

What's so Civil about War Anyway?

Government 50.02

Winter 2013

Class Period: 10 (MWF 10-11:05) X (Th 12-12:50)

Classroom: Reed 108

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Office Hours: W 2-5

(or by appointment)

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Course Description

Axl Rose, poet laureate of the 1990s, asked in a song, "What's so civil about war, anyway?" He was trying to be ironic. It's not civil at all, but brutal and barbarous. "It feeds the rich while it buries the poor." Thanks for the probative insight Guns 'n' Roses. Nevertheless, Mr. Rose poses an intriguing question. What is it exactly that makes a war a civil war? Is the term simply geographic, signaling that a war takes place within the boundaries of a single state? Or is it more? Are the purposes, combat and dynamics of civil war unique? Or are civil and international wars essentially similar? Have either or both of these phenomena changed over time? Or has war's meaning remained relatively fixed? What is the relationship between civil and international war? Might civil wars affect international wars and vice versa? And, will the strategies to limit and resolve wars be equally effective for civil and international wars, or will remedies be more effective if they are tailored to each type?

Historically, international relations (IR) focused on the interactions between countries rather than on the politics or violence within them. Recently, however, more popular and scholarly attention has been dedicated to civil wars. These wars are far more common and cumulatively more destructive than their international equivalent. And many civil wars conflagrate into international wars or defy enduring resolution. Still, the accumulated knowledge on civil war pales in comparison to the body of work dedicated to interstate war. In this course, we will take G'n'R's question of civil war at face value. First, we will explore the causes, characteristics and consequences of civil wars on the ground, and evaluate their potential commonalities with international wars. Then, with the aide of in-depth case studies, we will analyze IR's potential contributions to understanding - and perhaps even preventing or resolving - contemporary civil wars.

Assignments & Exams

Class Participation	10%	
Response Papers	40%	(2 papers, 20% each)
Midterm Exam	20%	
Final Exam	30%	

Class Participation: Classroom participation is essential to the design of this course. Regular participation, be it in lecture, group activities or discussions, is expected. This portion of your grade is my evaluation of whether you are physically and mentally present during class. I take attendance regularly and I learn names. There is no simple algorithm for determining your participation grade, but answers to the following questions may be instructive: Do you ask questions when subjects are unclear or controversial? Do you come to class prepared to productively contribute to group exercises? (Also see 1pg. admission dates) Are you alert and engaged during class? If so, you will do well. On the other hand, if you're reading the paper or IMing during lecture; if you come to class unprepared; or if you sit idly by during group work, your grade will suffer.

Response Papers: (paper #1 due by 2/6) (paper #2 due by 3/6) These short (2 page, **single spaced**) papers are designed to give students the opportunity to respond to the weekly readings and lectures. Response papers include comments, questions, and reasoned opinions on the coursework and are due **at the beginning of class** on the day for which the discussed readings are assigned. The papers are informally structured, but should clearly convey the authors' arguments as well as the

student's own perspective on the work. The best response papers will provide constructive criticism and draw meaningful conclusions from those criticisms in relation to civil war. Examples of exemplary response papers are available on Bb. Further details regarding the papers will be provided during the first week of class.

Exams: The midterm exam covers lectures and readings through the end of week 5. It includes multiple choice, identification and short answer questions. The final exam will be cumulative, again including information from both readings and lectures, and will have a significant essay component. The final exam is on **March 11 @ 3pm**. Further details regarding the exams will follow in class.

Required Readings & Texts

The New York Times, *Wall Street Journal* or another well-respected newspaper/website with a significant section dedicated to international affairs. Students should read the international section each week and arrive in class prepared to discuss current events with reference to our coursework.

There are a number of reference texts that I will refer to during our class meetings:

Smith, Dan *The Penguin Atlas of War and Peace: Completely Revised and Updated* Penguin (Non-Classics) (April 29, 2003) **ISBN-10:** 0142002941.

Smith, Dan *The Penguin State of the World Atlas* (Non-Classics) (Nov.4, 2008) **ISBN-10:** 0143114522.

United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The World Factbook Online.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>

I do not expect that you will be familiar with all of the civil wars that we study. However, I do expect that you will become familiar with them. These sources provide a decent primer. These works are all available in the library or online. They are also available for purchase if you wish. There are no additional books required for this course. Instead, the remaining readings consist entirely of journal articles, book excerpts and web matter. Access to readings is available via Blackboard (Bb).

Course Requirements

The assigned readings should be completed before each class meeting. This ensures that our time together will be spent discussing the material and moving forward rather than repeating the text. If I feel that a significant number of students are unprepared, I reserve the right to administer pop quizzes on the assigned materials that will figure into the participation grade. The reading load is approximately 75-100 pages per week. Toward the end of the term, reading assignments will ease allowing students to concentrate more attention on exams.

Though a good portion of class time will be devoted to lecture, this course will also be interactive. Questions, comments and discussion are welcome. In addition, there will be a number of group discussions. If you find a particular topic intriguing or compelling, please let me know and we can explore it in greater depth. Strong participation and feedback are essential to your learning more and my teaching better.

Attendance at every class is not mandatory, but strong participation is highly recommended. It will be correlated with your performance. If you do miss a class, please contact a classmate for their lecture notes first and then attend office hours or schedule an appointment for clarifications. Unfortunately, my own lecture notes are rather schematic and not particularly useful as a study aid. You will know that you have missed too many classes when your grade begins to slip and your classmates no longer

share their notes with you. Consistent with Dartmouth policy, accommodations for regular, foreseeable absences must be arranged with me in advance (this includes travel for college sports, debate, etc.). While legitimate absences will be accommodated, I will not rehash entire lectures for individuals who cannot find the time to attend class.

Please note that there is no late paper policy outlined in this syllabus. Except in extreme and unavoidable circumstances, I do not accept late assignments. You now know all of the course deadlines, so please plan accordingly. If you tend to procrastinate, do not plan to write your response paper for Wednesday before the midterm. Instead, plan to write it during week 2. The same policy holds for make-up exams. If, unfortunately, a legitimate emergency occurs (illness, family emergency, etc.), a written excuse detailing the reason for your absence is required. However, a written excuse is not always sufficient to warrant a make-up. If you know in advance that you cannot attend an exam, make arrangements with me *prior* to the exam date.

Finally, if you begin to struggle with the coursework, please feel free to contact me so we can work together to remedy the problem. Adjustments for different learning styles can be made. Don't wait until the end of the term to ask for help if you need it. I want everyone to succeed.

Additional Course Notes

Disability: Students with known disabilities are responsible for informing me by the end of the first week of class. I can only make accommodations if I am aware of any potential difficulties you may have. Course materials can be made available in alternative formats upon request. If you suspect that you might have a disability or mental health problem, I can also assist you in seeking assessment through Dartmouth's student services.

Academic Dishonesty: I expect that all of the work submitted for this course will be your own and uniquely prepared for this class. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. If you have any questions about what constitutes either of these offenses, please refer to the academic honor principle. If you have questions about how to appropriately cite resources in your assignments and papers for this course, please consult <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/>. Any and every instance of cheating or plagiarism will be referred to the Committee on Standards consistent with Dartmouth College guidelines.

Letters of Recommendation: I am happy to write letters of recommendation for outstanding students. Unfortunately, my time is limited, so I've devised the following policy regarding letters: If you receive an A or citation in one of my classes, I will write recommendations for internal Dartmouth programs (LSA, FSP, Tuck Bridge Program, etc.). In order to write compelling, credible recommendations for outside programs like graduate school or for post-graduate employment, I need to know you and your work better than a single term together permits. For outside recommendations, you must complete at least two classes with me and receive an A or citation in at least one of them. However, the rules aren't ironclad. If your circumstances do not fall within my guidelines, but would nevertheless like me to write a letter, feel free to stop by and discuss it with me.

Religious Observances: Students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me to discuss appropriate accommodations. Religious observances are a "foreseeable absence" as described above.

Course Schedule

** The course schedule may vary slightly according to student interest and discussion time.

PART I

CIVIL WAR CHARACTERISTICS

WEEK 1

Introduction

Monday 1/7

Course Introduction

Wednesday 1/9

New or Not So New Wars?

R. Kaplan Atlantic Monthly "The Coming Anarchy"

M. Kaldor International Politics "Old Wars, Cold Wars, New Wars and the War on Terror"

S. Kalyvas World Politics "New and Old Wars"

Friday 1/11

Grievance or Greed (begin 'underlying motives')

T.R., Gurr Minorities at Risk

P. Collier, Foreign Policy "The Market for Civil War"

P. Collier & A. Hoeffler, Oxford Economic Papers

"Greed and Grievance in Civil War" (Skim)

WEEK 2

Civil War's Underlying Motives

Monday 1/14

Fundamental Incompatibility or Minute Differences

S. Huntington, Atlantic Monthly "A Clash of Civilizations?"

C. Hitchens, Slate "The Narcissism of the Small Difference"

Wednesday 1/16

Ethnic Groups or Narrow Minorities

D. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict

J. Mueller, IS "The Banality of Ethnic War"

Friday 1/18

Small Arms & Light Weapons (begin 'tactics & tech')

J. Boutwell & M. Klare "A Scorge of Small Arms"

Atlas, World Factbook: Sierra Leone, Congo, Mexico

Frontline World "Congo: On the Trail of an AK-47"

WEEK 3

Tactics & Technologies

Monday 1/21

CLASS CANCELED: MLK JR. DAY

Wednesday 1/23

The Elusive Victor Bout

NYT "Arms and the Man"

The New Yorker "Disarming Viktor Bout"

NYT "US is Arms Bazaar for Mexican Cartels"

NYT "US-Approved Arms for Libya Rebels Fell Into Jihadis' Hands"

Thursday 1/24

Group Discussion: Are SALW a problem?

If so, whose? What should be done? **(1 pg. admission)**

Begin reading for Friday

Friday 1/26

Guerilla War, Terrorism & Political Violence
Penguin WP Atlas p. 32-33, 40-41
B. Hoffman, Inside Terrorism Chapters 1-3
Selections from Mao Tse Tung and Che Guevara
Optional: *My Daughter the Terrorist* - streaming/Jones

WEEK 4

Civil War & Civilians

Monday 1/28

Child Soldiers
Penguin WP Atlas p. 22-23, 42-43, 46-47
UNICEF Factsheet "Child Soldiers"
P.W. Singer "Addressing the Global Challenge..."
NYT "The Making and Unmaking of a Child Soldier"
NYT "Children Carry Guns for a US Ally, Somalia"
HRW "US: Don't Finance Child Soldiers"

Wednesday 1/30

Mercenaries & PMCs
D. Shearer, Foreign Policy "Outsourcing War"
D. Avant, ISP "The Privatization of Security"
L. Miller "Rent-a-coup"
PBS Frontline "Private Warriors"
NYT "Iraq Security Contractors"
NYT "Blackwater Reaches Deal on US Export Violations"

Friday 2/1

Death Squads & Counterinsurgent Paramilitaries
A. Abram "Why States Choose Paramilitarism"
D. Wilkinson "Death and Drugs in Colombia"
NYT "Militants Turn to Death Squads in Afghanistan"
ABC News "Papuan Claim AUS Link to Death Squad"

WEEK 5

Natural Resources & Civil War

Monday 2/4

M. Ross, IO, "How do Natural Resources Influence..."
W. Reno "How Sovereignty Matters"

Wednesday 2/6

Response Paper #1 Due

M. Davis "Forests and Conflict in Cambodia"
NYT "The Spoils: Congo's Riches"
NYT "The Spoils: Battle in a Poor Land"
FP "Teodorin's World"
S. Schubert "Brazil: Hired Guns"

Thursday 2/7

Friday 2/8

Mid-Term Exam

CLASS CANCELED: WINTER CARNIVAL

PART II

THEORIES OF CIVIL WAR

WEEK 6

IR Theory & Civil War

Monday 2/11

Diversionary & Predatory War
G. Blainey "Deathwatch and Scapegoat Wars" Ch.5
S. Walt "A Theory of Revolution & War" Ch.2
PBS "Revolution in Cairo"

Wednesday 2/13

The Security Dilemma
B. Posen Survival "The S. Dilemma & Ethnic Conflict"

Friday 2/15

Rationalist Explanations & Bargaining
J. Fearon, IO "Rationalist Explanations for War"
B. Walter, ARPS "Bargaining Failures and Civil War"

WEEK 7

Collapsing Empires & State-making Wars

Monday 2/18

Early Modern Europe
C. Tilly "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime"

Wednesday 2/20

Anti-Colonial War
Penguin WP Atlas p.50-51, 58-59,
R. Jackson & C. Rosberg "Why Africa's Weak States Persist"

X HOUR 12-2 (EXTRA HOUR)

Thursday 2/21

The Battle of Algiers
DVD streaming/Jones and Coggins has a personal copy

Friday 2/22

Secession/Irredentism
Penguin WP Atlas p.62-63, 86-87
Atlas, World Factbook: Serbia, Kosovo, Azerbaijan, Georgia
Moldova, Russia
C. King, CER "Europe's Non-State States"
C. King FA "Five Day War"
G. Bass WP "Breaking Up (A Country) Is Hard to Do"
S. Krasner FA "Who Gets a State, and Why?"

PART III

CIVIL WAR CASE STUDIES

WEEK 8

State Failure, Somalia and Non-Traditional Threats

Monday 2/25

Failed & Failing States
Penguin WP Atlas, p. 10-11, 34-35, 106-113
Atlas, World Factbook: Somalia
Foreign Policy "Failed States Index"
R. Rotberg "State Failure"
J. Traub, FP, "In the Beginning there was Somalia"

Wednesday 2/27

Maritime Piracy in Somalia
B. Coggins "Failing and the Seven Seas"

Friday 3/1

Potential Responses to State Failure in Somalia
Group Discussion (**1pg. admission**)
Economist "What Can the World Do?"
S. Patrick "The Brutal Truth"
J. Herbst, IS "Responding to State Failure in Africa"
K. Menkhaus "They Created a Desert..."
B. Burton, FA, "In the Quicksands of Somalia"
M. Farole FP "How to Help Somalia"

WEEK 9

Secession, Ethnic Conflict and the Sudan

Monday 3/4

Secession & Southern Sudan

A.Nastios & M.Abramowitz FA "Sudan's Secession Crisis"
Human Rights Watch "Sudan, Oil and Human Rights" 50-88

Wednesday 3/6

Response Paper #2 Due

Justice for South Sudan & Darfur

Fronline World "Sudan: The Quick and the Terrible"
A.deWaal HHRJ "Reflections on the Difficulties of
Defining Darfur's Crisis as a Genocide"
ICC Arrest Warrants 1 & 2 for President Omar Al Bashir

Friday 3/8

The 2011 Referendum, Darfur & Continuing Violence
Group Discussion **(1pg. admission)**

Monday 3/11

Final Exam as Scheduled @ 3pm (location TBA)