6A6A6A2E70766E626172672E626574%2B%2B/wps/sites/stan.html) , October 1997 accessible via UCSD library

Ian S. Lustick, “Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Targets and Audiences,” in Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context* pp. 514-552 READER

Jitka Malečková and Alan B. Krueger, “Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17, 4, fall 2003, pp. 119-144. via JSTOR

**Week 3: Organizing and Financing Terrorism**

Kevin Siqueira“Political and Militant Wings within Dissident Movements and Organizations” *Journal Of Conflict Resolution*, Vol.4 9 No. 2, April2 0052 18-236

As'ad Abu Khalil, “Internal Contradictions in the PFLP: Decision Making and Policy Orientation” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Summer, 1987), pp. 361-378 access through JSTOR

Michael von Tangen Page and M. L. R. Smith, “War by Other Means: The Problem of Political Control in Irish Republican Strategy” *Armed Forces and Society* 27:1 Fall 2000 .pdf version at <http://afs.sagepub.com/content/vol27/issue1/> you have access via a UCSD server

Michael Freeman and Moyara Ruehsen, “Terrorism Financing Methods: An Overview” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 7:4 available on course web site

US Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Chapter 3: State Sponsors of Terrorism and Chapter 5: Safe Havens *Country Reports on Terrorism 2013* <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2013/> **website for other information:** <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/>

**Week 4: Terrorism in the Name of Revolution: Guerrilla Warfare and State Response**

Carlos Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* [*http://www.marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/index.htm*](http://www.marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/index.htm).

Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson “The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Sep., 1972), pp. 383-396 via JSTOR from UCSD connection

Stathis N. Kalyvas, “The Paradox of Terrorism in Civil War” *The Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2004), pp. 97-138 access via JSTOR from UCSD connection

David R. Mares, “The National Security State**”** in Thomas H. Holloway, Editor, *Blackwell Companion to Latin American History* <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dmares/National%20Security%20State.pdf>

Robert W. Taylor and Harry E. Vanden, “Defining Terrorism in El Salvador: "La Matanza" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 463, International Terrorism (Sep., 1982), pp. 106-118 via JSTOR

**Week 5: Terrorism in Modern Democracies**

Ted Robert Gurr, “Terrorism in democracies: Its social and political bases,” in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism*. READER

Risa Brooks, “Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access Affects Militant Activity**”** *Security Studies*, 18:756–788, 2009 access via JSTOR

“Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)”Updated: November 17, 2008

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9271/>

Fernando Reinares “3/11 Madrid Bombings: An Assessment after 5 Years” video of a presentation <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-311-madrid-bombings-assessment-after-5-years> (~2 hours)

Michael Barkun, “Religion, Militias, and Oklahoma City: The Mind of Conspiratorialists” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 8 (1), Spring 1996: 50-64. READER

William M. Leary, Jr “Woodrow Wilson, Irish Americans, and the Election of 1916 “ *The Journal of American History* > Vol. 54, No. 1 (Jun., 1967), pp. 57-72 accessible via JSTOR

**Week 5 THUR: MIDTERM EXAMINATION**

**Week 6: The Arab-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli Cases**

Exodus 12 [www.mechon-mamre.org/e/et/et0212.htm](http://www.mechon-mamre.org/e/et/et0212.htm)

Center for Defense and International Security Studies (CDISS) “Terrorism 1940-1949” <http://www.timripley.co.uk/terrorism/terrorism1.htm>

“The Irgun in Exile” [www.etzel.org.il/english/ac16.htm](http://www.etzel.org.il/english/ac16.htm);“The Irgun Abroad” [www.etzel.org.il/english/ac16.htm](http://www.etzel.org.il/english/ac16.htm);

Helga Baumgarten, “The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948–2005” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Summer 2005), pp. 25-48 access via JSTOR

~~John Kelsay,~~ *~~Islam and War~~* ~~Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993 pp. 77-110 in READER~~

**Week 7: Cycles of Violence**

Stephen M Shellman, Brian P Levey, and Joseph K Young, “Shifting sands: Explaining and predicting phase shifts by dissident organizations”*Journal of Peace Research* May 2013 50: 319-336, access via JSTOR

Véronique Dudouet, “Dynamics and factors of transition from armed struggle to nonviolent resistance**”** *Journal of Peace Research* May 2013 50: 401-413*,* access via JSTOR

David Steele, “Creative Approaches to Conflict Transformation in Societies Affected by Extremist Religion” available on course web site

Sachedina, The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism, pp. 102-31

Amstutz, The Healing of Nations, pp. 91-113

Gopin, Between Eden and Armageddon, pp. 51-64

Gopin, To Make the Earth Whole, pp. 12-20

Appleby, the Ambivalence of the Sacred, pp. 57-63, 81-91, & 117-20

**Week 8: A New Terrorism?**

Martha Crenshaw, “Why America? The Globalization of Civil War,” *Current History*, 100 (December 2001), pp. 425-32. <http://beacon.salemstate.edu/~cmauriello/pdf_his102/Why%20America.pdf>

Thomas Homer-Dixon, “The Rise of Complex Terrorism,” *Foreign Policy* 128 52-62. <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2002/01/01/the_rise_of_complex_terrorism>

The National Counterterrorism Center, *2010 Report on Terrorism* Office of the Director of National Intelligence, April 2011 <http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/2010_report_on_terrorism.pdf>

Robert A. Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 3 August 2003 access at JSTOR via UCSD Libraries

**Week 9**

 Jonathan Powell, “How to Talk to Terrorists” file on course website

 Thomas Mueller, “Extremism Rises among Myanmar Buddhists” *The New York Times* <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/21/world/asia/extremism-rises-among-myanmar-buddhists-wary-of-muslim-minority.html?pagewanted=2&_r=0&nl=todaysheadlines&emc=edit_th_20130621>

Charles Lister, “Profiling the Islamic State” Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper, December 1, 2014 <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports2/2014/12/profiling-islamic-state-lister>

Wall Street Journal, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/americans-cellphones-targeted-in-secret-u-s-spy-program-1415917533>

Jesse Driscoll, Paper accessed via course web page

Eric Rosand, Alistair Millar, and Jason Ipe,“Civil Society and the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: Opportunities and Challenges” *Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, United Nations* September 2008 <http://www.globalct.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/civil_society.pdf>

**Week 10: Responding to Terrorism in the 21st Century: Goals and Strategies**

Bruce Hoffman and Kim Cragin, “Counterterrorism Lessons Learned from Five Countries” <http://www.fathom.com/feature/190155>

Audrey Kurth Cronin, “How Al Qaeda Ends – The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups”, *International Security*, 31, 1, summer 2006, pp. 7-48. Access via JSTOR

White House, *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, September 2006 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nsct/2006/> compare with 2011 version at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf>

# *Confronting Terrorism: The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism*, Vol 2. The International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism And Security 8-11 March 2005 Madrid <http://summit.clubmadrid.org/causes/the-madrid-summit-working-paper-series.html>

# *Toward a Democratic Response: The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism*, Vol 3. The International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism And Security 8-11 March 2005 Madrid same link as above