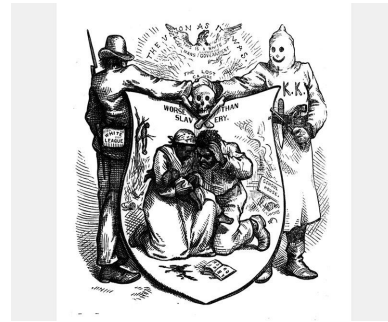


STRATEGIES OF REBELLION: FROM MAO TO ISIS
SISU-419-005-2018S
W 2:30 - 5:20 PM
Room: DMTI 114

INSTRUCTOR: Professor Megan A. Stewart, Ph.D. (megan.a.stewart@american.edu)

OFFICE HOURS: 1:30-5:30 PM Monday in SIS 212, and by appointment.



James Alex Fields, Jr. (left) and the Confederate Army/KKK (right)



Boudica (left), George Washington (center), and Toussaint Louverture (right)



The People's Liberation Army (left) and the Islamic State (right)

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The ultimate aim of this course is to explore the non-violent and violent strategies of rebellion deployed during the course of intrastate conflict, to bring the theoreticians of insurgency into dialogue with empirical realities of civil wars, to develop a broader understanding of the behaviors of rebel organizations, and to apply these theories to political phenomena outside of the literature of civil wars.

This course is intended for students interested in conflict processes, and students considering careers related to civil conflict and political violence. We begin the course by first discussing what civil wars, who the primary actors in civil war are, and what causes civil wars. Once the academic foundation for civil wars is established, we move to understand rebel group strategies, both non-violent and violent, in civil war. We begin by investigating the enduring strategists of civil war—Mao Tse-Tung and Che Guevara— and their influence on practice of rebellion. Based on these strategies, we then investigate who participates in civil wars, how rebel groups recruit, why people join insurgencies, and how rebels organize themselves. We then evaluate how rebels engage pursue victory through violent and non-violent means, and we disentangle the complex and overlapping process of intrastate conflict. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of what these myriad processes means for broader questions of political science: sovereignty, governance and state formation.

This is a rigorous, senior capstone course created for students to hone their skills in research, application and communication.

REQUIREMENTS

Attendance

Attendance is required and will be part of your final participation grade. I will allow one unexcused absence per semester, but each subsequent unexcused absence will count against you.

Readings

Required readings should be completed before the class for which they are assigned. For example, the readings listed for January 24 should be completed for class on January 24.

Class Participation

Class participation is a major portion of your grade and the more the class participates, the better, richer and more enjoyable the course will be. I expect all students to substantively intervene in discussion at least once per class. This intervention may take the form of an analysis, a question or a response to myself, the readings, or other students. Students are not permitted to apologize for substantive interventions in class.

In addition to class participation, all students will give a brief, 3-5 minute overview of one of the rebel groups listed below. In the presentation, students should address: why the civil war occurred; the goals, ideology and leaders of the rebel group; when and where the rebel operated; who the rebel group fought; who supported the rebel group; how long the war lasted; and the social, economic and political consequences of the war. Presentations will be assigned on the first day of class and will be due beginning the second week of class through the fifth week of class.

LIST OF REBEL GROUPS

Week 2 Presentations:

- Confederate Army (U.S.)
- People's Liberation Army (China)
- Nationalist Faction (Spain)
- National Liberation Front (Vietnam)
- Karen National Union

Week 3 Presentations:

- Algerian National Liberation Front
- 26th of July Movement
- African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)
- Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC)
- Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF)

Week 4 Presentations:

- Taliban
- Contras
- Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)
- Kurdish Workers Party (PKK)
- Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLM/A)

Week 5 Presentations:

- Hezbollah
- Hamas
- Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS)
- Kurdish Protection Units (YPG)

Discussion Responses

Students will be expected to post a one-paragraph response to the readings twenty-four hours prior to each class in the Discussion section of Blackboard. Students will be expected to post a response for at least ten weeks of the semester, excluding student presentations. These paragraph responses will push the readings forward by offering your analysis of the readings, or any questions the readings raised. The responses can also relate to texts discussed in previous classes. The paragraphs should **NOT** be a summary of the material. Students are expected to read each other's responses prior to class.

Course Paper and Related Assignments

There will be a final course paper due at the end of class. The final project is a 15-25 page research paper based on the course themes. Students may choose any topic related to civil war and investigate it using the appropriate methodological tools (qualitative or quantitative). Students will have to submit a **short, two page research proposal** for this paper about a month into the semester. Students will then **develop a theory and an outline** for the paper, which will be due about a month before the final paper. Students will give a **presentation of their work in progress** to the class for feedback and comments. The **final paper** will be due one week after the last class.

Course Outline

Introduction	January 17
Defining Civil War	January 24
Causes of Civil War	January 31
Why War? Strategies of Rebellion	February 7
Paper proposal due	February 11
Structure vs. Agency: Rebel Organization	February 14
Recruitment and Participation in Civil War	February 21
Importance of Territorial Control	February 28
Warfare in Civil War	March 7
Paper outline due	March 11
Terrorism and Civilian Victimization in Civil War	March 21
Rebel Governance	March 28
Insurgents in the International System	April 4
Broader Implications: Beyond Civil War	April 11
In-Class Presentations	April 18 and April 25
Final Paper Due	May 2

PROCEDURES

Office Hours

I will hold office hours each week to discuss substantive questions about readings, lectures, exams, and papers. As a general rule of thumb, if you have a substantive question that probably requires more than one or two sentences to answer thoroughly, I recommend that you come to office hours, schedule an appointment to meet with me, or save the question for class. This will be better for everyone because it not only saves time, but I will also be able to sit with you and work through the material in a much more comprehensive way, and in a way that I know will be clear to you. People in class probably have the same questions as you, so other people will benefit from raising them in class. If you have administrative or organizational questions, however, please check the syllabus before emailing me.

Late Papers

Deadlines are strict. No extensions will be granted in the absence of a genuine emergency or documented illness. Predictable events, such as a heavy workload or extracurricular activities, are not normally considered grounds for an extension. All appeals for extensions will be considered on a case-by-case basis. Late papers will be penalized one full letter grade for each day they are late.

Grading

Grades will be based on the absolute merit of your work, so there is no grading curve employed in this class. Your final grade will be calculated as follows:

Participation	20%
Blog Posts	15%
Research Proposal	10%
Paper Outline	10%
Research Presentation	10%
Research Paper	35%

Grading Disputes

You may email me about a grading concern after a 48-hour waiting period. You are entitled to a satisfactory explanation for why you received the grade you received. If you are not satisfied with the explanation provided by me, you may submit a written explanation for why you believe that your work was misgraded. The work will then be regraded by me with the understanding that I may ultimately issue a grade that is better, the same, or worse than the original grade.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. As defined by the American University's Academic Integrity Code, plagiarism is "the representation of someone else's words, ideas, or work as one's own without attribution." I will submit any suspected plagiarized material for evaluation by the AIC Administrator, who will evaluate the best course of action.

Blackboard

A Blackboard site has been created for this class. You can access the site at <https://blackboard.american.edu>. On the site, you will find announcements, the syllabus, pdf copies of the readings, the discussion board and information about assignments.

Classroom Etiquette

All cell phones, laptops, tablets, and related devices must be turned off and stowed away during class, unless otherwise noted or due to medical need.

Course discussion will consist of arguments and analysis, as defined in the field of philosophy, with a set of agreed upon premises that support a conclusion. While you are always entitled to your own opinion, this class is not a place for unsubstantiated ones.

All students are to respect each other and to promote civil classroom debate. I encourage all students to express evidenced-based arguments rooted in reason, civility, and compassion to ensure that everyone is comfortable learning without fear of judgment, ridicule or intimidation.

Ad hominem attacks or attacks on an individual's or group of individuals' character on the basis of gender, race, class, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, or other personal characteristics will not be tolerated and will result in the immediate dismissal of a student from class. Language intended to demean, intimidate, silence, and/or threaten, as well as epithets will absolutely not be tolerated and will result in the immediate dismissal of a student from class.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

In addition to the books and articles below, you should remain up-to-date about ongoing civil wars by reading major national newspapers, such as the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, on a daily basis.

All readings for this class are posted on Blackboard.

January 17: Introduction

Section I: Defining Civil War

January 24: Civil Wars and Insurgent Groups

Hobbes, Thomas. (1651). *The Leviathan*. Chapter 13: "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning their Felicity and Misery."

Sambanis, Nicholas. (2004) "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 814-858

Kalyvas, Stathis. (2001). "New and Old Civil Wars." *World Politics* 54(1): 99-118.

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

January 31: The Causes of Civil Wars

Posen, Barry. (1993). "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, 35(1):27-47.

Fearon, James and David Laitin. (2003). "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*. Vol 97. No. 1 (February 2003).

Weidmann, Nils B. (2011). "Violence 'From Above' or 'From Below'? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnias Civil War." *The Journal of Politics*. 73(4): 1178-1190.

Walter, Barbara F. (2015). "Why Bad Governance Leads to Repeat Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1242-1272.

Section II: Civil War Begins

February 7: Why War? Strategies of Rebellion

Mao Tse-Tung. (1937). *On Guerilla Warfare*. Chapters 1 and 3.

Guevara, Che. (1961). *Guerilla Warfare*. Chapter 1 and Section 5, Chapter 2.

Fanon, Frantz. (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth*. Chapter 1: "Concerning Violence."

Ryan, Michael. (2013). *Decoding Al-Qaeda's Strategy: The Deep Battle Against America*. Columbia University Press. Chapter 3.

February 14: Structure vs. Agency: Rebel Organization

Staniland, Paul. (2014). *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Cornell University Press. Part I.

Mao Tse-Tung. (1937). *On Guerilla Warfare*. Chapters 5 and 6.

Guevara, Che. (1961). *Guerilla Warfare*. Chapter 3.

February 21: Recruitment and Participation in Civil Wars

Weinstein, Jeremy. (2005). "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(4): 598-624.

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. (2008). "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(2): 436-455.

Wood, Elisabeth. (2003). *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press, 2003. Chapter 7: "Campesino Accounts of Insurgent Participation."

Thomas, Jakana L., and Kanisha D. Bond. (2015). "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 488-506.

February 28: Importance of Territorial Control in Civil Wars

Olson, Mancur. (1993). "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576

Kalyvas, Stathis. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6 and 7.

McCull, Robert W. (1969). "The Insurgent State: Territorial Bases of Revolution." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59(4): 613-631.

Section III: Variation in Military Strategies in Civil Wars

March 7: Insurgent Warfare

Tilly, Charles. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Addison Westley. Chapters 5 and 6
READ FIRST

Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Laia Balcells. (2010). "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 415-429.

Balcells, Laia. (2010) "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291-313.

Workshop Student Papers. Please bring your proposals or outlines to class. You may use laptops for this part of class.

March 21: Terrorism and Civilian Victimization in Civil Wars

Stanton, Jessica A. (2013). "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1009-1022.

Fazal, Tanisha. (2013). "Secessionism and Civilian Targeting."

Fortna, Virginia Page. (2015). "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3): 519-556.

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. (2006) "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 100(3): 429-447.

Cohen, Dara Kay. (2013) "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-477.

Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. (2013) "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 679-705.

Section IV: Political Strategies in Civil Wars

March 28: Rebel Governance

Berman, Eli, and David D. Laitin. (2008). "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model." *Journal of Public Economics* 92(10): 1942-1967.

Stewart, Megan A. (2018). *Civil War as State-Building: Strategic Governance in Civil Wars. International Organization*. 72(1): 1-22.

Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. (2011). *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War*. Cornell University Press. Chapter 3.

Arjona, Ana. (2016). *Rebelocracy*. Cambridge University Press, Introduction.

April 4: Rebels in the International System

Coggins, Bridget L. (2015). "Rebel Diplomacy: Theorizing Violent Non-State Actors? Strategic Use of Talk." in *Rebel Governance in Civil War*.

Huang, Reyko. (2016). "Rebel Diplomacy in Civil War." *International Security* 40(4): 89-126.

Jo, Hyeran. (2015). *Compliant Rebels*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Zeitsoff, Thomas. (2017). "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1970-1991.

Gohdes, Anita. (2017). "Studying the Internet and Violent Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. DOI: 0738894217733878.

Section V: Broader Theoretical Implications

April 11: State (Trans)-Formation

Weber, Max. "Politics as Vocation." *Pgs. 1-4 of link on Bb.*

Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Addison Westley, 1978. Chapter 7.

Coggins, Bridget. (2011) "Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism." *International Organization* 65(3): 433-467.

Butcher, Charles R., and Ryan D. Griffiths. (2017). "Between Eurocentrism and Babel: A Framework for the Analysis of States, State Systems, and International Orders." *International Studies Quarterly*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqw057>.

Workshop Student Papers. Please bring your revised outlines to class. You may use laptops for this part of class.

April 18: Student Presentations

April 25: Student Presentations

May 2: FINAL PAPER DUE VIA EMAIL