

POLSCI 186
CIVILIANS IN THE PATH OF WAR
Department of Political Science
Duke University

Fall 2010
Time: Tu/Th, 1.15-2.30PM
Room: 326 Allen
Office Hours: Tues., 3.30-5.00PM

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COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

If—as Carl von Clausewitz famously put it—war is “a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means,” then the targeting and killing of civilians in war is often “a continuation of war by other means.” Noncombatants historically have comprised half of all war deaths, a statistic which shows few signs of changing in civilians’ favor. Indeed, more civilians were killed in twentieth century armed conflicts than in any previous century, and noncombatants have been the primary targets and suffered the vast majority of the deaths in several recent conflicts, such as the civil war in Darfur. What explains this carnage? Why do states and rebel groups put civilians in the cross-hairs in some wars but not others? What norms and laws protect civilians from harm, and why do they seem to be observed so rarely? What are some of the major cases of violence against civilians in the last one hundred years and why did they occur? Does targeting civilians help belligerents achieve their political or military goals? What leads people to participate in violence against noncombatants?

This course aims to answer some of these questions by examining the normative, ethical, and legal prohibitions against harming noncombatants and how they arose; the major social science theories for explaining the occurrence and effectiveness of large-scale violence against civilians in wartime; and a close study of several prominent cases of wartime victimization of noncombatants. The course begins by seeking a definition of civilians/noncombatants; it then proceeds to examine the origins of the principle of noncombatant immunity and how it eventually became codified as an international norm and the subject of increasingly specific international law. The second section of the course turns to theories of large-scale violence against noncombatants, examining a number of independent variables that have been used to explain why states or rebel groups target civilians: regime type, barbaric images of the enemy as sub-human or outside of the boundaries of civilization, military culture, parochial organizational interests in the military, the dynamics of guerrilla warfare, cost-aversion and casualty-sensitivity, desperation to achieve victory, and territorial annexation. After a brief section on whether civilian victimization is effective for achieving belligerents’ political/military goals, the course analyzes several cases of civilian victimization in detail in order to ascertain which factors led to the targeting of noncombatants and whether targeting civilians helped or hindered the perpetrators’ war effort. Finally, the class concludes by examining theories of individual participation in mass killing and how these theories apply to cases of massacre. Although civilian victimization is an ancient as well as a modern practice, most of the cases examined are from the last one hundred years, spanning colonial/imperial wars, the two World Wars, wars of decolonization, as well as recent counterinsurgency campaigns and ethnic killings.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course is organized into two one-hour and fifteen minute lecture/discussion periods each week. Grades will be based on the following set of criteria:

- Attendance/Participation (15%): Students are expected to attend all class meetings, do all of the required reading before each session, and be able to participate in discussion.
- Midterm Examination (20%): Thursday, October 14. In-class, closed-book essay exam covering the first two sections of the course.
- Final Examination (30%): Saturday, December 18, 7-10PM. Cumulative, closed-book final exam, consisting of identifications and essays, emphasizing the last three sections of the course. Students must take the exams on these dates/times unless they have an official Dean’s Excuse.
- Research Paper (35%): 15-20 pages, hard copy due in class on Thursday, December 9. See below for more details. **Papers sent by e-mail will not be accepted without prior authorization.**

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students are expected to comply with the Duke Community Standard in their work for this course, meaning that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct (see <http://www.registrar.duke.edu/bulletins/communitystandard/>; for specific definitions, see <http://www.studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/resources/academicdishonesty>). 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 Judicial Affairs. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please consult “Plagiarism: Its Nature and Consequences” on the Duke Library website (<http://www.library.duke.edu/research/citing/plagiarism.html>), or ask the instructor.

OTHER POLICIES

- Late papers will be accepted only in cases of extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor as soon as possible
- Laptops are allowed in class for note-taking purposes, not for checking e-mail or surfing the web
- The only cell phones allowed in class are those that have been turned off

RESEARCH PAPER

Students are required to write a research paper of 15 double-spaced pages on a topic of their choice related to civilian victimization. In past years, most papers have chosen particular cases or campaigns of civilian victimization and sought to explain why they occurred. Others have looked at certain states or rebel groups and tried to explain consistency or variation in their treatment of civilians. Still other papers have investigated the origins of suicide terrorism, the effectiveness of civilian victimization, or compared Muslim and Christian views regarding morally permissible behavior in war. The topic, question, or case you write about is largely up to you, subject to three caveats: (1) it must be about some aspect of civilian victimization or the fate of noncombatants in armed conflict; (2) it must be approved by the instructor; and (3) it should not be a case we have examined in class (unless specific permission is received).

For papers about the causes of civilian victimization—the most common type of paper—there are several potential research designs. One approach, for example, is to test at least two theories against evidence from a single case to determine which theory (or combination of theories) provides the best explanation for why civilian victimization did or did not occur in that case. These single-case studies can also be divided up into several segments or decision points, a process which multiplies the number of observations and permits comparisons across time. A second method is to test one theory against evidence from at least two cases to see how well the theory holds up in multiple instances. This design permits interesting across-case comparisons, but also requires greater historical knowledge on the part of the researcher. A third approach is to identify and try to explain puzzling variation in outcomes: why here and not there? Why this time but not that time? This method involves the comparison of at least two cases, one positive and one negative, and tries to locate the source of the divergence in outcome. Finally, students can also compare cases that appear quite different at first glance but have the same outcome. Why do such seemingly divergent cases end up turning out the same? Research design and other issues regarding the paper will be discussed in class on October 19.

In past years, papers written for POLSCI 186 have been selected for inclusion in the *Duke Journal of Politics*, the department’s journal of undergraduate research, and the *Duke Journal of Public Affairs* in the Sanford School of Public Policy. The authors of these works consulted between a dozen and two dozen sources of information each, and also used multiple types of information: secondary historical and analytical works, journal articles, newspapers, and reports by human rights organizations. Other papers used primary sources, such as U.S. government documents posted on web resources like the *Foreign Relations of the United States* (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus>) or the *National Security Archive* (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>). This is not a paper, in other words, that can be written in a few days using one or two books. Nor can good papers be written simply by combing the internet: students must also consult reputable, scholarly, printed sources.

It is imperative to begin thinking about your paper topic early in the semester. To get the ball rolling, students will turn in a 1-page single-spaced memo (in hard copy) at the beginning of class on Thursday, September 23. This memo should answer the following questions:

- What is the question you intend to answer in your paper?
- What potential hypotheses or explanations have you identified?
- What potential sources of information and evidence have you identified? Include a short bibliography.

Memos will not be graded, but must be approved by the instructor for students to proceed. All students will meet individually with the instructor after Fall Break to discuss their proposed topic. Students who would like help with their writing—especially those who have not written a paper of this length before—are encouraged to consult the Duke University Writing Studio (<http://uwp.duke.edu/writing-studio>) for assistance. I am unable to read entire rough drafts, but will read and comment on short sections (up to 5 pages) of papers.

BOOKS

The following books have been ordered and are available at the Duke University Textbook Store in the Bryan Center. They are also on reserve at Perkins Library.

Paul Aussaresses, *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria 1955-1957* (New York: Enigma Books, 2002).

Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992).

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Many of the readings for the course are articles or book chapters. Some of these are available online via databases accessible through the Duke University Library. These are indicated by the word “online” in parentheses after the citations below. To retrieve these articles, go to the Duke Library’s web site, select “E-journals,” search on the journal name, and follow a link (sometimes there are several) that includes the date of the article you want. Many other selections, however, are on E-Reserve, indicated by the term “e-res” after the citation. These texts are easily obtained through the Blackboard site that has been established for the class. Click on “Blackboard” from the library’s main page, log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “E-Reserves” on the left side of the screen. Articles and chapters are posted by the author’s last name and the first few words of the title. You may also search Course Reserves on the library’s web site to retrieve E-Reserve material. Readings for a few class sessions will be posted on Blackboard under the heading “Course Documents” when available.

COURSE SCHEDULE

1. Introduction and Course Overview August 31
 - No assigned readings
2. No Class: American Political Science Association Annual Meeting September 2
 - Get started on readings for September 7

Part I. Normative and Legal Protections for Noncombatants

3. War by Other Means? September 7
 - William Eckhardt, "Civilian Deaths in Wartime," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 20, no. 1 (March 1989): 89-98 (e-res).
 - *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 66-76; available online at <http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/2005/overview.aspx> (click "Text of the Report," open "Part II: The Human Security Audit," scroll to specified pages).
 - *Human Security Brief 2006* (Human Security Centre, University of British Columbia, 2006), Chapters 1-2; available online at <http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/2006/overview.aspx> (click "Text of the Brief," open Chapter 1 and Chapter 2).
 - Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers, "Introduction," in *Civilians in the Path of War*, ed. Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), ix-xxvi (e-res).
 - Helen Fein, "Genocide, Terror, Life Integrity, and War Crimes: The Case for Discrimination," in *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*, ed. George J. Andreopoulos (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 95-107 (e-res).
 - Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 10-15, 66-90.
 - Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 13-21.
4. Defining Civilians/Noncombatants September 9
 - Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 34-47, 127-159.
 - Theodore J. Koontz, "Noncombatant Immunity in Michael Walzer's Just and Unjust Wars," *Ethics & International Affairs* 11, no. 1 (March 1997): 55-82 (online).
 - John C. Ford, "The Morality of Obliteration Bombing," in *War and Morality*, ed. Richard A. Wasserstrom (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970), 15-26 (e-res).
 - Nils Melzer, *Direct Participation in Hostilities* (Geneva: ICRC, 2009), 20-40; available online at <http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/p0990>.
5. Origins of Noncombatant Immunity September 14
 - James Turner Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 121-150 (e-res).
 - Richard Shelly Hartigan, *The Forgotten Victim: A History of the Civilian* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1982), 65-115 (e-res).

6. Legal Codifications of Noncombatant Immunity September 16

- Adam Roberts, "Land Warfare: From Hague to Nuremberg," in *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*, ed. Michael Howard, George J. Andreopoulos, and Mark R. Shulman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 116-139 (e-res).
- Tami Davis Biddle, "Air Power," in *The Laws of War*, 140-159 (e-res).
- Yoram Dinstein, *The Conduct of Hostilities under the Law of International Armed Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 113-140 (e-res).
- Nils Melzer, *Direct Participation in Hostilities* (Geneva: ICRC, 2009), 41-85; available online at <http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/p0990>.

7. Arguments About the Morality of Killing Civilians September 21

- Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 160-196, 225-232, 251-268.
- Barry Buzan, "Who May We Bomb?" in *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, ed. Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 85-94 (e-res).
- Henry L. Stimson, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harper's Magazine*, February 1947, 97-107 (online).
- Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2, no. 2 (Winter 1973): 160-180 (online).

Part II. Theories of Civilian Victimization8. Regime Type September 23
Research Paper Memos Due

- Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 57-73 (online).
- Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3-32 (e-res).
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 144-163 (e-res).

9. Race and Identity September 28

- John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 33-93 (e-res; 2 parts).
- Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 1-33.
- Tanisha Fazal and Brooke Greene, "A Particular Difference: European Identity and Compliance with *Jus in Bello*," manuscript, Columbia University (Blackboard).

10. Organization Theory September 30

- Jeffrey W. Legro, *Cooperation under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint during World War II* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 17-29 (e-res).
- Isabel V. Hull, "Military Culture and the Production of 'Final Solutions' in the Colonies: The Example of Wilhelminian Germany," in *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, ed. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 141-162 (e-res).
- Colin H. Kahl, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *International Security* 32, no. 1 (Summer 2007): 7-46 (online).

11. Desperation and Annexation October 5
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, read 1-56, 180-183; skim 57-82.
 - Lisa Hultman, "Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs for Fighting," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 205-222 (online).
 - Laia Balcells, "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June 2010): 291-313 (online).
12. Guerrilla Warfare/Insurgency October 7
- Benjamin A. Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 375-407 (online).
 - Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars," *Rationality and Society* 11, no. 3 (August 1999): 243-285 (online).
 - Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 198-239 (e-res).
13. FALL BREAK: NO CLASS October 12
14. MIDTERM EXAM October 14
15. Research Papers in Political Science October 19
- Readings TBD

Part IV. Does Civilian Victimization Work?

16. Assessing the Effectiveness of Targeting Civilians October 21
- Alexander B. Downes and Kathryn McNabb Cochran, "Targeting Civilians to Win? Assessing the Military Effectiveness of Civilian Victimization in Interstate War," in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, ed. Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 23-56 (Blackboard).
 - 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, "Bombing as an Instrument of Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming; Blackboard).
17. Assessing the Effectiveness of Terrorism October 26
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-61 (online).
 - Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 42-78 (online).

Part IV. Historical Cases**A. CONVENTIONAL WARS OF ATTRITION**18. World War I: Starvation Blockades October 28

- Avner Offer, "Morality and Admiralty: 'Jacky' Fisher, Economic Warfare and the Laws of War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (January 1988): 99-118 (online).
- C. Paul Vincent, *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915-1919* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1985), 27-59 (e-res).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 83-114.

19. World War II: The Bombing of Germany November 2

- Stephen A. Garrett, *Ethics and Airpower in World War II: The British Bombing of German Cities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 3-22, 183-209 (e-res).
- Max Hastings, *Bomber Command* (New York: Dial Press, 1979), 106-140 (e-res).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 142-155.

20. World War II: The Bombing of Japan November 4

- Thomas R. Searle, "'It Made a Lot of Sense to Kill Skilled Workers': The Firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945," *Journal of Military History* 66, no. 1 (January 2002): 103-133 (online).
- Conrad C. Crane, *Bombs, Cities, and Civilians: American Airpower Strategy in World War II* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 120-142 (e-res).
- Ronald Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 149-176 (e-res).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 115-141.

B. COUNTERINSURGENCY21. The Boer War November 9

- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 196-233.
- Ivan Arreguín-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 72-108 (e-res).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 156-177.

22. France in Algeria November 11

- Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, all.
- Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 480-493 (e-res).
- Adam Shatz, "The Torture of Algiers," *New York Review of Books* (November 21, 2002), 53-57 (online).
- Movie, time TBA: *The Battle of Algiers*

23. Darfur November 16

- Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 1 (January/February 2005): 123-133 (online).
- Gérard Prunier, *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*, rev. and exp. edition (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007), 81-123 (e-res).
- Julie Flint and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A New History of a Long War*, rev. and updated ed. (London: Zed Books, 2008), 116-149 (e-res).

C. CLEANSING

24. World War I: The Armenians November 18
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 152-166.
 - Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 111-179.
 - Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 141-170 (e-res).
25. World War II: The Killing Machine November 23
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 166-178.
 - Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 180-211.
 - Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 131-163 (e-res).
 - Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Student ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), 99-153 (e-res).
26. THANKSGIVING RECESS: NO CLASS November 25
27. Rwanda November 30
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 178-87.
 - Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 428-73.
 - Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 41-64, 153-174 (e-res; 2 parts).
 - Movie, time TBA: *Hotel Rwanda* or *Sometime in April*

Part V. Individual Participation

28. Theories of Individual Participation December 2
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 30-65.
 - Herbert C. Kelman, "Violence without Moral Restraint: Reflections on the Dehumanization of Victims and Victimizers," *Journal of Social Issues* 29, no. 4 (1973): 25-61 (e-res).
 - Philip G. Zimbardo et al., "A Pirandellian Prison," *New York Times Magazine*, April 8, 1973 (Blackboard).
 - Andrew Wolfson, "A Hoax Most Cruel," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, October 9, 2005 (Blackboard).
29. One Morning in Josefow: Reserve Police Battalion 101 in Poland December 7
- Browning, *Ordinary Men*, all.
30. Course Wrap-Up December 9
Final Papers Due
31. FINAL EXAM, 7-10PM December 18