The Changing Face of War: From Interstate War to Asymmetric Conflict

Course Description

The events of the last two decades have led to renewed interest in the changing face of war, 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. Indeed, even the core concepts that motivate this research are often contested and ill defined: asymmetric warfare, insurgency, small wars, terrorism, to name a few. 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 literature, thus, cuts across traditional disciplinary lines between comparative politics and international relations.

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 political debate regarding the futility or brutality of war. Instead, this seminar focuses on developing a theoretical and analytical approach to the study of these issues.
Course Readings

This is an intensive seminar which involves a significant amount of reading. Students should be prepared to read 3-5 articles per session. Useful discussion is impossible in the absence of such preparation. Should you choose to enroll in this course, please be prepared to do the work. If you fail to keep up with this basic responsibility you are affecting the overall value of the seminar.

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 Quercus page, if needed, 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 articles or books 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.

Academic Integrity

All written assignments must follow academic citation rules. All words and ideas of works of other individuals should be properly acknowledged. For further clarification and information please consult the University of Toronto’s policy on plagiarism. Failure to understand what constitutes plagiarism will not be accepted as an excuse.

In order to promote an atmosphere of academic integrity, this course will uphold the following policy:

Students must attach a signed copy of an Academic Integrity Checklist to their essay. The Checklist form is available on Quercus. Please note that I will not accept your paper without this form. Accordingly, we will apply late penalties to your paper (as detailed below) until the Checklist is submitted.
Course Requirements

The seminar meets for two hours twice a week. Attendance is, obviously, a pre-requisite for active participation. Poor attendance record may lead to a final participation grade of zero. Generally, no accommodation will be offered for missed attendance.

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 prerequisite for productive participation.

“Giants are not what we think they are. The same qualities that appear to give them strength are often the sources of great weakness.”
-Malcolm Gladwell

Research Proposal and Paper

As part of this research seminar, 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 prior to reading week to discuss ideas for a research project. Following these meetings each student will submit a 1-2 pages of research proposal. Students are expected to post the proposals on Quercus and to provide comments and constructive feedback on fellow students’ submissions. This proposal will then be developed into a 15-20pp research paper to be submitted at the end of the term. 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 days leading to their presentation. Subsequent class discussion will (hopefully) offer input that can help in the final re-writing of the papers.

Commentary

Each student is expected to submit a short 2-3 page commentary on a meeting’s readings twice during the semester. You can choose any of the seminar’s sessions. The commentary should engage with the readings in a critical way, identify core questions and suggest ways to improve further research. The commentaries are due at the beginning of the relevant session.
Important Dates

October 16
Research proposals uploaded to Quercus

October 16
Movie week

October 18
Research proposal presentations

November 1
Movie week

November 20
First week of paper presentations

December 4
Papers are due

Presentations

Each student is expected to make three short presentations throughout the term (each worth 5% of the grade). First, each meeting one student will serve as a discussant and will offer initial critique of the assigned readings 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.

Movie Weeks

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

Quercus

Important course information will be distributed electronically through Quercus. Students can use the Quercus interface in order to add constructive criticism of each other’s work. Online activity 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: q.utoronto.ca
Rules and Regulations

If you are unable to submit papers at the appointed time, you must request permission for an extension. 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. Please note: *Assignments in other courses are NOT grounds for an extension.*

“Shall I risk my cavalry ... against your cannon balls...? No. I shall march your troops until their feet shall meet their bodies. You shall not have a blade of grass, nor a drop of water. I will hear of you every time your drum beats, but you shall not know where I am... I will give you battle, but it must be when I please, and not when you choose. —Haidar Ali, ruler of Mysore, 1768.

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 3rd 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 (and preferably double sided), 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.
Reading List

Session I: Introduction  (Sep 6)

Session II:  Is Asymmetry New? (Sep 11)

Shakespeare, William. 1599. *Henry V.*
Gilady, Lilach and Joseph Mackay. 2015. “Bringing the Insurgents Back In.” *Terrorism and Political Violence, 27/5: 797-817*

Session III: Classic Writings and the Bargaining Model of War (Sep 13)

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

“You may as well say, that's a valiant flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion.”

-William Shakespeare, *Henry V*

Session IV: Classic Writings on Insurgency  (Sep 18)

Mao, Zedong. 1938. *On Protracted War*
Guevara, Ernesto Che. 1960. *Guerilla Warfare.* Ch.1

Recommended:

The CBC aired an excellent episode of *Ideas* on T.E. Lawrence. You can find the podcast [here](#).
For additional background the 1962 classic *Lawrence of Arabia,* is always worth the time. Two more recent movies cover different times in Guevara’s life: *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004) and Steven Soderbergh’s ambitious *Che* (2008). Neither film is free of problems but they still shed some light on this enigmatic icon. Mao and Marighella are still awaiting their Hollywood biopic.
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Session V: States in a World of Asymmetric War (Sep 20)


Session VI: Civil Wars (Sep 25)

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

“Students are noted for being particularly crude and coarse and thus... they show a special talent for revolutionary violence and soon acquire a high level of political-technical-military skills. Students have plenty of free time on their hands...so they begin to spend their time advantageously, in behalf of the revolution.”

Session VII: Mobilization (Sep 27)


Session VIII: The Logic of Extreme Violence (Oct 2)

Reminder:
Paper proposals are due on October 18. A draft of your proposal should be uploaded to Quercus by midnight, October 16.

Session IX: State Sponsored Terrorism  (Oct 4)

Session X: Terrorism I  (Oct 9)
Session XI: Terrorism II (Oct 11)


Session XII: Movie week– *The Battle of Algiers* (Oct 16)

Session XIII: Presentation of Research Proposals (Oct 18)

Session XIV: Counterinsurgency I (Oct 23)


Session XV: Counterinsurgency II (Oct 25)


Session XVI: Counterinsurgency III (Oct 30)


Session XVII: Movie Week—The Gatekeepers (Nov 1)

Reading Week

Session XVIII: Other Violent Non-State Actors (Nov 13)


“For it was a witty and truthful rejoinder which was given by a captured pirate to Alexander the Great. The king asked the fellow, 'What is your idea, in infesting the sea?' And the pirate answered ... 'The same as yours, in infesting the earth! But because I do it with a tiny craft, I'm called a pirate: because you have a mighty navy, you're called an emperor.'”

-St. Augustine

Session XIX: Ethical Concerns (Nov 15)


Session XX: Presentations I (Nov 20)

Session XXI: Presentations II (Nov 22)

Session XXII: Presentations III (Nov 27)

Session XXIII: Presentations IV (Nov 29)

Session XIV: Summary (Dec 4)