Fall 2011 Syllabus

POS 3253 Contemporary Revolution and Poli✝ical Violence[1]

Dr. Paul Vasquez, Department of Political Science
Class: Tuesday and Thursday 12:00-1:15 P.M.; Comm(unications) 0114 **(3 credit hours)**
Office: 305B Howard Phillips (HP) Hall; Phone (407) 823-3329
Office Hours: Monday and Wednesday, 1:00-4:00 P.M. and by appointment
Email: paul.vasquez@ucf.edu or 823-3329

Course Description: International relations scholars spend much time thinking about war between states, but in many conflicts governments fight against sub-state or non-state challengers. This raises a question this course will address: what causes revolutions, insurgencies, and other forms of political violence like terrorism to occur? Answers will be considered from political science, other social sciences, and history. We will also address a second related question: under what conditions do revolutions or rebellions succeed? Thus, our study will include military strategy and tactics to understand what government approaches are successful or ineffective in defeating these threats.

In terms of substance, we will begin with some readings that will offer an introduction to the subject of revolution, insurgency, and terrorism and spend a day exploring the United States' own history with revolution. Next we will examine a variety of potential casual factors in greater depth, including the role played by: strategy; environment; popular support; organization; international dynamics, as well as the responses of state actors. While our discussion of the variables mentioned above will transcend virtually every continent, we will study several cases in greater detail later in the semester from Latin American and Asia, including Southwest Asia (i.e., the Middle East). Finally, you will participate in a simulation activity related to this subject over a week, before we consider the international consequences of insurgencies and revolutions.

Required text: Required reading for this includes the following texts.

Bard O'Neil. 2005. *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Second Edition, revised. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc.

William R. Polk. 2008. *Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism, and Guerilla War, from the American Revolution to Iraq*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Other readings will be made available on Webcourses@UCF.

Course goals: In terms of substance, this course is designed to give students a better understanding of: 1) trends and developments with regard to the occurrence of political violence, typically involving most directly non-state actors, including revolutions, insurgencies,

[1] No, you did not mistakenly register for a religious studies course. The Cross of Lorraine, used here in place of the letter "t," was used to represent both the French resistance to Nazi occupation during World War II as well as French military units attempting to suppress armed resistance in Vietnam.

and acts of terrorism. 2) major theoretical perspectives and scientific insights offered by political scientists for understanding these types of political phenomenon; and 3) the relevance of these events to international relations and domestic politics. With regards to skill development, students will have the opportunity to 4) to improve their writing ability.

Requirements: I will evaluate your performance in this class in accord with the table below.

Assignment	Percentage of Final Grade	Due Date
Quizzes	10%	to be announced
Team Quizzes	10%	to be announced
Midterm exam	30%	Tuesday, Oct. 4th
Simulation exercise	5%	Tuesday & Thursday, Nov. 15 &17
Research Paper	15%	Tuesday, Nov. 22
Final exam	30%	Thursday, Dec.8 from 10-12:50
	100%	

Quizzes: Some quizzes will be announced in advance and other evaluations will be pop quizzes. Quizzes may cover any material from the lecture or reading assignments. However, pop quizzes will only be given over material that has already been covered in lecture or reading materials for the last completed chapter, according to the syllabus.

Team Quizzes: Early on in the semester I will assign everyone to a quiz team consisting of not more than five people. Like regular quizzes discussed above, team quizzes may either be announced in advance and others may be pop quizzes and may cover any material from lecture or reading assignments. Students will work together as a team to develop a single set of answers to the questions asked and will be graded on their commonly derived answers.

Midterm Exam: This multiple choice exam will cover information covered in the first half of the class. Warning: Do not assume that multiple choice questions will necessarily be easy. I design my exams to have a mix of questions ranging from those that are easy to those that are difficult, so prepare now accordingly.

Simulation Exercise: The teams from the team quiz assignments will work collaboratively over two days to try to assess the risks of political violence to several fictitious countries and how those risks could be diminished. Using what you have learned so far in the course, you will have the chance to ask questions of the instructor to gain insight into the characteristics of the fictitious countries at risk, and subsequently your teams will have the chance to recommend actions to undercut the risk of violence in the country that is most vulnerable. Students will work together as a team to develop their responses, and they will be graded on their commonly derived answers.

Research Paper: In this eight page paper, you are expected to examine an instance of revolution or political violence in greater depth than that covered in class. In your term paper, you should address the following points. 1) Discuss at least three causal factors that contributed to this case of political violence? 2) Identify what you believe to be the primary underlying and proximate causes of this phenomenon and use facts or theories to support your argument? 3) Address counterarguments by explaining why you consider other possible causal factors to be

less persuasive. 4) What action was taken by governmental or political actors to end this violence? 5) Were they successful? Why or why not? In addition to citing any readings or materials from class that you used to make your argument in the text and at the end of the paper, be sure to incorporate the insights from at least three journal articles (consult with me for permission to use general magazine articles) or book chapters that were not assigned readings. Online sources such as Wikipedia cannot count as one of your 10 citations. If you have questions about an online source, please talk to me. Include your bibliography as an additional page. Please note that mechanical elements of writing including, but not limited to proper spelling, grammar, punctuation, etc. are all important components of formal writing such as a college paper. Exceptionally poor performance in this regard could lower your paper grade by as much as 20 points, so take steps to avoid this eventuality. Papers should use 12-point font, double-spacing and 1 inch margins.

This assignment will be graded in accord with the following distribution of credit.

Mechanics of writing	20%	Research	30%
Clear and logical analysis	30%	Organization of paper	20%

Final Exam: This multiple choice exam will be comprehensive, but questions will be slightly weighted to information covered in the second half of the course. See the warning from the Midterm Exam section above about the perils of underestimating how challenging multiple choice exams can be.

Grades scale for course assignments

A	=	100-94
A-	=	93-90
B+	=	89-87
B	=	86-84
B-	=	83-80
C+	=	79-77
C	=	76-74
C-	=	73-70
D	=	69-60
F	=	59-0

Late work and Make-up Exams: Unless otherwise specified, out-of-class assignments are due at the beginning of class on the dates listed below. Late assignments will be penalized 10% for each full calendar day they are late, up to as much as 30%, unless a compelling and honest explanation is offered. Make-up exams may be given if they are missed for compelling, honest, unexpected, <u>and</u> sufficiently verifiable reasons. However, students making up exams must take them within the week unless health problems keep them from coming to campus. Students making up exams will not be given the same exam that was originally administered.

Extra credit: By verifiably attending designated lectures and presentations throughout the semester related to this class, students can extra credit (2.5 points per event up to a maximum of 5 points total) to their final course grade.

Important Advice: You should attend class each day to internalize lecture material and participate in other classroom activities as they come along. As you attempt to internalize the course content, you should come to class having read the material assigned for that day. You should be prepared to be quizzed over any course readings by the day for which that material is assigned. For example, you could be quizzed over the material for Chapter 3 on September 13th or any day afterwards. Take notes when you read and attend class lectures. Doing so will set you up to succeed on quizzes and exams. **Read this syllabus and assignments carefully to put yourself in position to succeed.**

Academic Support Services

Student Academic Resource Center (SARC) (Phillips Hall, Room 113/ (407) 823-5130): If you have trouble succeeding in this class and comprehending the material, you might benefit from contacting this office for assistance with improving your study skills.

University Writing Center (UWC) (MOD 608/ (407) 823-2197)**:** The Center is free for all UCF students. At the UWC, a writing consultant can work with you on anything you are writing, whether it is brainstorming or editing. While recommended, appointments are not required.

UCF Counseling Center (Building #27/ (407) 823-2811): Students experiencing formidable mental health challenges, including, but by no means limited to stress, anxiety, or depression, that are hindering their ability to be the best they can be should contact this office for help.

Students with Disabilities (Ferrell Commons, Room 132/ phone (407) 823-2371): Students with disabilities that need special accommodations regarding class attendance or assignments should have proof of their disability on file with Student Disability Services They should also inform the instructor of their within the first day of class or once they become aware of it, should such realization occur during the course of a semester.

Behavior

"To educate a man in mind and not in morals is to educate a menace to society." President Theodore Roosevelt.

Disruptions: If circumstances require you to arrive late for class, please do so in as discreet a manner as possible. Please limit distractions in class (for example, web surfing, cell phones, whispering, etc.) as much as possible. Such behavior bothers others who are paying good money to learn and it may be distracting to me as I attempt to do my job.

Cheating: **<u>Do not cheat</u>** as this clearly violates the Golden Rule Student Handbook and violates several aspects of the UCF Creed. Unless otherwise specified by the instructor (such as on team quizzes), your work must be your own. Cheating can come in many forms, including plagiarism. Plagiarism is when writers use other people's words or ideas and do not give them credit. Use footnotes or endnotes to give credit for direct quotes, paraphrased quotes, or borrowed ideas. Feel free to discuss readings and ideas with fellow students, but if you use their ideas, please reference them accordingly. If you don't know what footnotes or endnotes are, please ask me. Do not quote or paraphrase without giving credit in footnotes or endnotes. Do not copy or use papers or sections of papers from the web or other sources. I assume that all students in this class could write a better term paper than the junk sold on the Internet and will not resort to such dubious sources for their assignments. In the event that I suspect a paper of being plagiarized, I will use Turnitin.com to help with that determination. Instances of cheating that result in a grade being penalized will be reported to the Office of Student Conduct. Assignments on which cheating occurs will be penalized with an F and the weight of that assignment when factored into the final grade will be increased two-fold. For example, cheating by plagiarizing a portion of the short writing assignment would mean that 30% of your final grade would be a 0.

Class Schedule

Tuesday, Aug. 23 **Welcome and introductions**

Thursday, Aug. 25 **Overview**

Bard O'Neil. "The Nature of Insurgency" and "Insurgency in the Contemporary World." Chapters 1 and 2 in *Insurgency and Terrorism.* Brassey's Inc.: New York: 1-38.

Tuesday, Aug. 30 **Conditions that Facilitate Revolution and Political Violence**

"The Failed States Index." 2009. *Foreign Policy*. July/August: 80-83.

Polk. "The Spanish *Guerilla* against the French." Chapter 2 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 15.

Jack A. Goldstone. 1980. "Theories of Revolution." *World Politics*. April. (Vol. 32, No. 3): 425-453.

Recommended Readings:
-Theda Skocpol. 1976. "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 18, No. 2 (April): 175-210.
-Ted Gurr. 1968. "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence." *World Politics*. January (Vol. 20, No. 2): 245-278.
-Robert D. Kaplan. 2009. "Anarchy on Land Means Piracy at Sea." *The New York Times*.

Thursday, Sep. 1 **A "Familiar" Case: The American Revolution**

Robert B. Asprey. 1994. Chapter 6. In *War in the Shadows. The Guerrilla in History*. New York: William Morrow and Company: 63-71.

Polk. "The American Insurgency." Chapter 1 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 19.

Recommended Readings:
-Robert Leckie. 1981. *The Wars of America*. (Revised and Updated Edition). New York: Harper & Row: 83-125.
-Jac Weller. 1960. "The Irregular War in the South." *Military Affairs*. Autumn (Vol. 24, No. 3): 124-136.

Tuesday, Sep. 6 **Exploring Conditional Factors in Greater Depth: A. Strategy**

O'Neil. "Insurgent Strategies." Chapter 3 in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 45-67.

Thursday, Sep. 8 **B. The Environment.**

O'Neil. "The Environment." Chapter 4 in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 71-92.

Tuesday, Sep. 13 **C. Sources of Popular Support**

O'Neil. "Popular Support." Chapter 5 in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 93-114.

Don R. Bowen. 1977. "Guerrilla War in Western Missouri, 1862-1865: Historical Extensions of the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. January (Vol. 19, No. 1): 30-51.

Thursday, Sep. 15 **D. Guerrilla Organization**

O'Neil. "Organization and Unity." Chapter 6 in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 115-135.

Either Polk. "Tito and the Yugoslav Partisans." Chapter 5 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 17 **or** Polk. "The Greek Resistance." Chapter 6 in *Violent Politics*, pp.18.

Recommended Readings:
-Will H. Moore. 1995. "Rational Rebels: Overcoming the Free-Rider Problem." *Political Research Quarterly*. June (Vol. 48, No. 2): 417-454.
-"The Shining Path Comes Back." 1996. *Economist*. August 17. (Vol. 340, Issue 7979): 35.

Tuesday, Sep. 20 E. International Support

O'Neil. "External Support." Chapter 7 in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 139-152.

George W. Auxier. 1939. "The Propaganda Activities of the Cuban Junta in Precipitating the Spanish-American War, 1895-1898." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. August (Vol. 19, No. 3): 286-305.

Richard Weitz. 1986. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Latin America, 1960-1980." *Political Science Quarterly*. (Vol. 101, No. 3): 397-413.

Thursday, Sep. 22 State Responses to Violence, Revolution, and Insurgency

By now you should have a sense of the threat that states face from insurgents or rebels who resort to guerrilla-style tactics. However, threatening a state and actually taking away the authority to govern are two different things. In many cases, the difference between revolutions/insurgencies that succeed and those that fail depends upon the success of the states in defeating the challenge to their control of the country. In this section, the readings you are going to encounter address how states go about defeating challenges to their control and the factors that are associated with both successful and unsuccessful government efforts to do so.

O'Neil. "The Government Response." Chapter 8 in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 155-191.

Recommended Readings:

Andrew Mack. 1975. "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict." *World Politics*. (Vol. 27, No. 2): 175-200.

Terry Gross's radio interview with Jay Winnik (2001), author of *April 1865: The Month that Saved America*. Harper Collins: New York. Fresh Air from WHHY (National Public Radio). July 9, 2001. This sound clip is approximately 30 minutes long and can be accessed online at: www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyID=1125592.

Herbert Shapiro. 1964. "The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode." *The Journal of Negro History*. (Vol. 49, No. 1): 34-55.

Theodore Roosevelt. 1910 (published 2004). The New Nationalism: Speech at Osawatomie, Kansas. In *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches*. New York: The Library of America: 799-814.

Tuesday, Sep. 27

Polk. "The Philippine 'Insurrection.'" Chapter 3 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 19.

Polk. "The Irish Struggle for Independence." Chapter 4 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 18.

Thursday, Sep. 29

Polk. "Kenya and the Mau Mau." Chapter 7 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 17.

Polk. "The Algerian War of National Independence." Chapter 8 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 20.

Tuesday, Oct. 4 **Midterm Exam**

Thursday, Oct. 6 **Research Lecture**

Tuesday, Oct. 11 **International Case Studies of Revolution and Violence**
A. Cuba

Benjamin Keen and Mark Wasserman. "The Cuban Revolution." Chapter 17. In *A History of Latin America*. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 432-458

"The Cuban Revolution Revisited (Anthony DePalma and Prof. Samuel Farber): Video: 1 hour, 30 minutes. http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/191920-1

Recommended Readings:
-Marifeli Perez-Stable. 1994. "Politics and Society, 1902-1958." Chapter 2. The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy." 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 36-60.

Thursday, Oct. 13 **B. Vietnam**

Polk. "The Vietnamese Struggle against the French." Chapter 9 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 19.

Robert Maranto and Paula S. Tuchman. 1992. "Knowing the Rational Peasant: The Creation of Rival Incentive Structures in Vietnam." *Journal of Peace Research*. (Vol. 29, No. 3): 249-264.

Recommended Readings:
-Neil Sheehan, Hedrick Smith, E.W. Kenworthy, and Fox Buterfield. 1971. "Origins of the Insurgency in South Vietnam." Chapter 2. In *The Pentagon Papers: As Published by The New York Times*. New York: Bantam Books, Inc.: 67-78.

-R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy. 1993. "The United States War in Vietnam, 1965-1973." *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military History: From 3500 B.C. to the Present*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers: 1321-1325.

Tuesday, Oct. 18

Polk. "America takes over from France in Vietnam." Chapter 10 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 18.

Christian Appy. 2003. "War Heroes." In *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered From All Sides.* New York: Viking: 12-19.

Recommended Readings:
-Deborah D. Avant. 1993. "The Institutional Sources of Military Doctrine: Hegemons in Peripheral Wars**."** *International Studies Quarterly*. December (Vol. 37, No. 4): 409-430.
-Gil Merom. 2003. "Conclusion." Chapter 15. In *How Democracies Lose Small Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 229-250.
-James W. Pohl. 1974. "The American Revolution and the Vietnamese War: Pertinent Military Analogies." *The History Teacher*. February. (Vol. 7, No. 2): 255-265.

Thursday, Oct. 20 C. Iran

John L. Esposito. "The Iranian Revolution: A Ten-year Perspective." Chapter 2. In *The Iranian Revolution*. John L. Esposito (ed.) Miami: Florida International University Press, 1990, pp. 17-39.

"60 Minutes" on Iran. Video: 1 hour, 30 minutes. http://www.viddler.com/explore/iran/videos/1/

Recommended Readings:
-Ervand Abrahamian. 2001. "The 1953 Coup in Iran." *Science and Society*. Vol. 65, No.2 (Summer): 182-215.
- Ervand Abrahamian. 2009. "The Crowd in the Iranian Revolution." *Radical History Review*. Vol. 105: 13-38.

Tuesday, Oct. 25 D. Radical, Violent Islamic Fundamentalism

Robert Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." In *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues.* Robert Art and Robert Jervis (eds.). New York: Pearson Longman: 232-249.

James Zogby. 2010. "Super Myth Three: The Angry." *Arab Voices: What They are saying to Us and Why it Matters.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 81-94.

Recommended Readings:
-Chalmers Johnson. 2001. "Blowback." *The Nation*. October 15: 1-4.

-Michael Scheur. "Some Thoughts on the Power of Focused, Principled Hatred." Chapter 1. In *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Te*rror. Washington, D.C: Potomac Books: 1-19.
-James Zogby. 2010. *Arab Voices: What They are saying to Us and Why it Matters*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Thursday, Oct. 27 E. Iraq

Salam Karam. 2007. "The Multi-faced Sunni Insurgency: A Personal Reflection." *Civil Wars* Vol. 9, No. 1 (March): 87-105.

John A. McCary. 2009. "The Anbar Awakening: An Alliance of Incentives." *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 32, No. 1 (January): 43-59.

Recommended Readings:
-Kenneth Pollack. 2004. "Mourning After." *The New Republic*. June 28: 21-23.
-Jason Vest. 2005. "Willful Ignorance: How the Pentagon sent the army to Iraq without a counterinsurgency doctrine." Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. July/August: 41-48.
-Stephen Biddle. 2006. "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon." *Foreign Affairs*. March/ April (Vol. 85, No. 2): 2-14.

-Philip Giraldi. 2008. "Examining the Case for War: Allgegations of Iranian Interference in Iraq." Mediterranean Quarterly Vol. 19, No. 4: 1-13.

Tuesday, Nov. 1 F. Afghanistan

Polk. "The Afghan Resistance to the British and the Russians." Chapter 11 in *Violent Politics*, pp. 19.

"Kill/Capture." *Frontline*. May 10, 2011. 54 minutes. Warning: graphic images.
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/kill-capture/

Recommended Videos:
-"Behind Taliban Lines." *Frontline*. Feb. 23, 2010. 39 minutes. Warning: graphic images.
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/talibanlines/view/
"Obama's War." *Frontline*. Oct. 13, 2009. 55 minutes. Warning: graphic images.
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/obamaswar/view/

Thursday, Nov. 3 Class will not meet today (useful day to work on papers)

Tuesday, Nov. 8 **G. Pakistan**

Juan Cole. 2009. "Pakistan and Afghanistan: Beyond the Taliban." *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 124, No. 2: 221-249.

Recommended Readings:
-Seymour Hersh. 2009. "Defending the Arsenal." *The New Yorker*. November 16, 2009: 28-37.

Thursday, Nov. 10 **H. Egypt and the Arab Spring**

"Crisis in Egypt." The Diane Rehm Show. February 7, 2011. Video: 51 minutes.
http://thedianerehmshow.org/shows/2011-02-07/crisis-egypt

"Revolution in Cairo." Frontline. Video: 25 minutes.
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/

Recommended Readings:
-David Ignatius. "What Happens When the Arab Spring Turns to summer." *Foreign Policy*. April 22, 2011.

Tuesday, Nov. 15 **Revolutions and Political Violence Simulation**

Note: You will read a brief preparatory summary that will be posted on Moodle for an in class simulation exercise.

Thursday, Nov. 17 **Revolutions and Political Violence Simulation (continued)**

Tuesday, Nov. 22 **Quiz and discussion day--Research papers due today**

Thursday, Nov. 24 **Thanksgiving Holiday**

Tuesday, Nov. 29 **Macro Issues to Consider**

Polk. "Conclusion: The Very Expensive School." *Violent Politics*, pp. 23.

O'Neil. "Conclusion." Conclusion in *Insurgency and Terrorism*: 160-164.

Recommended Readings:
-Michael J. Mazarr. 2008. "The Folly of 'Assymetric war." *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Summer): 33-53.
-Stephen M. Walt. 1992. "Revolution and War." *World Politics*. April (Vol. 44, No. 3): 321-368.

Thursday, Dec. 1	**Last regular class today: review and course evaluations**
Thursday, Dec. 8:	**<u>Final Exam</u> from 10:00 AM - 12:50 P.M.**