WAR AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political Science 490, Fall 2013
Tuesdays, 9am to 11:50pm
Ripton Room 601 University Place (Scott Hall)

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Overview: This course is about post-World War II conflict primarily *within* states ["civil wars"] rather than between states. Why this focus? There are a lot of wars of this type as incidences of interstate wars decline. The few recent interstate wars, such as US military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan have led to engagements in civil wars. Civil wars present scholars with an intellectual quandary: Students of the historical development of institutions consider warfare to be a central element of state-building, while those studying contemporary civil wars associate warfare with state collapse. Has the nature of the war – state relationship undergone a fundamental shift? Studying war and political development offers opportunities to conceptualize the roles of violence, recruitment, mobilization and ideology in political relationships and formal institutions, and to think about how to mitigate conflicts.

Events of the past two decades highlight the roles of state failure, ethnic strife, enterprising commanders, and elements of international politics and geography in civil wars. Are ethnic tensions, great power strategies, religious extremism, colonialism, class warfare, resource competition, ideology or state failure causes of these conflicts or consequences of civil wars? Why and how do civil wars end? What is the impact of international efforts to mediate conflicts? This course will provide students with analytical tools to understand and evaluate different explanations of the causes of civil wars This course will be useful for those who are interested in the politics of ethnic conflict, the relationship between the character of civil wars and changes in the international system, the (potentially diverse) causes of civil wars, civil wars and state-building, and the causes for variations in the organization and behavior of armed groups.

This course is divided into four sections.

- The first section is called Section Zero because this class assumes no prior specialized knowledge of its subject and thus starts at the beginning. This section examines the magnitude of civil war occurrence and looks critically at how scholars collect and code data about civil wars. It considers the historical role of civil wars in state building in Europe and asks whether contemporary civil wars can play such a role, and if not, why not. Are these "new wars", new in terms of internal dynamics and impacts, or just differing in degrees from wars past?
- Section I focuses on individual and group-level explanations of causes of civil wars. Do greedy individuals cause civil wars? Are contemporary armed groups like bandits or criminal syndicates? What role does ethnic identity play in these

conflicts? How do natural resource endowments shape how and whether people fight? Is there a place for ideology and grievances in a field of study that focuses on materialist rational choice perspectives? What role does violence play in civil wars? Does it cause fighting or is it endogenous to a process of shaping the strategies of combatants?

- Section II looks at elite politics and the state in various causal explanations of civil wars and the behavior of actors. How do the defensive or ambitious strategies of elite groups influence these wars? Are contemporary studies of elite strategy smuggling in class analysis? What is the relationship of politics of elite survival and some of the micro-politics that we will study later?
- A final imaginary section would have followed if we had more time. We would have considered other variables such as international intervention and its impact on civil wars. What is the impact of international justice, either as a palliative or a deterrent to violence? How do pressures and evolving norms in the international community to promote democracy shape the behavior of armed groups? We also would have been able to consider counterinsurgency's impact on civil war politics and its role in the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars. I teach a political science 390 course that is dedicated to that and several other related topics.

This course is not about international law or global norms and warfare, though these issues are present in many readings. It is not about conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction, although those with such interests will find much of value in the material here. Finally, this is not a course about counterinsurgency, although much of the course content will be useful for addressing this issue.

Course requirements: There are two primary requirements for this class. The first is a paper due at the end of the term and the second consists of several opportunities to provide critical commentary on course material and fellow students' analyses. This component of the course will contribute 60 % to the calculation of the final grade.

The Paper: This paper will be about 20 or so double spaced pages, subject to negotiation for undergraduates. A rough draft is due in class on… an agreed date. The final version of the paper is due on the first day of exams (Monday, Dec 9th). First year graduate students may use this paper as a vehicle to try out ideas for their second year papers or explore topics that might be relevant to eventual dissertations. They also may write this paper as a review essay or an article for eventual submission to a scholarly journal for publication. Second year and other advanced students may want to use the paper as a way to develop a dissertation proposal, a grant proposal, or a chapter of a dissertation. Undergraduates will have the chance to develop a substantial writing sample for job or school applications. I prefer that all papers be sent to me electronically.

"What should I write about?" This list provides suggestions and is not exhaustive.

1. An analytical paper will identify a significant problem related to the politics of civil wars. This can take either a comparative perspective, focusing on the dynamics among groups directly engaged in one or several conflicts, or it can consider the international dimension of civil wars or a combination of these approaches. The emphasis of this type of paper will be on constructing a model or a theory to explain a problem. It will not test the model or theory against a particular set of data. To do so would be to write #2, which is …

2. An empirical paper will identify a significant problem related to civil wars, evaluate an existing set of policies designed to address this problem, propose a new way of approaching the problem that takes the reader beyond existing research, and use data to demonstrate the plausibility of this new argument. This type of paper can focus on a single case or it can examine a set of cases. Historical texts, ethnographic information, and statistical analyses of cross-national data are appropriate sources of data. The author should justify the choice of data and evaluate its reliability.

3. A review essay would survey a body of work related to one aspect of civil wars. This type of essay focuses on a coherent debate (or identifies one that ought to take place) and identifies avenues for future research. Several of the readings in this syllabus provide good examples of review essays.

4. A research proposal for a grant application or dissertation proposal would identify a significant problem related to civil wars. It would evaluate current approaches to addressing this problem and justify the need for additional research. It then develops a research design to address this absence.

Critical commentary consists of two response papers (20 % of total grade—10 % each), a commentary of a fellow student's rough draft of the class paper assignment (10 % of the total grade), and class participation (10 % of the total grade).

> *Response papers* should be about three pages. These papers help students to interpret the readings, and will help to prepare for a prelim exam. The week's readings should be summarized, but not at the expense of interpretation. The emphasis should be on the response. What are the unanswered questions in the reading? Draw connections between readings; their methods, data and conclusions. These essays may include all of the readings for one week or a subset of them. They do not need to include footnotes or a bibliography (except for references to works that are not included on the syllabus). Students will choose the weeks for their responses during the second class meeting (Tuesday, 1st Oct). *Essays should be sent to me electronically by 5pm on the day before the class.*

> The *commentary on student papers* will provide fellow students with constructive criticism and suggestions for their papers. Paper writers will provide a copy of their rough draft to fellow student commentators when submitting the rough drafts of papers to me on 19th November. Commentaries will be due to me after Reading Week (Monday, 2nd December—same day that papers are due). By then class members will have provided commentaries to their colleagues. These commentaries can be long or short as one prefers, so long as they are constructive.

> *Class participation* (10 % of the total grade) requires one to read assignments prior to class in preparation to arrive at seminars with the ability to discuss them.

Readings: Articles and chapters will be posted on a Blackboard site. The following books should be purchased.

Mary Kaldor (2001) *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford University Press.

Roger Peterson (2011) *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Uses of Emotion in Conflict*, Cambridge University Press.

Stathis Kalyvas (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War,* Cambridge University Press.

Jeremy Weinstein (2007) *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence,* (Cambridge University Press).

Claire Metelits (2010) *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior,* (NYU Press).

More Stuff: I will hand out primary source materials that I collected from armed groups in Africa and elsewhere. Some readings are authored by current and past graduate students from our Department of Political Science. These include *Inside Insurgency*, by Claire Metelits ('07). Her book is a revised version of her dissertation. We also read an article by Chris Day ('13t) and by Patrick Johnston ('09).

You may wish to consult special reports of NGOs that provide good empirical information and reasonable analytical frameworks. Such groups include: International Crisis Group, Small Arms Survey, and Human Rights Watch.

Various scholars post research and blogs. Good ones include Stathis Kalyvas, Chris Blattman (who writes about lots of other things too), and Jacob Shapiro.

Ink Spots speaks to the world of "security specialists" across the spectrum of conflicts, as does Andrew Exum's Abumuqawama. Small Wars Journal also is an influential spot. Jihadica addresses issues of strategy and ideology among a particular kind of rebels.

There are many decent blogs by soldiers, civilians and others with direct experience in civil wars and who also incorporate (or at least speak to) basic analytical issues in this course. They include Army of Dude, and Kaboom, Family in Baghdad provides a civilian perspective from wartime Iraq (in the family's War Diaries). Afghanopoly is managed by Romain Malejacq, a former Northwestern University student who works in Afghanistan.

Other useful blogs include Angry Arab's perspectives on recent developments in the Middle East. Arabist is good too, as is Egypt Report and Egyptian Chronicles. Is it appropriate to include these blogs in a course on civil wars or is this more about social movements? Let's talk about that in class.

Winner of the irony sweepstakes is the military service company Academi, formerly Blackwater. That's it for my recommendations. Now you kids get off my lawn!

CLASS CALENDAR

Section Zero: Overview, Empirical Evidence & Historical Context

24 Sept: What is "civil war?" How should one count them? Are there more civil wars now than in the past?

> Stathis Kalyvas (2007) "Civil Wars," in Carles Boix & Susan Stokes, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics,* (NY: Oxford University Press), 416-34.

> Nicholas Sambanis (2004) "What Is a Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48:6 (Dec), 814-58.

> Human Security Centre (2003) "Mapping and Explaining Civil War: What to Do about Contested Datasets and Findings? [This is a workshop report – 15pgs.]

> Edward Newman (2009) "Conflict Research and the 'Decline' of Civil War," *Civil Wars*, 11:3, 255-78.

1 Oct: Civil Wars—the longue durée: Why have civil wars historically been associated with state-building, yet contemporary civil wars are associated with state collapse? How has the nature of the warfare – state construction relationship changed? Are civil wars of the 1990s and later really "new" wars? How has the development of "globalization" influenced the behavior of armed groups? Are wars in the global periphery "post-state" these days, or do they reflect the nature of political authority in existing states (and are these propositions mutually exclusive)?

> Charles Tilly (1985) "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer & Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, (New York: Cambridge), 169-91.

> Charles Tilly (1992) "Soldiers and States in 1992," in his *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1992,* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell), 192-227.

> Mary Kaldor (2001) *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era,* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press). [**Book that you purchased—not a long book. You can read these other items and still survive.]**

> Stathis Kalyvas (2001) "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics*, 54:1, 99-118.

Section I: Individual and Group-Level Explanations of Civil Wars

8 Oct: Individual and group-level theories and approaches, I: How do rational actors respond to incentives and threats associated with conflict? How do these outcomes contribute to "causes" as we study them? Security dilemmas, both individual and group, and other ideas from International relations can be applied to civil wars. Ethnicity and violence: Are ethnic wars really "ethnic?"

Russell Hardin (1995) "Self Interest, Group Identity," Albert Breton, et al., *Nationalism and Rationality*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 14-42.

James Fearon & David Laitin (2003) "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil Wars," *American Political Science Review,* 97: 1 (Feb), 75-90.

Jack Snyder & Robert Jervis (1999) "Civil War and the Security Dilemma," Barbara Walter & Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insurgency, and Intervention,* Columbia, 15-37.

Donald Horowitz (2000) "Conflict Theory and Conflict Motives," *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* [2nd edition], Berkeley: University of California Press, 95-140.

Rui de Figueiredo, Jr. & Barry Weingast (1999) "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," Barbara Walter & Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insurgency, and Intervention,* Columbia, 261-302.

Charles King (2001) "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics,* 53 (July), 524-52.

Nicholas Sambanis, (2001) "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 45: 4, 259-282.

15 Oct: Individual and group-level theories and approaches, II: The role of resources ['greed'] in shaping recruitment and the organization of armed groups. The rewards of conflict: How do leaders and followers make strategic calculations with regard to resources, and how do these choices affect recruitment and organizational discipline?

Jeremy Weinstein (2007) *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence,* (Cambridge University Press). **[Book to purchase]** Readers may be interested in Stathis Kalyvas's review of this book in *Comparative Political Studies,* 40:9 (Sept 2007), 1146-51.

Classics & others (not required but useful):

Paul Collier (2000), "Rebellion as a Quasi-criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44: 6, 839-53.

Michael Ross (2004) "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil Wars?" *Journal of Peace Research,* 41: 3 (Summer), 337-56.

Stephen Stedman & Fred Tanner (2003) "Refugees as Resources in War," in their edited volume, *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics, and the Abuse of Human Suffering,* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press), 1-16.

Vanda Felbab-Brown (2010) *Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs* (Brookings). Though policy-focused, this book provides a more nuanced view of how resources can affect civil war initiation and rebel behavior.

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22 Oct: Individual and group-level theories and approaches III: The spatial distribution of control and the behavior of rebel and state forces. What is the role of allegiances in the context of 'intimate violence'? Does ideology matter? Do grievances matter? The task of separating causes of civil wars from the processes of civil wars.

Stathis Kalyvas (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). **[Book to purchase]**

Patrick Johnston (2008) "The Geography of Insurgent Organization and its Consequences for Civil Wars: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone." *Security Studies*, 17: 1, 107-37.

29 Oct: A look at the dynamics of groups and a new set of variables: The role of 'grievance' in generating conflict. Do theories of ethnic conflict properly consider the place of emotion to answer the question of individual motivation?

Roger Peterson (2011) *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Uses of Emotion in Conflict,* (Cambridge University Press). **[Book to purchase]**

You may wish to consult Arman Grigorian & Stuart Kaufman (2007) "Correspondence: Hate Narratives and Ethnic Conflict," *International Security*, 31: 4 (Spring), 180-91. And Stuart Kaufman's (2011) "Symbols, Frames and Violence: Studying Ethnic War in the Philippines," *International Studies Quarterly,* 55: 4 (Dec), 937-58.

Section II: The Organization of Armed Groups in Civil Wars

5 Nov: Armed Group Organization: Factional competition and the defensive maneuvers of groups, and the impact of hierarchies on the nature of rebel organization and behavior. What are the roles of social networks in the organization of armed groups? What are the implications of urbanization for rebel organization? Are rebels better able to organize in rural and "traditional" societies? What are some of the possible unintended consequences of democratic reforms in terms of rebel organization?

Roger Gould (1991) "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871," *American Sociological Review*, 56: 6 (Dec), 716-29.

Roger Gould (1999) "Collective Violence and Group Solidarity: Evidence from a Feuding Society," *American Sociological Review*, 64: 3 (June), 356-80.

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín (2010) "Networks and Armies: Structuring Rebellion in Colombia and Afghanistan," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 33: 9 (Sept), 836-53.

Will Reno (2007) "Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups," *Civil Wars,* 9: 4 (Dec), 324-42.

Abdulkader Sinno (2008) "An Organizational Theory of Group Conflict," in his *Organizations at War in Afghanistan and Beyond,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 23-97.

James Scott (1979) "The Revolution in the Revolution: Peasants and Commissars," *Theory and Society*, 7:1 (Jan), 97-134.

Stathis Kalyvas & 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, (Aug), 415-29.

William Murphy (2003) "Military Patrimonialism and Child Soldier Clientelism in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean Civil Wars," *African Studies Review,* 46: 2, (Sept), 61-87

12 Nov: **State and Other Elite Actors:** The relationship of state power to 'thugs' and other ground-level aspects of civil wars studied earlier in this course. State power and informal political authority – how do the two interact and what does this mean for the nature of civil wars? Does the state-rebel relationship have to be theorized differently for Africa?

Klaus Schlichte, (2009) "With the State against the State? The Formation of Armed Groups," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 30: 2 (Aug), 246-64.

Human Rights Watch (2007) "Criminal Politics: Violence, 'Godfathers' and Corruption in Nigeria," *Human Rights Watch Reports*, 19: 16(A), 126 pgs.

Johan de Smedt, (2009) "'No Raila, No Peace!' Big Man Politics and Election Violence at the Kibera Grassroots," *African Affairs*, 108: 433 (Oct), 581-98.

Review Symposium, (2009) "State Failure and Challenges to Democratization in Africa," *Perspectives on Politics*, 7: 2 (June), 359-66. [Jeffrey Herbst, James Fearon & Michael Bratton review Robert Bates (2008) *When Things Fall Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa,* (Cambridge).]

Amelia Blom (2009) "A Patron-Client Perspective on Militia—State Relations: The Case of Hizb ul-Mujahidin of Kashmir," in Laurent Gayer & Christophe Jaffrelot, eds., *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists,* (NY: Columbia University Press), 135-59.

Kent Eaton (2006) "The Downside of Decentralization: Armed Clientelism in Colombia," *Security Studies*, 15: 4 (Oct-Dec), 533-62.

Chris Day (2011) "The Fates of Rebels: Insurgencies in Uganda," *Comparative Politics*, 43: 4 (July), 439-58.

Not required is my own (2011) *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge University Press). You can read it if you want, though you'll get exposure to some of these ideas during our seminar discussions.

19 Nov: Political Networks: Some recent work on social networks and rebel organization. What is the impact of the urbanization of populations on the organization of armed groups? Is this really about urbanization or something else? Is this analysis bound by the particularities of regional cultures or can it be used to generate more comprehensively applicable testable propositions and to develop other research agendas?

Sarah E Parkinson (2013) "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War," *American Political Science Review*, 107:3 (Aug), 418-32.

Paul Staniland (2012) "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security*, 37:1, 142-77.

Elisabeth Wood (2008) "The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 539-61.

David Kilcullen (2013) "Conflict in Connected Cities," in his *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla,* (NY: Oxford University Press), 169-231. [For an earlier perspective on urban guerrillas, one can consult Carlos Marighella (1969) *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*.]

Paul Staniland (2010) "Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43: 12, (Dec), 1623-49.

26 Nov: Rebel Governance: (This is a first cut—there is much more to consider but students will have to wait to take Ana Arjona's seminar in the winter quarter.) Rebel administration: linking state and rebel politics. What is the impact of the threat of competition from the state and the rebel choice to govern or to terrorize civilians? When are rebels "states in waiting" and when are they something else? In what way is competition to govern (or the decision to refrain from governing) different from Kalyvas's understanding of why rebels treat non-combatants in particular ways?

Claire Metelits (2010) *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior,* (NYU Press). **[Book to purchase]**

Section IV: Here Are Some Major Topics That Were Left Out

The term system essentially is a series of tragically short semesters, particularly nine week winter terms, and this year reading "week" starts on Wednesday, 7 March. If we had more time, we might have considered the issue of international intervention in civil wars. What is the record of intervention? Is it an effective antidote to civil wars? What about international justice? Does the threat of prosecution for crimes against humanity deter or otherwise shape the behavior of combatants in internal wars? Can counterinsurgency work? What is the impact of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan on the study of civil wars and political development? One could devote an entire seminar to each of these and other topics.

Please don't be shy about bringing up these issues in discussion. Other issues might include whether Mexico's current troubles should be classified as organized crime or a rebel war or some other kind of civil war. There are interesting issues concerning efforts among some groups to legitimate their activities. Here is a popular culture view of individuals such as El Chapo and groups like Los Zetas. Why always is there the gold plated AK-47? There is growing scholarly attention to rebel governance, and its impact on (or consequence of) rebel organization and behavior… and much more!