

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 3180.80/POLITICAL SCIENCE 2990.80
CIVIL WAR, INSURGENCY, AND TERRORISM
Elliott School of International Affairs
The George Washington University

Fall 2012
Time: Tues/Thurs., 12.45-2.00PM
Room: Duques 359
Office Hours: Tuesday, 3.30-5.00PM

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Civil war is the most common form of state-based armed conflict today. Depending on how one counts, between 110 and 260 civil wars have been fought since the end of World War II, compared to 30 to 45 interstate wars. Civil wars are also extremely deadly, causing the deaths of millions of people, the majority of them noncombatants. The end of the Cold War focused the attention of scholars of comparative politics and international relations on civil conflict, leading to a growing literature on all facets of civil war, including civil war onset, duration, outcome, and termination; causes and effectiveness of targeting civilians (a.k.a., terrorism) in civil wars; why people join rebel groups or decide to become terrorists; the effectiveness of various forms of intervention in civil wars; counterinsurgency; and more.

This course explores some of the new literature on civil war, and is divided into four parts. The first part is mainly definitional: what is a civil war? What kinds of civil wars are there? What are insurgency and counterinsurgency? What is terrorism? These class sessions outline working definitions for each of these phenomena that we will use during the remainder of the course.

The second section of the course looks at the causes of civil war. War is a costly and risky endeavor, and rebels face particularly steep odds going up against states that are typically far more powerful. Why then do civil wars occur? Which kinds of factors increase the odds that civil conflict will break out? This section covers the greed versus grievance debate that has dominated the literature for the past two decades, but also examines the role of political leaders, institutions, and external actors in provoking or mediating the outbreak of violence.

The third part of the course turns to the conduct of civil wars with an emphasis on one particularly prevalent but unsavory practice: violence against civilians. Civil wars—the majority of which are waged as guerrilla insurgencies—place the civilian population directly in the middle of the contest: insurgents need civilian support to survive and thrive, while the government seeks to deny rebels access to the population. Both sides use violence as a resource to compel collaboration and deter defection. This type of “terrorism” is both very common and underappreciated. This part of the course will study the causes and effectiveness of this kind of terrorism, as well as terrorism perpetrated by groups specifically labeled as terrorist organizations. We will also look specifically at counterinsurgency, including less violent strategies like “hearts and minds” and “decapitation,” as well as the effect of ethnicity on violence and why individuals choose to join rebel groups.

The final section of the course looks at what makes civil wars last so long and what eventually brings them to an end. Specific topics covered include civil war duration, cohesion of rebel groups, and civil war outcomes. Of particular interest is the question of what (if anything) outsiders can do to facilitate the termination of civil wars and prevent their recurrence. To that end, we spend several class sessions on different types of settlements to civil wars and different methods of international engagement.

It is important to note that this class is not about any particular civil war(s). Rather, the course is devoted to explaining the causes, conduct, and termination of civil wars *in general*, or to explaining these phenomena in a handful of different types of civil wars. We will draw on examples from many different conflicts, including (but probably not limited to) civil wars in Afghanistan, Algeria, Chechnya, Colombia, DRC, El Salvador, Greece, Iraq, Kashmir, Libya, Mozambique, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Peru, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Syria, Uganda, United States, Vietnam, and former Yugoslavia.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADE COMPUTATION

The course is organized into two meetings of one hour and fifteen minutes per week. Grades will be based on the following criteria.

- **Class Attendance and Participation (20%):** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all of the required reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. The instructor will not lecture for the entire period. Questions are provided below for each session that will form the basis for discussion. You *will* be called on by the instructor at some point during the semester, so do keep up with the reading.
- **Midterm Examination (15%): Thursday, October 4.** In-class, closed-book short-answer exam covering the first two sections of the course.
- **Final Examination (20%): Tuesday, December 18, 12.40 – 2.40PM.** Cumulative, closed-book final exam, consisting of short answers and essays, emphasizing the last two sections of the course.
- **Research Paper (45%): due Friday, December 7, by 5.00PM** in HARD COPY at instructor's office, circa 20 pages. See below for more details.

Final grades will be calculated according to the percentages above, and will be assigned as follows: A (93-100), A- (90-92), B+ (87-89), B (83-86), B- (80-82), C+ (77-79), C (73-76), C- (70-72), D+ (67-69), D (63-66), D- (60-62), and F (0-59). Grades for this course will not be curved.

BOOKS

The following books are required reading and are available for purchase at The George Washington University Bookstore.

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

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

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

All of the journal articles listed in the required reading below—unless otherwise indicated—are available online in databases accessible through the George Washington University Library. From the library website (<http://www.library.gwu.edu/>), click the “Journals” tab, search for the desired title, and navigate to the correct volume and issue. If you are accessing the library website from off campus, you will need to enter your last name and your GWID to obtain access. For several class sessions I have assigned book chapters in addition to journal articles. These are placed on E-Reserve, and are indicated by the term “e-res” in parentheses after the citation. These texts are easily obtained through the Blackboard site that has been established for the class. Click on “Blackboard” from the “My GW” page (<http://my.gwu.edu>), log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “E-Reserves.”

RESEARCH PAPER

In consultation with the instructor, students will select a civil war about which they will write a research paper. The goal of the paper will not be to “explain” the entire conflict from start to finish. Rather, following the outline of the syllabus, students will write about the causes, conduct, or termination of their chosen conflict. From within these broad categories, students will choose (in consultation with the instructor) a specific question (or, in rare cases, questions) to answer about the war, such as:

- Which factor or combination of factors best explains why civil war occurred?
- What patterns of violence characterized the conflict, and what explains them?
- Was violence/terrorism effective?

- Why did one side prevail?
- If the conflict was protracted, what explains why it lasted so long?
- Was there external intervention, and did it facilitate a lasting settlement?
- If the conflict reignited, why did peace fail to last?

Papers are expected to engage the theoretical literature examined in class that relates to the question addressed in the paper. Papers that attempt to explain civil war onset, for example, should incorporate the literature from Part II of the course on causes of civil war.

All students must turn in a one-page memo in class on **September 20** that performs four tasks:

- Specifies which war will be the focus of your paper
- Specifies which specific aspect of the conflict you intend to explore
- Provides a short background and summary of the conflict
- Lists 3-5 books or articles you have identified as potential sources of information

Students are encouraged to meet with the instructor at their earliest convenience to discuss their interests and get started on the paper. It is not mandatory to have a meeting before the memo is due, but the instructor will schedule conferences with each student after the memos are turned in. See the appendix at the end of the syllabus for some resources on civil wars to help you get started.

GOALS OF THE COURSE

The most important goal of the course is to impart to students a solid understanding of theories and empirical evidence regarding the causes, conduct, and termination of civil wars. This will be achieved by reading the required material, discussing it in class, and responding to questions about the readings on the exams. The second major goal is for students to obtain detailed knowledge of at least one civil war by writing a research paper on some aspect of that conflict. Additional goals include the following:

- Educate students regarding the different types of civil wars that exist
- Unpack the different forms of violence that are currently consolidated under the rubric of “terrorism”
- Examine the different strategies that states use to combat insurgencies
- Evaluate the relative merits of strategies that use a lot of violence versus those that use minimal violence
- Within the category of violence, evaluate the relative merits of selective versus indiscriminate violence
- Understand how civil wars end, and which endings prove more stable than others
- Help students learn how to read social science research and not only understand it, but criticize it

LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Distinguish among different types of civil wars
- Identify risk factors that make states vulnerable to civil war, and which make social groups more likely to launch a rebellion
- Determine which civil wars are more prone to violence and terrorism against noncombatants, and what type of violence it will be
- Evaluate the relative efficacy of different forms of violence used by actors in civil wars, and the conditions under which these strategies may be more or less effective
- Evaluate the merits of low versus high violence counterinsurgency strategies
- Make informed conjectures about which civil wars will last longer, and which side will prevail
- Critically evaluate social science theories, not only those about civil wars, but theories in general

POLICIES AND RESOURCES

- **Class Policies**
 - **Attendance and Reading:** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all of the assigned reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday need to notify the instructor during the first week of the semester.
 - **Late Papers:** Late papers will be accepted up to 24 hours after the deadline, but one letter grade will be deducted. Papers that are more than 24 hours late will not be accepted. Exceptions will be made only in cases of incapacitating illness or extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor as soon as possible to discuss an extension.
 - **Exams:** Students must take the final exam at the time and date assigned by the Academic Scheduling Office. Students who have three final exams on one day may petition for one of them to be rescheduled. Note that this must be done at least three weeks prior to the last day of classes: see http://www.gwu.edu/~regweb/web-content/scheduling/exam_policies.html.
 - **Technology:** Laptops are allowed in class for note-taking purposes only, not for checking e-mail, Facebook, surfing the web or online shopping. Note that the use of laptops is a privilege that can be taken away if it is abused! The only cell phones allowed in class are those that have been turned off.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Integrity.** According to the university's Code of Academic Integrity, "Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." For the rest of the code, see <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. All work you submit for this course must be your own. **I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty.** Suspected cases will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor.
- **Disabilities.** Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202.994.8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>.
- **Counseling.** The University Counseling Center (UCC, 202.994.5300) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include crisis and emergency mental health consultations, confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals (see <http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices>).
- **Security.** In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

COURSE CALENDAR**Part I. Introduction and Definitions**

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|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. August 28 (Tu) | Course Introduction |
| 2. August 30 (Th) | No Class |
| 3. September 4 (Tu) | Definitions I |
| 4. September 6 (Th) | Definitions II |

Part II. Causes of Civil War

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|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 5. September 11 (Tu) | Psychology | |
| 6. September 13 (Th) | Ethnicity and the State | |
| 7. September 18 (Tu) | Opportunity/Greed | |
| 8. September 20 (Th) | Return to Grievances | PAPER TOPICS DUE |
| 9. September 25 (Tu) | Democracy and Democratization | |
| 10. September 27 (Th) | Leaders and within-Group Conflict | |
| 11. October 2 (Tu) | External Sources of Internal Conflict | |
| 12. October 4 (Th) | | MIDTERM EXAM |

Part III. Conduct of Civil War

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|---------------------|--|
| 13. October 9 (Tu) | Causes of Violence and Terrorism I |
| 14. October 11 (Th) | Causes of Violence and Terrorism II |
| 15. October 16 (Tu) | Causes of Violence and Terrorism III |
| 16. October 18 (Th) | Effectiveness of Violence and Terrorism I |
| 17. October 23 (Tu) | Effectiveness of Violence and Terrorism II |
| 18. October 25 (Th) | Alternatives to High Violence COIN I |
| 19. October 30 (Tu) | Alternatives to High Violence COIN II |
| 20. November 1 (Th) | Case Study: Iraq |
| 21. November 6 (Tu) | Rebel Recruitment/Individual Participation |
| 22. November 8 (Th) | Ethnicity and Violence |

Part IV. Civil War Duration, Outcome, Termination, and Aftermath

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|----------------------|--|-------------------|
| 23. November 13 (Tu) | Civil War Duration | |
| 24. November 15 (Th) | Rebel Group Cohesion and Fragmentation | |
| 25. November 20 (Tu) | Civil War Outcomes | |
| 26. November 22 (Th) | NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING | |
| 27. November 27 (Tu) | Ending Civil Wars I | |
| 28. November 29 (Th) | Ending Civil Wars II | |
| 29. December 4 (Tu) | Ending Civil Wars III | |
| 30. December 6 (Th) | Perverse Consequences of Intervention | PAPERS DUE DEC. 7 |
| 31. December 10 (M) | Make-Up Day: Course Wrap-up and Review | |
| 32. December 18 (Tu) | | FINAL EXAM |

COURSE SCHEDULE

Part I. Introduction and Definitions

1. Course Introduction August 28
 - Lotta Themnér and Peter Wallensteen, “Armed Conflicts, 1946-2011,” *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 4 (July 2012): 565-575.
2. No Class: American Political Science Association Annual Meeting August 30
 - Get a head start on the reading for next week.
3. Definitions, Part I September 4
 - Nicholas Sambanis, “What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 814-858 (read 814-831 and 853-857; skim the remainder).
 - Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells, “International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 3 (August 2010): 415-429.
 - Stathis N. Kalyvas, “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (October 2001): 99-118.

Discussion Questions:

- What kinds of conflicts are included and excluded by mainstream definitions of civil war? Are these inclusions/exclusions justified? Why?
- What are the different ways that scholars categorize civil wars? What are the key axes along which these conflicts vary?
- Has the nature of civil war changed over time?

4. Definitions, Part II September 6
 - Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961), 7-37 (**e-res**).
 - John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15-33 (**e-res**).
 - Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 16-31.
 - Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 13-44 (**e-res**).

Discussion Questions:

- What distinguishes guerrilla warfare/insurgency from conventional war?
- What is terrorism?
- Is terrorism limited to non-state actors, or can states be terrorists too?

Part II. Causes of Civil War

5. Psychology: Relative Deprivation and Group Comparison September 11
 - Ted Robert Gurr, “Psychological Factors in Civil Violence,” *World Politics* 20, no. 2 (January 1968): 245-278.
 - Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 141-184 (**e-res**).
 - Roger Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-61 (**e-res**).

Discussion Questions:

- What is relative deprivation?
- Why does comparison invite conflict?
- Is inter-group conflict emotional?

6. Ethnicity and the State

September 13

- Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47 (**e-res**).
- James D. Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, ed. David Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 107-126 (**e-res**).
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War," *World Development* 39, no. 2 (February 2011): 199-211.

Discussion Questions:

- What is the security dilemma and how does it cause civil war? Is the security dilemma a persuasive explanation for civil war in Yugoslavia?
- Is Fearon's argument different from Posen's argument? How?
- How do commitment problems contribute to "sons of the soil" conflicts?

7. Opportunity/Greed

September 18

- Paul Collier, "Doing Well Out of War: An Economic Perspective," in *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, ed. Mats Berdal and David M. Malone (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 91-111 (**e-res**).
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.
- Michael L. Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization* 58 (Winter 2004): 35-67.

Discussion Questions:

- How do Collier and F&L interpret low GDP? Whose interpretation do you believe?
- What do you think of how Collier and F&L operationalize their key concepts?
- What role do natural resources play in causing civil conflict? How consistent are these causal mechanisms with the greed hypothesis?

8. The Return to Grievances

September 20

Paper Topics Due

- Frances Stewart, "Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: An Introduction and some Hypotheses," in *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Frances Stewart (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 3-24 (**e-res**).
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist War: A Global Comparison," *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (August 2011): 478-495.
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War," *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 2 (June 2004): 259-279.
- David Keen, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *International Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (July 2012): 757-777.

Discussion Questions:

- Which do you find more persuasive, grievance explanations or greed/opportunity explanations?
- Can greed or grievance alone explain civil war, or must they both be present?
- What role do case studies play in evaluating these theories, and theories in general?

9. Democracy and Democratization

September 25

- Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992," *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (March 2001): 33-48.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Simon Hug, and Lutz F. Krebs, "Democratization and Civil War: Empirical Evidence," *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 4 (July 2010): 377-394.

Discussion Questions:

- What is the logic for why different political regimes have different propensities for civil war?
- Is democratization a force for civil peace or civil war?
- Do consolidated democracies ever have civil wars? If so, why?

10. Leaders and within-Group Conflict

September 27

- Michael E. Brown, "The Causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict," in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), 571-601 (e-res).
- V. P. Gagnon, Jr., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 130-166.
- Adria Lawrence, "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 88-122.

Discussion Questions:

- Is it true that the outbreak of civil war has nothing to do with animosity against the state or other groups? Is it all about within-group conflict and leader survival strategies?
- According to Posen, the security dilemma caused the wars in former Yugoslavia. Not so, says Gagnon. Who is right?

11. External Sources of Internal Conflict

October 2

- Idean Salehyan, *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 26-60 (e-res).
- Alexander B. Downes, "Catastrophic Success: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Civil War," unpublished ms., George Washington University, 2012 (e-res).

Discussion Questions:

- What are the various ways that external factors can cause civil wars?
- Is foreign-imposed regime change a force for peace or a force for war? Under what conditions?

12. Midterm Exam

October 4

Part III. Conduct of Civil Wars13. Causes of Violence and Terrorism in Civil War, Part I

October 9

- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. by Rex Warner (London: Penguin Books, 1954), 236-245 ("Civil War on Corcyra") (e-res).
- Kaylvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 111-145, 173-209.

Discussion Questions:

- What is the difference between selective and indiscriminate violence? Where is each type of violence most likely to occur in Kalyvas's model?

14. Causes of Violence and Terrorism in Civil War, Part II

October 11

- Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*, 1-24 and 198-259.
- Lisa Hultman, "Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs for Fighting," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 205-222.
- Laia Balcells, "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June 2010): 291-313.

Discussion Questions:

- What are the key differences in the predictions of Kalyvas's and Weinstein's theories?
- Does the empirical evidence cited in Weinstein's chapter support his theory?
- How does violence against civilians differ in conventional and guerrilla wars?

15. Causes of Violence and Terrorism in Civil War, Part III

October 16

- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361.
- Mia M. Bloom, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 61-88.
- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 46-78.
- James A. Piazza, "A Supply-Side View of Suicide Terrorism: A Cross-National Study," *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 1 (January 2008): 28-39.

Discussion Questions:

- What is the role of religion in causing suicide terrorism? Are secular or sacred factors more important in causing suicide terrorism?
- Are there different policy implications that flow from different theories about the origins of suicide terrorism?
- Have I created a selection bias by assigning readings only on suicide terrorism instead of terrorism in general?

16. Effectiveness of Violence and Terrorism in Civil War, Part I

October 18

- Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 146-172.
- Jason M. Lyall, "Does Indiscriminate Repression Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (2009): 331-362.
- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (March 2011): 201-218.
- Alexander B. Downes, "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy," *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 420-444.

Discussion Questions:

- Is indiscriminate violence an effective or ineffective tool of counterinsurgency? Are there conditions under which it might be more or less effective?

17. Effectiveness of Violence and Terrorism in Civil War, Part II

October 23

- Review Pape, “Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.”
- Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 42-78.

Discussion Questions:

- Why do Pape and Abrahms reach opposite conclusions about the effectiveness of terrorism? Is one right and the other wrong?
- Do Pape and Abrahms actually disagree? If not, why not?
- Is a suicide attack against a military base or against off-duty soldiers an act of terrorism?

18. Alternatives to High Violence in COIN, Part I: The Population-Centric Strategy

October 25

- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964), 107-135 (e-res).
- *FM 3-24: Counterinsurgency* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, December 2006), Chapter 1, available online at <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf> (a.k.a., *The U.S. Army/Marine Counterinsurgency Field Manual*).
- George Packer, “Letter from Iraq: The Lesson of Tal Afar,” *The New Yorker*, April 10, 2006, 48-65.

Discussion Questions:

- What key assumptions underlie the population-centric COIN strategy? Are these assumptions met in most insurgencies?
- What are the big successes of the population-centric strategy in the historical record?
- Is the population-centric strategy likely to bring stability to Afghanistan?

19. Alternatives to High Violence in COIN, Part II: Decapitation

October 30

- Jenna Jordan, “When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation,” *Security Studies* 18, no. 4 (December 2009): 719-755.
- Bryan C. Price, “Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism,” *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 9-46.

Discussion Questions:

- Which of these two studies do you find most persuasive and why?
- Does the U.S.’s advantage in precision airpower give it a silver bullet in COIN and counterterrorism?

20. Case Study: Iraq

November 1

- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro, “Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?” *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 7-40.
- Douglas Ollivant, “Countering the New Orthodoxy: Reinterpreting Counterinsurgency in Iraq,” New America Foundation Policy Paper, June 28, 2011 (e-res).
- John Agnew, Thomas W. Gillespie, Jorge Gonzalez, and Brian Min, “Baghdad Nights: Evaluating the U.S. Military ‘Surge’ Using Nighttime Light Signatures,” *Environment and Planning* 40, no. 10 (2008): 2285-2295.
- Austin Long, “The Anbar Awakening,” *Survival* 50, no. 2 (April/May 2008): 67-94.

Discussion Questions:

- Which argument do you find most persuasive for the decline in violence in Iraq?
- What implications does your answer have for U.S. efforts to pacify Afghanistan?

21. Rebel Recruitment/Individual Participation

November 6

- Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*, 96-126.
- 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, no. 2 (January 2007): 177-216.
- Krijn Peters and Paul Richards, "'Why We Fight': Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone," *Africa*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (1998): 183-210.

Discussion Questions:

- What implications does Kalyvas and Kocher's argument in this article have for Kalyvas's earlier argument about the effectiveness of selective versus indiscriminate violence?
- Each of these readings is about why individuals join rebel movements more or less voluntarily. Under what conditions do rebel groups resort to forcible recruitment?

22. Ethnicity and Violence

November 8

- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175 (read only pp. 136-151).
- Jason Lyall, "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War," *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (February 2010): 1-20.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Ethnic Defection in Civil War," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 8 (August 2008): 1043-1068.
- Lee Ann Fuiji, *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 103-127 (e-res).

Discussion Questions:

- Is ethnicity a reliable predictor of who will end up on which side in a civil war? If not, why not? Why would members of the same ethnic group fight on opposite sides?
- Why are co-ethnics more effective counterinsurgents?
- What does the Lyall article imply for U.S. COIN strategy?

Part IV. Civil War Duration, Outcome, Termination, and Aftermath23. Civil War Duration

November 13

- James D. Fearon, "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (May 2004): 275-302.
- David Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (October 2006): 875-892.
- Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), Chapters 2-3 (e-res).

Discussion Questions:

- What do Fearon's findings on civil war duration tell us about why (civil) wars start in the first place?
- What additional light does Christia's argument shed on the role of ethnicity in civil wars?

24. Rebel Group Cohesion and Fragmentation

November 15

- Paul Staniland, “Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia,” *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 142-177.
- Sarah Zukerman Daly, “The Geography of Social Networks, Balance of Power, and the Durability of Post-War Peace,” working paper (e-res).
- Patrick Johnston, “The Geography of Insurgent Organization and its Consequences for Civil War: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone,” *Security Studies* 17, no. 1 (March 2008): 107-137.

Discussion Questions:

- Why do some armed groups remain cohesive during and after wars whereas others go kaput?
- Is rebel group fragmentation a good thing or a bad thing for civil war duration and termination?

25. Civil War Outcomes

November 20

- Andrew J. R. Mack, “Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict,” *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175-200.
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 93-128.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III, “Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars,” *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.
- Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3-32 (e-res).

Discussion Questions:

- Are democracies doomed to defeat in COIN? Why or why not?
- Is there an ideal state counter-strategy for every insurgent strategy, as Arreguin-Toft implies?
- Is the contrast between nineteenth and twentieth century warfare sketched out by Lyall and Wilson a persuasive explanation for changing COIN outcomes over time?

26. NO CLASS: HAPPY THANKSGIVING

November 22

27. Ending Civil Wars, Part I: Draconian Solutions

November 27

- Edward N. Luttwak, “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78. No. 4 (July/August 1999): 36-44.
- Carter Johnson, “Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 140-170.
- Monica Duffy Toft, “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 7-36.

Discussion Questions:

- Can war be a force for stability? How?
- Why – if decisive victories provide more stable endings to civil wars than negotiated settlements – are the latter so preferred by the international community?
- Does partition combined with ethnic separation provide lasting peace?

28. Ending Civil Wars, Part II: Happy Solutions

November 29

- Barbara F. Walter, “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement,” *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-364.
- Caroline Hartzell, “Explaining the Stability of Negotiated Settlements to Intrastate Wars,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43, no. 1 (February 1999): 3-22.
- Charles T. Call, *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 25-49, 71-95 (e-res).

Discussion Questions:

- What is the critical barrier to civil war settlement? Is it surmountable? How? Is military intervention necessary, or can institutions solve the problem?

29. Ending Civil Wars, Part III: Peacekeeping

December 4

- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 76-104 (**e-res**).
- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic* (September 2001), 84-108.
- Severine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention," *International Organization* 63, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 249-280.

Discussion Questions:

- How do peacekeepers prevent renewed wars from breaking out?
- Why is peacekeeping undersupplied? How can peacekeeping go wrong?

30. Perverse Consequences of Humanitarian Intervention

December 6

Research Papers due December 7 by 5.00PM

- Alan J. Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (March 2008): 49-80.
- Sarah Kenyon Lischer, "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict," *International Security* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2003): 79-109.
- Kelly M. Greenhill, "The Use of Refugees as Political and Military Weapons in the Kosovo Conflict," in *Yugoslavia Unraveled: Sovereignty, Self-Determination, Intervention*, ed. Raju G. C. Thomas (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2003), 205-242 (**e-res**).

Discussion Questions:

- What are some of the unintended consequences of intervening in someone else's civil war?
- In light of these articles, how should we weigh the morality of humanitarian intervention?

31. Course Wrap-Up and Review

December 10

32. Final Exam

December 18

- Duques 359, 12.40 – 2.40PM

APPENDIX: LISTS OF CIVIL WARS

Good lists of civil wars may be found in the following articles, books, or locations on the web.

- Correlates of War Project Intrastate War Data, v. 4.0 (1816-2007)
 - <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "A Revised List of Wars between and within Independent States, 1816-2002," *International Interactions* 30, no. 3 (July-September 2004): 231-262.
- James Fearon and David Laitin's list of civil wars (1945-1999) used in their 2003 *APSR* article
 - <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/addtabs.pdf> (pp. 7-10)
- Nicholas Sambanis's civil war data (1945-1999)
 - <http://pantheon.yale.edu/~ns237/index/research.html#Civil> (scroll down to "Data")
 - See also his coding notes at the same url
- UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, v. 4 (1946-2011)
 - http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/ucdp_prio_armed_conflict_dataset/
 - These data contain four different conflict types: extrasystemic, interstate, internal, and internationalized internal. See the codebook for definitions. Only interstate wars (type = 2) are clearly not civil wars.
 - Note also the lower fatality threshold for a conflict to be included in the dataset
- Political Instability Task Force, Internal Wars and Failures of Governance (1955-2008)
 - <http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/pitfdata.htm>
 - See also the list of episodes of political instability in Jack A. Goldstone et al., "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 1 (January 2010): 190-208.

Broadly similar lists of civil wars for the post-World War II period may be found in several books and articles:

- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2000): 779-801.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Finally, for a good general reference on armed conflict, see:

- Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and other Figures, 1494-2007*, 3rd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).