

# Civil Wars in Theory and Practice

Leiden University

6443HBPW – 05

BSc International Relations and Organisations

Academic Year 2019-2020, Semester 2, Blocks III & IV

Instructor: Dr. Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl

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Office hours: \*

Mondays, 13:30-14:30 (Den Haag, Wijnhaven room TBA)

Fridays, 14:00-15:00 (Leiden, PDLC room TBA)

\* sign-up required, <https://calendly.com/schulhofer-wohl/>

## Schedule

Mondays, 15:15-19:00, CDH-SCHOUW / A2.05

## Course overview

This course explores the dynamics of civil wars. It draws on literature in political science and other fields in the social sciences to understand how civil wars are conducted. We begin at the level of the armed actors. We analyze the structure of government armed forces and rebel groups, their tactical effectiveness, the recruitment of fighters, violence against civilians, military engagements between armed rivals, and the role of resources (including external support), ideology, and ethnic and religious identities in shaping their actions. We study violence from the perspective of the armed organization and the interactions of opposing and allied armed organizations, examining what leads to success in warfighting and the causes and consequences of violence against civilians. We then move to the level of individual, studying who participates in armed organizations, the factors that shape continued participation and sacrifice, and the process by which individuals become accustomed to using violence. For each topic, we will identify common policy-making assumptions and assess their evidentiary basis. Readings cover conflicts around the world, from wars in the aftermath of WWII to contemporary Syria.

## Mode of Instruction

A four-hour seminar, once per week.

## Assessment Method

Grades for the first half of the BAP will be determined on the basis of:

1. In-class participation (20%). Attendance at every class meeting, for the full length of the class, is required and expected. Class participation is not an attendance grade, but instead reflects active participation during class, including asking questions and grappling with arguments, concepts and evidence. Active participation also means completing the required reading prior to the class meeting.

The rubric for participation scores for each class session is as follows: 2 points for participation that is active and thoughtful (i.e., makes an original comment or ask a pertinent question about the course material); 1 point for brief participation (i.e., answers a short question); 0 points for no participation or if absent.

2. War overview paper (40%). 6 pp. Assignment to be distributed 10 February. Due in class on **Monday, 2 March**.

3. Critical review papers (40%; 20% each). Two 3 pp. analyses of an assigned reading for weeks 5-8. Each must be written for a different week and is due in class **the day for which the reading is assigned**.

BA Thesis: **Due by 17:00 on Monday, May 25**.

\* All papers, including the thesis, must be written in a 12 pt font, double-spaced, with margins of no more than 2.54 cm on all sides. \*

## Study Material

Readings include articles and books available through the University's library catalog and materials posted on Blackboard. Students are required to prepare all **required** reading **before coming to class**. Required reading is usually **160-200 pages per week**. You should plan approximately 6 hours to prepare the readings for each class.

*Recommended* material extends and illustrates issues raised in the lectures; consult it if you would like to know more and to deepen your understanding of material discussed in lectures.

## Expectations and Course Policies

### Policies

By enrolling in this course, it is assumed that you have read and accepted all policies contained in this syllabus, including:

- Students are expected to **attend all sessions of the course**

- **No photography, video, or audio recording** is permitted without the instructor's prior consent.
- Students with **special needs** should contact the instructor at the beginning of the course to make all necessary arrangements.
- **The use of mobile devices during lectures is not permitted.**

### Attendance, Reading, and Participation

This course requires that you manage your time well, keep track of the assigned readings and, most importantly, attend and participate actively in every class session. The course schedule lists readings, which must be completed before the date listed. All readings are required unless the schedule indicates otherwise. Plan your schedule around the class meeting, including avoidable conflicts, such as doctor's appointments or interviews. There are no "excused absences" per se; however, as noted above, your lowest participation grade will be dropped.

### Late/missed assignments

Deadlines listed in the syllabus are firm, in the interest of fairness to all students. Extensions for assignments and/or makeup exams will not be granted except in cases of serious illness, family emergency or religious observance (see below). Papers will lose one point (on the 1-10 scale) for every 24 hours or portion thereof that they are handed in late (i.e. a 7.5 becomes a 6.5, etc.).

### Academic integrity

Plagiarism and cheating are unacceptable and will be pursued to the full extent of the University's policies. Providing proper citations in your writing is necessary and expected. If you have any questions about what constitutes a correct citation, it is your responsibility to seek guidance prior to submitting the assignment. *In all writing, you must put any words that are not your own between quotation marks.* You must also attribute any ideas that are not your own to the source from which you derived them. According to the University, "Plagiarism is understood as presenting, intentionally or otherwise, someone else's words, thoughts, analyses, argumentations, pictures, techniques, computer programmes, etc., as your own work." Please consult the University's full policy on plagiarism [here](#).

### Religious observance

Students may ask for reasonable and timely accommodations for religious observances. Please review the syllabus closely to determine if religious obligations will present scheduling conflicts with any of the assignments. Students must inform the instructor of any such conflicts within the first two weeks of the semester.

### Laptops and other electronic devices

Surfing the web, checking your email or social media, and sending messages during class distract you and your fellow students. If you choose to take notes on your computer during class, please disconnect your wireless access. Please also refrain from using cell phones and other mobile devices except in case of emergency. Violations of this policy may result in a reduction in your class participation grade or in a ban of laptop use in class. Note that [research](#) has found that students absorb class material better when taking notes by hand than when using a computer.

### Communication

Email should generally be used for brief questions only. So that I'm sure to receive your email, write the course number in brackets at the beginning of the subject line of your message, i.e. [6443HBPW – 05]. I will respond to emails within 24-48 hours. Should you need to contact me regarding an urgent matter, please make a note of this in the subject line. In-person discussion is preferable to email, so plan to attend office hours for any questions relating to course content or assignments (see below).

### Office hours

I encourage you to come to my office hours with any questions or comments. I hold weekly office hours on Mondays from 13:30-14:30 in Den Haag and on Fridays from 14:00-15:00 in Leiden. Please schedule an appointment during these times in advance using <https://calendly.com/schulhofer-wohl/>. If you cannot come to the appointment, please remember to cancel it so that the time can be made available to another student.

## Course Schedule

**Feb. 3 (Week 1):** Introduction and Overview of the Course. Studying Civil War.

*In class:* O'Brien, Tim. *The Things They Carried*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. "How to Tell a True War Story," pp.67-80. [BB]

**Feb. 10 (Week 2): What is a Civil War? Types of Civil Wars?**

*For class discussion, pick one civil war from the Sambanis and Schulhofer-Wohl list. Familiarize yourself with the war by reading the coding notes about it. Most are available in the Civil War Coding Notes document, replication folder for Doyle and Sambanis 2006, Making War and Building Peace (if you've selected a more recent war that is not in these notes, contact me and I'll send you the relevant pages from the new Coding Notes). Also skim a few news articles and/or overviews of the war. The war list and coding notes document are available on Blackboard.*

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 814-858.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1, "Concepts," pp.16-31. [BB].

Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of 'Ethnic War.'" *International Security* 25(1): 42-70.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Matthew Adam Kocher. 2007. "Ethnic Cleavages and Irregular War: Iraq and Vietnam." *Politics & Society* 35(2):183-223.

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

### *Recommended*

Armitage, David. 2017. *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas*. New York: Knopf. Introduction, "Confronting Civil War," pp.3-30. [BB]

King, Charles. 2001. "The Myth of Ethnic Warfare: Understanding Conflict in the Post-Cold War World." *Foreign Affairs* 80(6): 165- 170.

Fearon, James. 2008. "Ethnic Mobilization and Ethnic Violence." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, eds. Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2009. "What is Ethnic War? Organization and Interests in Ethnic Insurgency." Working paper, Yale University. [BB]

**Feb. 17 (Week 3): Forms of Civil War? Armed Force Structures and Consequences**

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2019. "The Landscape of Political Violence." In Chenoweth, Erica, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Focus especially on pp.24-27.**

- U.S. Department of the Army [Petraeus, David H., James F. Amos, and John A. Nagl]. 2006. *Counterinsurgency (U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24)*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army. Introduction and Ch. 1.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2008. [Review Symposium on FM 3-24. \*Perspectives on Politics\* 6\(2\):351-3.](#)
- Biddle, Stephen. 2006. [“Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon.” \*Foreign Affairs\* 85\(2\):2-14.](#)
- U.S. Dept. of the Army. 1994. *Organization of the United States Army*. Pamphlet 10-1. (skim). [BB]
- Jentzsch, Corinna. 2017. [“Auxiliary Armed Forces and Innovations in Security Governance in Mozambique’s Civil War.” \*Civil Wars\* 19\(3\):325-47.](#)
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2005. [“Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment.” \*Journal of Conflict Resolution\* 49\(4\):598-624.](#)
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. [“Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence \(1980-2009\).” \*American Political Science Review\* 107\(3\):461-477.](#)
- Hoover Green, Amelia. 2016. [“The Commander’s Dilemma: Creating and Controlling Armed Group Violence.” \*Journal of Peace Research\* 53\(5\):619-32.](#)
- Sinno, Abdulkader H. 2008. *Organizations at War in Afghanistan and Beyond*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Ch. 3, “Advantages and Limitations of Structures.”

#### *Recommended*

- Staniland, Paul. 2015. [“Every Insurgency is Different.” \*New York Times\*, 15 February.](#)
- Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco. 2008. [“Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War.” \*Politics & Society\* 36\(1\):3-34.](#)
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2016. *Rape during Civil War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hoover Green, Amelia. 2018. *The Commander’s Dilemma: Violence and Restraint in Wartime*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Staniland, Paul. 2014. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. [no online version available, LU library only]
- Sinno, *Organizations at War in Afghanistan and Beyond*.
- Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco and Elizabeth Jean Wood. 2014. [“Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adoption and Beyond.” \*Journal of Peace Research\* 51\(2\):213–26.](#)
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2015. [“Regulating Militias: Governments, Militias, and Civilian Targeting in Civil War.” \*Journal of Conflict Resolution\* 59\(5\):899-923.](#)
- Johnston, Patrick. 2008. [“The Geography of Insurgent Organization and its Consequences for Civil Wars: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone.” \*Security Studies\* 17\(1\):107-37.](#)

**\* Recommended: Friday, Feb 21, 11:15-13:00, Wijnhaven room 2.01, Guest lecture by Stathis Kalyvas, Oxford University, “The Landscape of Political Violence” \***

**Feb. 24 (Week 4): Recruitment & Informal Participation in Armed Groups**

- Petersen, Roger D. 2001. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Ch. 1, pp.1-79.
- Wood, Elisabeth J. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, "The Puzzle of Insurgent Collective Action."
- Baczko, Adam, Gilles Dorronsoro, and Arthur Quesnay. 2018. *Civil War in Syria*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction, Chs. 2-3 (Ch. 1 optional).

*Recommended*

- Guichaoua, Yvan. 2010. "Process of Violent Political Mobilization: An Overview of Contemporary Debates and CRISE Findings." Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, Oxford University.
- Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*.
- Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*.
- Viterna, Jocelyn. 2016. *Women in War: The Micro Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. New York: Oxford University Press. [no online version available, LU library only]

**Mar. 2 (Week 5): Military Competition, Warfighting, & Alliances****\* War Overview Paper Due \***

- Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Chs. 6-7.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. N. 2005. "Warfare in Civil Wars." In Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Jan Angstrom, eds. *Rethinking the Nature of War*. Abingdon: Frank Cass, 88-108.
- Katagiri, Nori. 2013. "Suicidal Armies: Why Do Rebels Fight Like an Army and Keep Losing?" *Comparative Strategy* 32(4): 354-77.
- Biddle, Stephen. 2007. "Explaining Military Outcomes." In Brooks, Risa A. and Elizabeth A. Stanley. *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp.207-27. [BB]
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chs. 2-3.
- Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Ch. 11.

*Recommended*

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Matthew Adam Kocher. 2009. "The Dynamics of Violence in Vietnam: Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES)." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3):335-55.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2007. "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy." *Civil Wars* 9(4):420-44.
- Lyll, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331-62.

- Toft, Monica Duffy and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2015. "Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus." *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 222-38.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Ch. 1, "The Diplomacy of Violence," pp.1-34.
- Pillar, Paul R. 1983. *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Especially Introduction, Ch. 1, Appendix A, and Ch. 5.
- Ramsay, Kristopher W. 2008. "Settling It on the Field: Battlefield Events and War Termination." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(6): 850-79.
- Schulhofer-Wohl, Jonah. 2019. "On-Side Fighting in Civil War: The Logic of Mortal Alignment in Syria." Ms, University of Virginia. [BB]
- Christia, Fotini. 2008. "Following the Money: Muslim versus Muslim in Bosnia's Civil War." *Comparative Politics* 40(4):461-80.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

### Mar. 9 (Week 6): Political Competition

- Steele, Abbey. 2017. *Democracy and Displacement in Colombia's Civil War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Preface, Chs. 1, 5.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291-313.
- Hage, Ghassan. 1996. "Nationalist Anxiety or the Fear of Losing Your Other." *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 7(2):121-40.
- Baczko, Dorronsoro, and Quesnay, *Civil War in Syria*, Chs. 8-9, 13

### Recommended

- Khalaf, Samir. 2002. *Civil and Uncivil Violence: A History of the Internationalization of Communal Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press. Ch. 2, "The Radicalization of Communal Loyalties."
- LeBas, Adrienne. 2006. "Polarization as Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe." *Comparative Politics* 38(4):419-38.
- Steele, *Democracy and Displacement in Colombia's Civil War*.
- Balcells, Laia. 2017. *Rivalry and Revenge: The Politics of Violence during Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### Mar. 16 (Week 7): Governing

- Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1-5, pp.1-158.
- Opper, Marc. 2019. *People's Wars in China, Malaya, and Vietnam*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Chs. 1 & 3, pp.1-14, 35-64 (Ch. 2 optional).

*Recommended*

Arjona, *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*.

Opper, *People's Wars in China, Malaya, and Vietnam*.

Taber, Robert. 1965. *War of the Flea: A Study of Guerrilla Warfare Theory and Practise*. New York: L. Stuart. Especially Chs. 1-4. [no online version available, LU library only; Dutch translation also available]

Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2012. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during Civil War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Schwab, Regina. "Insurgent Courts in Civil Wars: The Three Pathways of (Trans)formation in Today's Syria (2012–2017)." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 29(4): 801-26.

**Mar. 23 (Week 8):** The Individual and Violence & The Individual as Group Member – Participation, and Management

**\* Last day to hand in second Critical Review Paper \***

Marlantes, Karl. 2011. *What it is Like to Go to War*. New York: Grove Press. Preface, Chs. 1-2, 5-7, 9-10.

Grossman, Dave. 1996. *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. pp.1-50, 97-137.

Sambanis, Nicholas, Schulhofer-Wohl, Jonah, and Moses Shayo. 2012. "Parochialism as a Central Challenge in Counterinsurgency." *Science* 336(6038): 805-8. **Read supplemental online material first**, then article.

Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah. 1996. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Knopf. Introduction, pp.3-24.

Browning, Christopher R. 1992. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. New York: HarperCollins. Chs. 1-8, 17, 18.

*Recommended*

Gretton, Dan. 2019. *I You We Them: Journeys Beyond Evil: The Desk Killer in History and Today*. London: Penguin.

Hardin, Russell. 2002. "The Crippled Epistemology of Extremism." In Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeotti, Pierre Salmon, and Ronald Wintrobe, eds. *Political Extremism and Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shapiro, Jacob N. and David A. Siegel. 2012. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics* 64(1):39-78.

**Mar. 30-May 18 (Weeks 9-16):** Supervised thesis research and writing, schedule TBA

**\* Monday, 25 May, 17:00: B.A. Thesis Due \***