



Course program and reading list

Semester 1 Year 2023

School: Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy M.A

Insurgencies and Civil Wars

Lecturer:

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Course No.:	Course Type :	Weekly Hours :	Credit:
24177	Lecture	2	2

Course Requirements :	Group Code :	Language:
Final Paper	231241770	English



Course Description

In recent decades, internal wars have trumped inter-state wars in numbers, duration, and level of intensity. The purpose of this course is to examine the causes, conduct, termination, and aftermath of internal wars, many of which take the form of civil wars, and all of which involve insurgencies and counterinsurgency. The course focuses on insurgencies in the post-World War II period. It provides a historical, conceptual, and theoretical background of civil wars and insurgencies and examines contemporary scholarly and policy debates on these questions.



Course Goals

Internal conflicts have been the primary mode of conflict in the post-World War II period.

In recent decades, they have far exceeded inter-state wars in terms of numbers, duration, and level of intensity. Some internal wars have been internationalized, with far-reaching impacts on neighboring and even distant regions. The purpose of this course is to examine the causes, conduct, termination, and aftermath of civil wars. Special emphasis is placed on the conduct of internal wars—civil wars, and the nature of insurgency and counterinsurgency (COIN). The course will provide a historical and theoretical background of civil wars and insurgencies and examine contemporary scholarly and policy debates on these questions.

The course is structured into three main parts. Part I examines various theories about the causes of internal conflict and wars, including the role of grievances, greed, opportunity, natural resources, security dilemma, elite manipulation, weak states, and other causes. In Part II, we will examine the conduct in internal conflicts, with a particular focus on insurgency and counterinsurgency. Topics discussed in this bloc include how insurgencies form, organize, strategize, and govern. At the same time, we will also examine counterinsurgency doctrine, strategy, challenges, and limitations. Toward the end of the bloc, two lessons will examine contemporary case studies of insurgency and counterinsurgency and highlight current debates surrounding such issues as the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the question of whether the rise of the far right in the US amounts to an incipient insurgency.

In the last bloc, we will examine how civil wars, internal conflicts, and insurgencies end. In this context, we will review debates on various forms of civil war termination, intervention, and the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), as well as post-conflict settlement.

Requirements for the course include a mid-term memo—to be delivered in groups of three—as well as a final paper, which is to be written individually.



Grading

Midterm Assignment

Group Memo 25 %

Group Presentation 15 %

Final paper 60 %

Total 100 %

Midterm Assignment (40%):

For the midterm assignment, students will work in groups of three students and submit two separate deliverables: a group memo (25% of the final course grade); and a 10-minute, in-class presentation (15% of the final course grade).

Group Memo (25%):

Working in groups of three, students will prepare a group memo that will examine a civil war or insurgency of their choice, from a list provided by the instructor. The group memo serves a number of purposes. First, it allows students to work together in teams, and to deepen their familiarity and knowledge of a civil war or insurgency of their choice. Second, the memo is designed to help students apply concepts they learned in class to case studies that are of interest to them. Third, by presenting their memo to the class, all students in this class can deepen and broaden their knowledge about a variety of civil wars and insurgencies.

The group memo must contain four parts:

1. Background. This section provides an overview of the general background of the civil war or insurgency, such as location, date, main players, and a brief historical background.
2. Causes. This section offers an overview of the main causes of the civil war or insurgency, based on the available literature and conceptual discussion in class.
3. Insurgency and counterinsurgency strategy. This section discusses the main strategies used by the insurgent side, and the main strategy used by the counterinsurgents in order to achieve victory. Students are expected to apply concepts learned in class to analyze their cases.
4. Outcome. This section describes how the civil war or insurgency ended, and the short- and long-term outcome of the conflict.

Additional Group Memo Submission Instructions:

- Group memos are due electronically and have to be submitted via the Moodle Course website. Group memos are due on the day in which the relevant group presents the memo to the class.
- Group memos should range between 3 to a maximum of 4 pages (not including cover page and references). Papers should be written in Calibri font, 12 pt, single-spaced, and standard width margins.
- All sources used must be properly identified. Students should use endnotes (rather than footnotes) and avoid in-text citations. Other than that, any reference style is permitted, as long as students use it consistently throughout the memo.
- Memos are graded based on the following criteria:
 - Substance of the answers (6/25 points) – Does the substance of the memo accord with the material covered in class and the readings? Did students get the facts right? Is the information provided relevant? Is there any important information that is missing from the discussion?
 - Logic (6/25) – Is the memo written logically and coherently? Does the organization and structure of the memo make sense?
 - Clarity (6/25) – Do the memo authors articulate their points clearly? Is the paper written in an accessible fashion that avoids convoluted language?
 - Sources and referencing (4/25) – Do the students cite the sources used appropriately? Do the students use a reasonable amount of sources?
 - Adherence to guidelines (3/25) – Did the student adhere to all the guidelines provided by the instructor (page limitation, formatting, bibliography, etc.)?

- All papers must include a cover page and a bibliography. The cover page should list the course name, date, and the students' ID numbers. Bibliographies must include all sources used in the paper (and only those).

In-Class Group Presentation (15%):

Every team of students that submitted a memo together must present the memo to the class. All student presentations are in-class presentation. Students who take the class remotely should work together with each other, and these groups (and only these groups) are allowed to present their memo to class via Zoom. A schedule of in-class presentations will be distributed to the students. These presentations are designed to help the class become familiar with different empirical examples of civil wars and insurgencies; to deepen student engagement in the class; and to hone students' presentation skills. Presentations will be held throughout the course, starting in week 4. When grading the presentations, the instructor and the TA will take into account that some presentations were given early on in the course. Presentations are limited to a maximum of 10 minutes, and every student is expected to participate in the presentation of her/his group. PowerPoint or other visual aids are required. The presentations should adopt the same structure as the memo, and should therefore be divided into four sections:

1. Background
2. Causes
3. Strategies (both insurgent and counterinsurgent)
4. Outcome

A sign-up sheet will be distributed, so that students can sign up early on for topics and presentation dates. A list of insurgencies and civil wars is posted on Moodle course website. Students can examine a conflict that is not listed in the file, but need to seek instructor approval for that. Occasionally, we will suggest some relevant readings, but students are responsible for identifying the readings for their presentations themselves.

Presentations are graded based on the following criteria:

1. Substance (4/15)
2. Logic and clarity (4/15)
3. Visual presentation and delivery (4/15)
4. Adherence to time limits (3/15)

Final Paper (60%):

The final assignment for this course will take the form of a final paper, which is to be submitted online via the Moodle course webpage. The submission deadline for the final paper is **Friday, March 3, 2023, at 23:59 (UTC+2)**.

The final paper is an individual assignment. For this assignment, students will build on their midterm group memo by expanding the case study from their mid-term memo and while relating it to the conceptual and theoretical discussion in the course. Students are asked to focus on one of the topics from class, such as: causes of civil wars; insurgency and/or counterinsurgency doctrine; insurgency and/or counterinsurgency strategy; insurgent organization; counterinsurgency challenges; or conflict outcome, and to apply

that discussion to the case study of their mid-term assignment.

For example, if a student was part of a team that examined the Sri Lankan civil war in the mid-term assignment, then in the final paper he/she should examine the Sri Lankan civil war by choosing one of the following options:

1. The causes of the Sri Lankan civil war
2. Strategies of the main insurgent group, the LTTE, in the Sri Lankan civil war
3. Strategies of the counterinsurgent (i.e., the Sri Lankan government)
4. LTTE strategies
5. LTTE organization
6. Outcome of the Sri Lankan war

By examining any one of these topics, the student should apply concepts and theories in class to the case study. Here, students could either use the case study to show the applicability of the concepts, but students can also show the limitations of existing concepts and theories to the case study at hand.

Students who wish to stray from the midterm topics and write a final paper that is not related to their midterm can do so, but have to receive instructor approval for their topic. Regardless, all papers must apply concepts discussed in class to a case study.

Additional Submission Instructions:

- Final papers are "open book," meaning that students are allowed to use their class notes, and to consult the readings from the syllabus. It is permissible to consult additional reading materials not included in the syllabus, but it is not necessary to do so in order to do well in the papers.
- Final papers are individual assignments that students have to prepare by themselves. Students may not hire third parties to write their exams on their behalf. It also means that students may not work in teams, and students may not consult each other on how to answer or approach the exam questions. Students are, however, permitted to share class notes.
- Papers are to be submitted electronically via the Moodle class website by the deadline noted above. Late submission policies apply. There is a 5% reduction for each 48 hour period of late submission.
- The length of a final paper should be between 5-6 pages (not including cover page, endnotes, and bibliography). Papers should be written in Calibri font, 12 pt, double-spaced, and standard width margins. Students can submit a paper in Hebrew, in which case please use David font.
- All sources used must be properly documented. Students may use any citation style of their choice, but need to be consistent throughout the paper. Whenever possible, students should cite class readings in their answer, as opposed to making references to the class lectures.
- Sources that students should consult include required readings and class notes. It is recommended that students peruse relevant recommended readings. Outside sources that are not on the syllabus are permitted, but students should make sure that these sources are credible (in case of doubt, ask the TA or the instructor).

Wikipedia is not a credible source.

- All papers must include a cover page and a bibliography. The cover page should list the course name, date, and the student's ID number. Bibliographies must include all sources used in the paper (and only those).
- Papers are graded based on the following criteria:
- Substance of the answers (14/60) – Is the information presented in the paper factually accurate? Does the discussion of the paper pertain to the question posed in the final paper? Is the discussion related to the class, and informed by material pertinent to class?
- Logic (14/60) – Are the answers logical and coherent? Are the answers structured in a logical and coherent fashion? Does the organization and structure of the paper make sense? Does the student stay "on topic"?
- Clarity (14/60) – Does the student articulate his/her points clearly? Is the paper written in an accessible fashion that avoids convoluted language?
- Originality (8/60) – Does the paper offer any new and interesting insights? Does the paper provide any novel perspectives or approaches? Does the paper draw interesting connections to other topics or aspects covered in the course?
- Sources and referencing (5/60) – Does the student cite the sources used appropriately? Does the student use a reasonable amount of sources? Has the student made a reasonable effort to rely on readings, rather than "class discussion," whenever possible?
- Adherence to guidelines (5/60) – Did the student adhere to all the guidelines of the exam (page limitation, formatting, bibliography, etc.)?

Partial List of Insurgencies and Civil Wars for Midterm Assignment:

- Afghanistan (Taliban)
- Afghanistan (Mujahedeen vs. Soviets)
- Algeria (AQIM)
- Algeria (FLN vs. France)
- Burundi
- Cambodia (Khmer Rouge)
- Colombia (FARC)
- Cuba (Castro/Che Guevara)
- Cyprus Civil War
- Democratic Republic of Congo (various)
- Ethiopia-Eritrea
- Iraq (Sunni insurgency)
- Kashmir
- Kenya (Mau Mau)
- Korean Civil War
- Lebanese Civil War
- Lebanon (Hizballah)
- Libya
- Malaya (vs. Britain)
- Mozambique (RENAMO)

- Myanmar
 - Nigeria (Boko Haram)
 - North Caucasus
 - Northern Ireland (Irish Republican movement)
 - Philippines (Huk Rebellion)
 - Philippines (ISIS)
 - Rhodesia (Bush War)
 - Russia (Chechnya/North Caucasus)
 - Sierra Leone (Revolutionary United Front)
 - Sinai (ISIS Velayat Sinai)
 - Spain (Civil War)
 - Spain (ETA)
 - Sri Lanka (LTTE)
 - Thailand (South Thailand Insurgency)
 - Turkey (PKK)
 - Uganda (Lord's Resistance Army)
 - Vietnam (vs. US)
 - Yemen (AQIM)
 - Yemen (Houthi Rebellion)
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Learning Outcomes

PART I: INTERNAL WARS AND CONFLICT: CONCEPTS AND CAUSES

Lesson 1: Introduction to Civil Wars and Insurgencies

Lesson 2: Causes of Civil Wars 1

Lesson 3: Causes of Civil Wars 2

PART II: CONDUCT IN INTERNAL WARS: INSURGENCY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY

Lesson 4: Insurgency Doctrine

Lesson 5: Counterinsurgency Doctrine

Lesson 6: Insurgent Organization

Lesson 7: Insurgency Strategies

Lesson 8: COIN Challenges

Lesson 9: Contemporary COIN Debates

Lesson 10: Case Study: The Militia Movement in the US—An Insurgency in the Making?

PART III: CONFLICT TERMINATION

Lesson 11: Civil War Termination

Lesson 12: Intervention and R2P

Lesson 13: Post-Conflict Settlement



Reading List

PART I: INTERNAL WARS AND CONFLICT: CONCEPTS AND CAUSES

LESSON 1: INTRODUCTION TO CIVIL WARS AND INSURGENCIES

Core Readings:

- Barbara F. Walter, "The New New Civil wars," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 469–486.

Recommended Readings:

- Paul B. Rich and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "The Study of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," in Paul B. Rich and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 1–19.
- Nicholas Sambanis, "What is a Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, pp. 814–58.
- Stathis Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?'" *World Politics* 54 (October 2001), pp. 99–118.
- Staniland, Paul, 'Armed Politics and the Study of Intrastate Conflict', *Journal of Peace Research*, 54 (2017), 459–67
- Edward Newman and Karl DeRouen, Jr., "Introduction," in Edward Newman and Karl DeRouen, Jr., eds., *Routledge Handbook of Civil Wars*, 1–4.
- Edward Newman, *Understanding Civil Wars: Continuity and Change in Intrastate Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1–72.
- Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–15
- Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5.4 (1993), pp. 213–51.
- Assaf Moghadam, Ronit Berger, and Polina Beliakova, "Say Terrorist, Think Insurgent: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8.5 (2014).
- Jeremy Black, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: A Global History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), pp. 1–9.

LESSON 2: CAUSES OF CIVIL WARS I: GREED, GRIEVANCE, OPPORTUNITY, AND FAILED

STATES

Core Readings:

- Charles T. Call, "The Fallacy of the 'Failed State,'" *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 8 (December 2008): 1491-1507.

Recommended Readings:

- Mancur Olson, "The Free-Rider Problem," in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds., *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009)
- Peter Wallensteen, "Theoretical Developments in Understanding the Origins of Civil War," in Edward Newman and Karl DeRouen, Jr., eds., *Routledge Handbook of Civil Wars*, 11-27
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, 436-55.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher, "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars?: Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59.02 (2007): 177-216.
- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers*, No. 56 (2004), pp. 563-95 [skim].
- Michael L. Ross, "How do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization* 58, pp. 35-67.

LESSON 3: CAUSES OF CIVIL WARS II: RELIGION, ETHNICITY, SECURITY DILEMMA, AND ELITE MANIPULATION

Core Readings:

- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35.1 (Spring 1993), pp. 27-47

Recommended Readings:

- Ron E. Hassner, "To Halve and to Hold" Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies* 12, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 1-33.
- Monica Toft, "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," *International Security* 31, no. 4 (Spring 2007): 97-131.
- Kanchan Chandra, "What is Ethnicity and Does it Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2006, 9: 397-424.
- John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War,'" *International Security* 25, no. 1 (2000): 42-70.
- Bruce Gilley, "Against the Concept of Ethnic Conflict," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 6 (2004), pp. 1155-1166
- Charles King, "The Myth of Ethnic Warfare," *Foreign Affairs* 80.6 (November/December 2001), pp. 165-70.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American*

Political Science Review 97.1 (February 2003), pp. 75–90.

- V.P. Gagnon, Jr., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19.3 (Winter 1994–1995), pp. 130–66.

PART II: CONDUCT IN INTERNAL WARS: INSURGENCY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY

LESSON 4: INSURGENCY DOCTRINE

Core Readings:

- John Mackinlay, *The Insurgent Archipelago* (London: Hurst, 2009), 15–26.
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: PSI, 2006), pp. xii–x, 1–10.

Recommended Readings:

- Eran Zohar, "A New Typology of Contemporary Armed Non-State Actors: Interpreting the Diversity," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (no. 5, 2016): 423–450.
- U.S. Army/Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24: Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies, Chs. 4-5, pp. 4-1 – 5-7.
- Robert Taber, *War of the Flea*, pp. 1-24.
- John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2005), pp. 15–25.
- Seth G. Jones and Patrick B. Johnston, "The Future of Insurgency," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36.1 (2013), pp. 1-25.

LESSON 5: COUNTERINSURGENCY DOCTRINE

Core Readings:

- John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2005), pp. 26–33.
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: PSI, 2006), pp. 43–74.

Recommended Readings:

- David Kilcullen, "Counterinsurgency: The State of a Controversial Art," in *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*, pp. 128–54.
- Robert M. Cassidy, "Why Great Powers Fight Small Wars Badly," *Military Review*, Vol. 82 (September/October 2002)
- Bard O'Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism*, Ch. 8, pp. 155–197
- Thomas Keaney and Thomas Rid, "Understanding Counterinsurgency," in Thomas Rid and Thomas Keaney, eds., *Understanding Counterinsurgency: Doctrine*,

- Operations, and Challenges* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2010), 1-8.
- Austin Long, *On 'Other War': Lessons from Five Decades of RAND Counterinsurgency Research* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND), pp. 21-34.
 - David Ucko, "Wither Counterinsurgency? The Rise and Fall of a Divisive Concept," in Rich and Duyvesteyn, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*, pp. 67-79.
 - Michael Shurkin, "France's War in the Sahel and the Evolution of Counter-Insurgency Doctrine," *Texas National Security Review* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter 2020/2021). URL: <https://tnsr.org/2020/11/frances-war-in-the-sahel-and-the-evolution-of-counter-insurgency-doctrine/>

LESSON 6: INSURGENT ORGANIZATION

Core Readings:

- Paul Staniland, "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders," *Perspectives on Politics* (June 2012).

Recommended Readings:

- Bard O'Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism*, Ch. 6, pp. 115-138.
- Aisha Ahmad, "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," *International Security* 39, no 3 (2015): 89-117
- Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee JM Seymour, "A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 10.2 (June 2012): 265-283.
- Jakana Thomas and Kanisha Bond, "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations," *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 3 (2012): 488-506.
- Barbara F. Walter, "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars," *International Security* 42.2, pp. 7-39.
- Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson, "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War," *American Political Science Review* 107 (2013).
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict," *American Journal of Political Science* 57.3 (2013): 659-672.
- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 142-177.
- Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-101
- Ben Oppenheim, Ben, Abbey Steele, Juan F. Vargas, and Michael Weintraub, "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.5 (August 2015): 794-823
- Beth Elise Whitaker, James Igoe Walsh, and Justin M. Conrad, "Natural Resource Exploitation and Sexual Violence by Rebel Groups," *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 2 (2019): 702-706

LESSON 7: INSURGENCY STRATEGIES

Core Readings:

- Bard O'Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism*, Ch. 3, pp. 45–70.

Recommended Readings:

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Non-Violent Conflict," *International Security* 33.1 (Summer 2008)
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: PSI, 2006), pp. 11–42.
- V. Page Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes," *International Organization* 69.3 (June 2015), pp. 519–56.
- Dara Kay Cohen, "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)," *American Political Science Review* 107.3 (2013), pp. 461–477.
- Erin M. Kearns and Joseph K. Young, "Military Tactics in Civil War," in Edward Newman and Karl DeRouen, Jr., eds., *Routledge Handbook of Civil Wars*, 257–266.
- Jeremy Black, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: A Global History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), pp. 119–146.
- Jeremy M. Weinstein and Macartan Humphreys, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 100 (2006), pp. 429–47.
- Stathis Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," *Rationality and Society* 11.3 (1999), pp. 243–85
- Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, transl. Samuel B. Griffith II (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
- Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (BN Publishing, 2007).
- Carlos Marighella, *Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla* (Montreal: Abraham Guillen Press, 2002).
- Valerie M. Hudson and Hillary Matfess, "In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict," *International Security* 42, no. 1 (Summer 2017): 7–40.
- Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai, "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (2013): 679–705.

LESSON 8: COIN CHALLENGES

Core Readings

- David H. Ucko, "'The People are Revolting': An Anatomy of Authoritarian Counterinsurgency," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39.1 (2016): 29–61.

Recommended Readings:

- Montgomery McFate, "Culture," in Rid and Keaney, eds., *Understanding Counterinsurgency*, 189–204.
- U.S. Army/Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24: *Insurgencies and Countering*

- Insurgencies, Chs. 2-3, pp. 2-1 – 3-6.
- Nadia Schadlow, "Governance," in Thomas Rid and Thomas Keaney, eds., *Understanding Counterinsurgency: Doctrine, Operations, and Challenges* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 173-188.
 - Michelle Parker and Matthew Irvine, "Civil-Military Integration," in Rid and Keaney, eds., *Understanding Counterinsurgency*, 230-241.
 - Austin Long, "Time," in Rid and Keaney, eds., *Understanding Counterinsurgency*, 242-254.
 - U.S. Army/Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24: Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies, Chs. 1, 9-11, pp. 1-1 – 1-22; 9-1 – 11-14.
 - Alexander Downes, "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counter Insurgency Strategy," *Civil Wars* 9.4 (December 2007), pp. 420-44.
 - Yuri Zhukov, "Counterinsurgency in a Non-Democratic State: the Russian Example," in Rich and Duyvesteyn, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency* 286-300.
 - David H. Ucko, "The Malayan Emergency: The Legacy and Relevance of a Counter-Insurgency Success Story," *Defence Studies* Vol. 10, No. 1-2 (2010), pp. 3-39
 - Daniel Byman, "'Death Solves All Problems': The Authoritarian Model of Counterinsurgency," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39.1 (2016): 62-93.
 - David M. Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (2004): 49-91
 - Jason Lyall, "Does Indiscriminate Repression Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (2009): 331-362.

LESSON 9: CONTEMPORARY COIN DEBATES

Core Readings:

- Daniel Byman and Benjamin Wittes, "Remembering the Gains of the Afghanistan War," *Lawfare*, September 9, 2021. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/remembering-gains-afghanistan-war>
- Jacqueline L. Hazelton, "The Hearts-and-Minds Myth: How America gets Counterinsurgency Wrong," *Foreign Affairs*, July 15, 2021. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-07-15/hearts-and-minds-myth>

Recommended Readings:

- Mike Nelson, "It was the Best of COIN, it was the Worst of COIN: A Tale of Two Surges," Modern War Institute, U.S. Military Academy at West Point, June 24, 2021. URL: <https://mwi.usma.edu/it-was-the-best-of-coin-it-was-the-worst-of-coin-a-tale-of-two-surges/>
- Kori Schake, "Why the Afghan Army Folded," *Atlantic*, August 17, 2021. URL: <https://www.aei.org/op-eds/why-the-afghan-army-folded/>
- Nicholas Rasmussen, "Adopting a Whole of Society Approach to Terrorism and

Counterterrorism," JustSecurity.org, September 10, 2021. URL:

<https://www.justsecurity.org/78177/adopting-a-whole-of-society-approach-to-terrorism-and-counterterrorism/>

- Jessica Blankshain and Max Margulies, "The Downside of High Trust in the Military," New York Times, September 16, 2021. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/opinion/americans-trust-us-military.html>
- Jonathan Spyer, "The End of the Age of Insurgency," *Foreign Policy*, October 2, 2020. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/02/the-end-of-the-age-of-insurgency/>
- David J. Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28.4

(2005), pp. 597-617

- Frank Hoffman, "Neoclassical Counterinsurgency?" *Parameters* (March 2007)
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2. J.M. Berger, "Our Consensus Reality has Shattered," *Atlantic*, October 9, 2020. URL: https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/10/year-living-uncertainly/616648/?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=share

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PART III: CONFLICT TERMINATION

LESSON 11: CIVIL WAR TERMINATION

Core Readings:

- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 1-18.

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- Roy Licklider, "How Civil Wars End: Questions and Methods," in Roy Licklider, ed., *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), pp. 3-19.

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LESSON 12: INTERVENTION AND R2P

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- Richard Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73.6 (November/December 1994), pp. 20-33.
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- Zack Beauchamp, "Syria's Crisis and the Future of R2P," *Foreign Policy Middle East Channel*, March 17, 2012

LESSON 13: POST-CONFLICT SETTLEMENT

Core Readings:

- Matthew Hoddie, "Managing Conflict After Civil War: The Power-Sharing and Power Dividing Approaches", Finnish Institute of International Affairs, August 2014

Recommended Readings:

- Caroline Hartzell, "Peacebuilding after Civil War," in Edward Newman and Karl DeRouen, Jr., eds., *Routledge Handbook of Civil Wars*, pp. 376–386.
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