

**Pol486/Pol2205**

**The Changing Face of War:  
From Interstate War to Asymmetric Warfare  
Fall/Winter Session 2011/2012**

Thursday, 2:00-4:00, UC65

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Office hours: Wednesday 2:30-4:00

Events throughout the last two decades led to renewed interest in the changing face of warfare, and especially in the unique and challenging characteristics of asymmetric warfare. Research in international relations, not surprisingly, mirrors this renewed interest, and offers a burst of new analyses and findings regarding these issues. This new research, however, is still, relatively speaking, in its early stages and often struggles to develop more cohesive analytical frameworks. Furthermore, asymmetric warfare, which often involves non-state actors, offers an additional challenge for existing theories of international security which tend to be state-centric.

This seminar seeks to review recent works on asymmetric warfare in an attempt to contribute to this growing literature. This is a research seminar. Students are expected to conduct independent research that engages with the topics covered in the course. This is not intended to be a “how to” manual for the conduct of counter-insurgency, nor an arena for endless political debate regarding the futility or brutality of war. Instead, this seminar focuses on developing a theoretical and analytical approach to these issues.

**Reading**

This is an intensive seminar which involves a significant amount of reading. Students should be prepared to read 3-5 articles a week. Useful discussion is impossible in the absence of such preparation. A midterm at the end of the fall semester will examine student familiarity with the readings. Please note: there is a long waiting list for this seminar. Should you choose to enroll in this course, please be prepared to do the work. If you fail to keep us with this basic responsibility you are affecting the overall value of the seminar while taking the spot away from a student who may have been more diligent.

All readings are available electronically through the library's online resources or freely on the internet. I will post some of the more difficult to find sources on the course's Blackboard site, but other than that, it is your responsibility to find the sources. Looking for sources is part of the researcher's job, and may direct you to related interesting readings should you have the time and interest.

Lastly, I maintain the right to make minor changes to the attached reading list throughout the year, especially if any new articles appear or related controversies flare out. Any such changes are not likely to affect the overall workload.

### Course Requirements

The seminar meets for two hours each week. Attendance is, obviously, a pre-requisite for active participation. Poor attendance record may lead to a final participation grade of zero.

The final grade for this course will be evaluated on the basis of the following components:

Research proposal (November 17)	10%
Midterm (December 1)	25%
In-class presentations	15%
Participation	25%
Research paper (April 5)	25%

**Participation:** This is a seminar –not a lecture course! Most of the learning is done through collective discussion and analysis. Active participation is therefore crucial for the success of the seminar. Accordingly, participation accounts for a significant portion of your final grade. Again, familiarity with the readings is an essential pre-requisite for productive participation.

**Research proposal and paper:** As stated above, this is a research seminar and students are expected to develop an independent research project. In order to facilitate this process, each student is expected to attend my office hours at least once during the fall term to discuss ideas for a research project. Following these meetings each student will submit a 1-2 pages of research proposal by November 17. Students are expected to post the proposals on Blackboard and to provide comments and constructive feedback to fellow students. This proposal will then be developed into a 15-20p research paper to be submitted at the end of the year. The last weeks of the class will be devoted to student presentations of their respective projects. Students will distribute paper drafts to all participants in the week leading to their presentation. Class discussion following the presentation will (hopefully) offer input that can help in the final re-writing of the papers.

**Midterm:** The midterm will be held on the last meeting of the fall term. It seeks to test student familiarity with the course material. Each student is allowed to bring in up to 20 pages of notes (single spaced/ 12 font) to the test. These notes can include any material students feel may assist

them while writing the exam. The midterm will cover all the material covered in the class (readings + in class discussion).

**In-class presentations:** Each student is expected to make three presentations throughout the year (each worth 5% of the grade). First, each week one student will serve as a discussant and will offer initial critique to motivate our discussion. Second, each student will pick a “pet-case,” an example of a past asymmetric conflict or a related topic and will offer a five minute presentation on this selected case. Lastly, each student will present his or hers research project in the final weeks of the course.

## Blackboard

We will be using Blackboard in order to manage and coordinate this course. For this purpose, all students must have an active U of T e-mail address (if you have not already established a university e-mail account you can find information on how to do so at Robarts Library). Important course information will be distributed electronically through Blackboard. It is your responsibility to log on to the Blackboard website and obtain the posted information. Research proposals and paper drafts should be uploaded to blackboard no later than the Monday preceding the presentation. Student can use the Blackboard interface in order to add constructive criticism of each other’s work. Online feedback will count as course participation. Feel free to use the electronic forums and message boards for any course related topics. Please respect basic netiquette conventions when posting messages. To log-in, please visit: [portal.utoronto.ca](http://portal.utoronto.ca)

## Movie Weeks

We will have two movie weeks during the year. Both meetings are likely to be longer than a regular two-hour meeting. Please ensure that your schedule allows you to stay in class for the post-movie discussion during those weeks.

## Rules and Regulations: Please note the following carefully!

- If you are unable to submit papers, or attend the midterm at the appointed time, you must request permission for an extension or a makeup exam. In almost all cases, requests for extensions and deferrals should be submitted ahead of time. All requests for extensions or deferrals should be submitted in writing. In general, extensions will not be granted unless it is a case of unavoidable and unforeseeable extenuating circumstances. In most cases, supporting documentation is required before any extension is granted. Appropriate documentation must be submitted within one week of the late assignment or missed midterm. All medical-related extension requests require a ROSI absence declaration form.
- *Assignments in other courses are NOT grounds for an extension or a makeup exam.*

- Late submission penalty is 4% per each late day or fraction of a day, *weekends included*. Papers are to be handed at the beginning of our last meeting. Thereafter, the cut off time for the determination of a late day is 5pm. Late-assignments should be submitted to the main desk of the Political Science Department (on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor of Sidney Smith Hall). Students should make sure that late submissions are signed and dated by departmental staff. Only hard copies are acceptable, e-mailed or faxed assignments will not be accepted unless you have obtained prior approval.
- All papers should be printed, double spaced, 12 font, with proper margins, page numbers and securely stapled. Papers that go beyond the stated page limit for the assignment, or papers that do not conform to the directions above, may be penalized.
- In case of a missed midterm, it is the responsibility of the student to contact me as soon as possible (at the latest within a week of the original exam date) to arrange for a makeup exam. The makeup exam will normally take place within two weeks of the original exam date. Barring extreme circumstances, if the student does not complete the midterm within two weeks of the original exam, the student will receive a “0” grade for the exam.
- In all written assignments you must follow basic academic citation rules. All words and ideas of published works of other individuals should be properly acknowledged. Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information please see the University of Toronto’s policy on plagiarism on <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>. Failure to understand what constitutes plagiarism will not be accepted as an excuse.
- No accommodation will be offered for missed attendance, unless students can produce acceptable and adequately documented reasons, preferably *prior* to the session in question.

## **Fall Term**

### **1. Introduction**

### **2. Bargaining Models of War**

Fearon, J. D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization*, 49/3: 379-414

Gartzke, Eric. 2003. "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization*, 53/3: 567-587

### **3. Classic Writings on War**

Clausewitz, Carl Von. *On War*. Book I, ch. 1-8; Book II Ch. 3; Book VIII Ch. 1-9

Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*, Ch. 1-3

### **4. Classic Writings on Insurgency**

Mao, Zedong. 1938. *On Protracted War*

Guevara, Ernesto Che. 1960. *Guerilla Warfare*. Ch.1

Marighella, Carlos. 1971. "Minimanual of Urban Guerrilla" *Survival*, 13/3: 95-100

### **5. States in a World of Asymmetric Warfare.**

Andrew Mack. 1975. "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict." *World Politics*, 27/2: 175-200

Arreguin-Toft. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars." *International Security*, 26/1:93-128.

Adler, Emanuel. 2010. "Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't: Performative Power and the Strategy of Conventional and Nuclear Defusing." *Security Studies*, 19/2: 199-229

Byman, Daniel and Sarah e. Kerps. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives*, 11/1:1-18

## **6. Civil Wars**

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

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

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56/4: 563-595

## **7. Mobilization**

Lichbach, M.I. 1994. "What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary? Dilemma, Paradox and Irony in Peasant Collective Action." *World Politics*, 46/3: 383-418.

Gates, S. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46/1: 111-130

Scott, James. 2008. "Everyday Forms of Resistance." *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 33-59

## **8. The Logic of Extreme Violence**

Kalyvas, SN. 1999. "Wanton and Senseless?: The Logic of Massacres in Algeria." *Rationality and Society*, 11/3: 243-285

Woods, Elizabeth. 2006. "Variation in Sexual Violence during War." *Politics & Society*, 34/3: 307-342

Fujii, Lee Ann. 2008. "The Power of Local Ties: Popular Participation in Rwandan Genocide." *Security Studies*, 17/3: 568-597

Harff, Barbara. 2003. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." *The American Political Science Review*, 97/1: 57-73

## **9. Ethnic violence**

Fearon, James and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining inter-Ethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review*, 90/4: 715-735.

Kaufman Stuart J. 2006. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice?: Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security*, 30/4: 45-86.

Ignatieff, Michael. 1993. *Blood and Belonging*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1993. (Excerpt, available on Blackboard).

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

## **10. Presentation of Research Proposals**

## **11. Movie Week: Waltz with Bashir**

## **12. Midterm**

# **Winter Term**

## **1. Terrorism I**

Kalyvas, S. N. 2004. "The Paradox of Terrorism in Civil War." *Journal of Ethics*, 8/1: 97-138

Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century." *Dialogue IO*, 1: 15-29

Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security*, 31/1: 49-80

Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Bombing." *American Political Science Review*, 97/3: 343-361

## **2. Terrorism II**

Sprinzak, Ehud. 1991. "The Process of Delegitimation: Toward a Linkage Theory of Political Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3/1: 50-68.

Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: a Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49/1: 3-42

Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." *International Security*, 32/4: 78-105

Chenoweth, Erica et al. 2009. "What Makes Terrorists Tick?" *International Security*, 33/4: 180-202

### **3. Movie Week: Battle of Algiers**

### **4. Counterinsurgency I**

Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization*, 63: 67-106

Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53/3: 331-362

Byman, Daniel L. 2006. "Friends like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism." *International Security*, 31/2: 79-115

### **5. Counterinsurgency II**

Patraeus, David. 2007. *The US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Manual* (especially ch. 1).

Kilcullen, David. 2006. "Counter-Insurgency Redux." *Survival*, 48/4:111-130

Galula, David. 1963 (2006). *Pacification in Algeria, 1956-1958*. Washington, DC: RAND, forward, ch.2, conclusions (available on Blackboard).

### **6. Other violent non-state actors**

Marten, Kimberly. 2007. "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective." *International Security*, 31/3: 41-73.

Donald J. Puchala. 2005. "Of Pirates and Terrorists: What Experience and History Teach." *Contemporary Security Policy* 26:1024.

Hastings, Justin V. 2009. "Geographies of State Failure and Sophistication in Maritime Piracy Hijackings." *Political Geography*, 28/4: 213-223



Cornwell, Svante E. 2005. "The Interaction of Narcotics and Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*, 42/6: 751-760

Elistrup-Sangiovanni Mette and Culvert Jones. 2008. "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why Al Qaida May Be Less Threatening than Many Think." *International Security*, 33/2: 7-44

## **7. Ethical Issues**

Walzer, Michael. 1973. "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands." *Philosophy and Public Affairs*. 2/2: 160-180.

Der Derian, James. 2008. "The Desert of the Real and the Simulacrum of War." *International Affairs*, 84/5: 931-948

Crawford, Neta C. 2003. "Just War Theory and the U.S Counterterror War." *Perspective on Politics*, 1/1: 5-25

Dershowitz, Alan M. 2004. "Tortured Reasoning." In Sanford Levinson, ed. *Torture: A Collection*. New York: Oxford university Press, ch. 14 (Available on Blackboard)

## **8. Presentations I**

## **9. Presentations II**

## **10. Presentations III**

## **11. Presentations IV**

## **12. Summary**