**Course Syllabus**

**ISSS 4005: IRREGULAR WARFARE: TERRORISTS, INSURGENTS, and TRANSNATIONAL CRIMINALS**

**Fall 2014**

**University of Virginia**

**Bachelor of Interdisciplinary Studies**

**Charlottesville Campus**

**Tuesday 4-6:45 pm, Zehmer Room D**

**Aug 26 – Dec 2**

Instructor: Sean Edwards, Ph.D.

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Irregular warfare is a violent struggle between state and non-state actors for legitimacy and/or influence over a relevant population. Irregular wars waged by insurgents, terrorists, and criminal organizations have comprised 80% of all armed conflict since 1945. These types of conflicts are protracted, costly, messy, and more likely along the "arc of instability." We expect this trend to continue. This course will educate students on the history and theory behind terrorist and insurgent campaigns, with specific case studies drawn mostly from the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, to include current crises in Syria-Iraq and Nigeria. Students will explore the underlying political, social, economic, and other factors that lead to the birth of insurgencies and terrorist movements in the first place, the competing strategic approaches to insurgency and counterinsurgency, and explore US policy options for how we can best avoid large scale conflict in the first place by smart early intervention. We will also explore the national security threat posed by transnational criminal organizations and gangs in Central and South America.

Students will be expected to take an active role in class discussions. Grades will be based upon attendance and class participation, two 5-10 page papers, and one take home essay exam. Note the emphasis on participation - 30% of the grade - so I strongly encourage you read the recommended readings to maximize that opportunity.

**Instructor:** Sean Edwards is currently the Senior Intelligence Officer (SIO) for Irregular Warfare for a US Government agency. He served as an airborne ranger in the US Army before attending college and has worked as an analyst, branch chief, and SIO for the past 13 years. He deployed to Kabul, Afghanistan as a senior advisor to ISAF Joint Command in the summer of 2011. He holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Policy Analysis from RAND*,* an M.A. in National Security Studies from Georgetown University, and B.A. in History and Mathematics from UVA. He has written dozens of classified assessments and published several monographs in open source on topics ranging from urban warfare to the US Army's role in space. His dissertation, *Swarming and the Future of Warfare,* was published by RAND in 2005.

**Learning Outcomes**

A comprehensive understanding of the conceptual issues associated with irregular warfare, and particularly, of insurgency, terrorism, and transnational criminals.

Improved research and writing skills associated with a complex analytical subject that spans multiple social science disciplines. Writing assignments are timed essay format or home study research papers.

Basic awareness and vocabulary associated with the theory and practice of irregular warfare.

A basic understanding of the political, economic, social, historical, and geographical drivers of violent political instability around the world today.

Important questions to be explored and potential paper topics:

* Why did irregular warfare come to dominate conflict after 1945?
* What is the difference between a terrorist and an insurgent?
* What motivates people to join terrorist or insurgent groups? What factors correlate with terrorist or insurgent success?
* What are the most effective counterinsurgent and counter terrorist practices? How can the US build partner capacity to defeat violent extremists?
* Can population-centric counterinsurgency work for the United States?
* How has the changing information environment affected the capability of non-state actors to engage in irregular warfare? What is driving the empowerment of small groups and individuals?
* Has the nature of insurgency changed in the 21st Century?
* Which jihadist groups pose the greatest threat today?
* How do we choose where, when and how to counter insurgent and terrorist movements given our limited resources?

**Assessment Components:**

Papers must be referenced and have a bibliography in a recognized format (Chicago Manual of Style is recommended).

**Required Texts:**

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, a Division of W.W. Norton & Company, 2013, (ISBN 978-0-87140-424-4).

**Class Requirements**

Students will be expected to take an active role in class discussions. Grades will be based upon class participation, two 5-10 page papers, and one take home essay exam (timed). Note there is no class on Oct 14.

PAPERS: Students will write two 5-10 page papers.

EXAMS: Students will complete one essay exam at home under a 2 hour time constraint.

PARTICIPATION/ATTENDANCE: Given the importance of discussion, attendance is particularly important. Note that participation is 30% of your grade. If you must miss a class, please notify me by e-mail or telephone in advance, if possible. Missing class will affect the class participation grade: one missed class will have no effect on the grade, but each subsequent class missed will potentially lower the class participation grade.

READINGS: Students are expected to read the assigned readings and be prepared to discuss the various discussion questions. I have made efforts to distribute the reading equally but some issues necessarily required more reading than others, especially at the beginning. The lecture and reading schedule has been made as specific as possible to give the course structure and direction. However, realize that this schedule is subject to change to accommodate extended discussion of matters of interest for the class and to account for breaking events in Syria, etc.

**Evaluation Criteria**

Grades will be assigned as follows:

Level and quality of participation - 30%

First paper - 25%

Second paper - 25%

Essay exam - 20%

**Class Schedule:**

**Class 1: Tuesday, Aug 26**

**Introduction, definitions, the terrorist-insurgency continuum, survey of ongoing conflicts and threats around the World**

Reading:

David Killcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Chapter 1, pp. 1-38.

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. xx-xxvii, 8-12, 41-43.

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**Class 2: Tuesday, Sep 2**

**Civil War Dynamics**

Sidney Tarrow, “Inside Insurgencies: Politics and Violence in an Age of Civil War,” *American Political Science Review 5*, no. 3 (2007).

2nd reading TBD...

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**Class 3: Tuesday, Sep 9**

**Underlying Causes of Extremism**

USAID, *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism*, Produced by Guilain Denoeux with Lynn Carter of Management Systems International, 2009 (**skim**).

Recommended:

Michael Mousseau, “Market Civilization and Its Clash with Terror,” *International Security* 27:3, Winter 2002/03, pp. 5-29.

Jeff Victoroff, "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches," *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 49:1, 2005, pp. 3-42.

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**Class 4: Tuesday, Sep 16**

**History of guerrilla and revolutionary warfare, classic theories of insurgency**

Reading:

John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, "Revolutionary War," in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, edited by Peter Paret, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 815-862.

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. 328-346

Bard E. O’Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism*, 2nd Edition, Revised, Potomac Books, Inc., 2005, Chapter 3, Insurgent Strategies, pp. 15-70.

Recommended:

John Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam,* University of Chicago Press, Chapter 2, pp. 15-33.

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**Class 5: Tuesday, Sep 23**

**Mao Zedong and the Communist Insurgency in China**

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. 328-346.

Recommended:

Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, translated from the Chinese by Samuel Griffith II, University of Illinois Press, 1961.

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**Class 6: Tuesday, Sep 30**

**Wars of National Liberation: Malaya, Algeria, Vietnam**

Reading:

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. 321-327, 364-377, 378-393, 413-426.

Recommended:

Andrew F. Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam,* JHU Press, 1988, Chapters 6-7, pp. 164-214.

John Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam,* University of Chicago Press, Chapters 4-5, pp. 59-85, 87-111.

***1st Paper Outline/draft Due***

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**Tuesday, Oct 7 – No Class**

**No class – swapping this week with Oct 14 reading day**

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**Class 7: Tuesday, Oct 14**

**Counterinsurgency Practices**

Reading:

David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice,* Praeger Security International, 1964, Chapters 5-7, pp. 70-134*.*

Gian P. Gentile, “A Strategy of Tactics: Population-centric COIN and the Army,*” Parameters,* Autumn 2009, pp. 5-17.

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**Class 8: Tuesday, Oct 21**

**The 4 Waves of Modern Terrorism**

Reading:

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. 202-264, 450-477.

David C. Rapoport, “The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism,” *Current History*, December 2001.

Recommended Reading:

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, 31:1, Summer 2006, pp. 49-80.

Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security*, 31:2, Fall 2006, pp. 42-78.

***1st Paper Final Draft Due***

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**Class 9: Tuesday, Oct 28 -**

**Rise of Radical Islam (Shia and Sunni)**

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. 478-528.

Recommended Reading:

David J. Kilcullen, “Countering Global Insurgency,” *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, August 2005, pp. 597-617.

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**Class 10: Tuesday, Nov 4**

**Case Studies: Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) and Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF)**

Reading:

Max Boot, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to* *the Present*, New York & London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013, pp. 529-546.

Recommended:

David Killcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Chapters 2-3, pp. 39-185.

David Patraeus, “Learning Counterinsurgency: Observations from Soldiering in Iraq," *Military Review,* 86:1, Jan-Feb 2006, pp. 2-12.

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**Class 11: Tuesday, Nov 11**

 **Case Studies: Syria-Iraq and Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and**

**Nigeria and Boko Haram**

Reading:

International Crisis Group, *Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (VII): The Syrian Regime's Slow Motion Suicide,* July 2011.

Andrew Walker, *What is Boko Haram?,* US Institute for Peace, Special Report 38, June 2012.

***2nd Paper Outline/Draft Due***

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**Class 12: Tuesday, Nov 18**

**The Insurgency-Crime Nexus: The FARC, Taliban, and Mexican TCOs - Part One**

Reading:

Hal Brands, *Mexico’s Narco-Insurgency and U.S. Counterdrug Policy*, Strategic Studies Institute, 2009, pp. 1-13.

Brad Freden, “The COIN Approach to Mexican Drug Cartels: Square Peg in a Round Hole,” *Small Wars Journal*, Small Wars Journal LLC, December 2011 (found at <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-coin-approach-to-mexican-drug-cartels-square-peg-in-a-round-hole>

June Beittel, *Mexico’s Drug Trafficking Organizations: Source and Scope of the Rising Violence*, Congressional Research Service, June 2012, (**Skim**).

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**Class 13: Thursday, Nov 25**

**Hybrid Warfare**

Frank Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars,* Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007 (**Skim**).

Russell Glenn, "Thoughts on "Hybrid" Conflict, *Small Wars Journal*, Small Wars Journal LLC, 2009.

***2nd Paper Final Draft Due***

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**Class 14: Tuesday, Dec 2**

**The Future of Irregular Warfare**

Reading:

 “Complex Irregular Warfare: The Face of Contemporary Conflict,” *Military Balance*, IISS, 2005, pp. 411-420.

David Killcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Conclusions, pp. 291-301.

David Killcullen, "The City as a System: Future Conflict and Urban Resilience." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 19-39.

***Take Home Essay exam due***

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**Technical Specifications: Computer Hardware**

* Computer with basic audio/video output equipment
* Internet access (broadband recommended)
* Microsoft Word

**Technical Support Contacts**

* Login/Password: scpshelpdesk@virginia.edu
* UVaCollab: collab-support@virginia.edu
* BbCollaborate (Elluminate) Support: <http://support.blackboardcollaborate.com>

**UVa Policies**

**SCPS Grading Policies:** Courses carrying a School of Continuing and Professional Studies subject area use the following grading system:  A+, A, A-; B+, B, B-; C+, C, C-; D+, D, D-; F.  S (satisfactory) and U (unsatisfactory) are used for some course offerings. For noncredit courses, the grade notation is N (no credit). Students who audit courses receive the designation AU (audit). The symbol W is used when a student officially drops a course before its completion or if the student withdraws from an academic program of the University. Please visit [www.scps.virginia.edu/audience/students/grades](http://www.scps.virginia.edu/uploads/www.scps.virginia.edu/audience/students/grades) for more information.

**Attendance**: Students are expected to attend all class sessions. Instructors establish attendance and participation requirements for each of their courses. Class requirements, regardless of delivery mode, are not waived due to a student's absence from class. Instructors will require students to make up any missed coursework and may deny credit to any student whose absences are excessive. Instructors must keep an attendance record for each student enrolled in the course to document attendance and participation in class.

**University Email Policies:** Students are expected to check their official UVa email addresses on a frequent and consistent basis to remain informed of University communications, as certain communications may be time sensitive. Students who fail to check their email on a regular basis are responsible for any resulting consequences.

**University of Virginia Honor System:** All work should be pledged in the spirit of the Honor System at the University of Virginia.The instructor will indicate which assignments and activities are to be done individually and which permit collaboration. The following pledge should be written out at the end of all quizzes, examinations, individual assignments and papers: “I pledge that I have neither given nor received help on this examination (quiz, assignment, etc.)”. The pledge must be signed by the student. For more information, visit [www.virginia.edu/honor](http://www.virginia.edu/honor).

**Special Needs:** It is the policy of the University of Virginia to accommodate students with disabilities in accordance with federal and state laws. Any SCPS student with a disability who needs accommodation (e.g., in arrangements for seating, extended time for examinations, or note-taking, etc.),should contact the Student Disability Access Center (SDAC) and provide them with appropriate medical or psychological documentation of his/her condition. Once accommodations are approved, it is the student’s responsibility to follow up with the instructor about logistics and implementation of accommodations. Accommodations for test taking should be arranged at least 14 business days in advance of the date of the test(s). Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact the SDAC*:* 434-243-5180/Voice, 434-465-6579/Video Phone, 434-243-5188/Fax. Further policies and statements are available at[www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/sdac/sdac.html](http://www.scps.virginia.edu/uploads/www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/sdac/sdac.html)

For further policies and statements about student rights and responsibilities, please visit [www.scps.virginia.edu/audience/students](http://www.scps.virginia.edu/uploads/www.scps.virginia.edu/audience/students)