

POLITICAL SCIENCE 790-395-14
POLITICAL SCIENCE SEMINAR
DYNAMICS OF WARTIME VIOLENCE

Fall 2013

T 9:15am – 12:15pm

Hickman Hall Rm.122 (HCK-122 DC)

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Course webpage: On Sakai

Office Hours: Tuesday 8:00am-9:00am (or by appointment)

Course Description

“War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it.” – General William T. Sherman

“War is a continuation of politics by other means.” – Carl von Clausewitz

The course takes as a starting point these two historical quotations in order to examine the interplay between politics and cruelty during wartime. Politics does not end when adversaries take up arms to resolve their differences on the battlefield, but rather influences all aspects of warfare. This is especially the case with the resort to violence against noncombatants as a tool of war. Civilians comprise around half of all war deaths across past conflicts, with some recent wars involving even higher (but sometimes lower) levels of suffering. Why do civilians become the all-too-frequent victims of conflict? Why do states and rebel groups target civilians in some wars, but spare them in others? Why do armed actors select particular forms of abuse over others? Is targeting civilians an effective strategy for belligerents to achieve their political and military goals, or is it counterproductive? Lastly, what can be done to limit or prevent the use of violence against civilians during future conflicts?

This course seeks to provide a framework for thinking about and addressing these questions. The course is organized into four main parts. Part I outlines the main moral and legal arguments prohibiting the targeting of noncombatants. This section provides an overview of just war theory and the laws of war, along with the conditions under which violence against civilians may or may not be permitted. This section also tackles the challenges posed in defining and measuring violence against noncombatants in wartime contexts. Part II investigates some of the main theories used to understand variation in the use of violence against noncombatants, including racial and cultural differences, regime type, the military’s organizational culture, war aims, the nature of the fighting, and motivations for individual participation in atrocities. Part III turns to assessing the effectiveness of violence against noncombatants compared to other strategies for achieving the aims of both state and non-state actors. Part IV closes by drawing on the knowledge accumulated from the course to evaluate various forms of violence that have gained increasing attention, such as sexual violence and the use of child soldiers, and the prospects for various policies seeking to prevent future atrocities during wartime.

We will approach these and other issues related to wartime conduct from a rigorous theoretical as well as empirical perspective. Throughout the course we will pay special attention to evaluating both the logic and evidence supporting various arguments on the conduct of armed actors during war. Upon completing the course students will not only be acquainted with the main types of explanations for the use of violence during war, but will also be able to evaluate evidence supporting or impugning these explanations. Students should also be able to apply this knowledge to hypothetical or real-world scenarios in order to assess the prospects for peace and conflict in the current and future world order.

All the information found in this syllabus, as well as readings, assignments, and announcements will be posted on the Sakai course website (available at <https://sakai.rutgers.edu/portal>). It is the student's responsibility to check the website on a frequent basis.

Course Waiver

Given the controversial and sometimes graphic nature of the material, each student will be required to sign a waiver if they wish to continue in the course. The waiver will be handed out on the first day of class along with the syllabus.

Readings

There are no required books for purchase. All readings are available in electronic format and will be posted on the Sakai course website.

Please be warned, the reading load is quite substantial and often verges around 100 pages per week. The readings are also quite challenging theoretically and/or empirically, which means they cannot be skimmed. Students should allot appropriate time for completing the readings and plan ahead accordingly. For each week, students are encouraged to briefly look over the assigned readings to get a sense of how they relate to each other and the broader themes in the course. As you go through each reading in greater detail, you should consider the following general issues: are the claims the author makes surprising? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument? Next ask yourself: what type(s) of evidence does the author use? How convinced are you that the evidence supports their claims? Are there alternative explanations that are also consistent with the evidence? What other types of evidence might you find more convincing? What are the implications of the author's argument and evidence for other aspects of wartime violence? It is rare to find a piece of writing that you agree (or disagree) with entirely. So, as you come across issues that you do not find convincing or seem confusing, write them down as you take notes and bring them to class for discussion.

Although there are no required books, students must regularly read the *New York Times* throughout the semester. Free online access to the newspaper is available through the following website, <http://www.nytimes.com/Passes> (use your university email and follow the instructions). Reading a daily news source is not only useful for keeping abreast of current events, but will also be central for the course by providing a valuable opportunity to grasp and apply key concepts involving the dynamics of wartime violence.

We will regularly integrate ongoing news stories into the course material. Students are required to read the international news section of the paper on a daily basis, and be prepared to discuss and apply current events during classroom discussion and exercises.

Course Requirements

Participation (25%)

Leading News Discussion (5%)

Two Debates (20%; 10% each)

One Short Written Assignment (15%)

Research Paper (35%)

Participation (25%)

This course is a seminar, meaning all students are expected to actively participate. During most class meetings the instructor will lecture little, if at all. Students are required to come prepared to discuss the weekly readings, which means all assigned readings must be completed before class meets, unless otherwise noted by the instructor. Participation will be evaluated both on the quantity and quality of participation from students during class. An open environment for discussion will be encouraged, but comments and questions should be directly related to the themes of the course. This is not an attendance grade; students are required to contribute to class discussion to receive points for this component of the course.

Attendance is mandatory. A significant portion of the overall course grade comes from participation and it is necessary to be present in class to have the opportunity to receive these points. If you expect to miss a class, please use the University absence reporting website <https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>, indicating the date and reason for your absence. More than one unexcused absence will severely affect the participation component of your final grade.

Leading News Discussion (5%)

This course seeks to integrate current events through regular reading of the *New York Times* in order to better grasp and apply key concepts related to the dynamics of wartime violence. Toward this end, students will work in small groups to present and lead discussion on recent current events as they relate to one or more themes from the course. Weekly responsibilities will be assigned early in the semester. Each group of students will be required to email the instructor and the other students two to three news articles on a particular issue by 8:00pm on the Sunday before their assigned class. The email must be sent by this date and time to allow other students ample time to prepare – no exceptions. You should use the “Mailtool” in the left-hand menu on the Sakai website, and send to “All” so that everyone in the class receives your message. The email should have the subject line “PS395 Weekly News Articles”. The message should also contain a few brief introductory remarks (1-2 paragraphs) on how these articles relate to one or more themes in the course, and then put forward a few discussion questions other students should consider. At the subsequent class meeting that same week, the pair of students will then use these articles as a basis for leading discussion (~10-20 minutes) on the implications of recent events for thinking about wartime violence. Of course, this does not preclude either the presenters or other students from bringing up other recent material in the news, if relevant.

Two Debates (20%; 10% each)

Twice during the course, a debate will be held in class based on a set of weekly readings. The instructor will randomly assign students to groups expected to defend their assigned point of view, while also critiquing the opposing points of view. Assessment will be based on how well students marshal theory, readings, and evidence in crafting their (counter)arguments. Position assignments will be made well before the class meets, so students are encouraged to communicate and plan with others in their group accordingly.

Short Written Assignment (15%)

Each student is required to complete a brief written assignment (3-5 pages) dealing with a question or topic assigned by the instructor to the entire class. The assignment is due at the start of class on Tuesday, October 8, 2013. Further details will be provided later in a separate handout.

Research Paper (35%)

Each student is also required to write one 8-10 page original research paper examining an aspect of wartime violence. Further details will be provided later in a separate handout, but the paper will involve a *significant* amount of original research. The paper is due by 11:00am on Thursday, December 19, 2013. For general concerns about writing assistance, you are encouraged to contact the Rutgers Learning Center (<http://lrc.rutgers.edu/writing.shtml>).

Any short written assignment or research paper turned in after the deadline will be penalized 10% per day (weekends included), or any part thereof. No papers will be accepted after 72 hours past the deadline. It is your responsibility to ensure the late work reaches me (i.e., don't simply place something in my mailbox). Extensions are only available under the direst of circumstances, such as a *documented* illness or debilitating injury spanning much of the time when you could have worked on the assignment. Even in these exceptional cases, you are responsible for informing me well ahead of time, when circumstances permit, that an assignment will be late. Unnecessary delays in notification will disqualify you for an extension.

Grading Policy and Appeals

Final grades will be assigned according to the following scale:

90 and higher = A; 87 – 89 = B+; 80 – 86 = B; 77 – 79 = C+; 70 – 76 = C; 60 – 69 = D; 59 and below = F

A student wishing to appeal any grade must make their request in writing prior to meeting with the instructor. The written appeal must be typed and clearly state the reason(s) the student feels the grade they received is incorrect. Appeals must be made within two weeks of when the exam or assignment was originally returned to the class. Appeals simply asking for more points will not be considered. The instructor reserves the right to re-grade the entire exam or assignment once an appeal is made, which may result in an increase or decrease in the score a student receives.

Plagiarism and Cheating

Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and are treated as such by both the university and the instructor. Be aware that the instructor is apt to impose the most severe penalty allowed by university rules, which includes but is not limited to issuing an automatic grade of 0.0 for the course.

If students have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, or other matters of academic integrity, the following link is helpful, <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu>.

Per the policy adoption in September 2011 to promote a strong culture of academic integrity, students are required to sign on examinations and major course assignments submitted for a grade “On my honor, I have neither received nor given unauthorized assistance on this examination (assignment)”.

Section II specifically discusses the definitions of cheating and plagiarism. If you are having trouble assimilating outside information into your own ideas or have any other questions concerning academic writing, see the Rutgers Learning Center (<http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>), or come to my office hours.

Special Needs

If you have a documented disability that requires academic accommodations, please see me as soon as possible during scheduled office hours or after lecture. In order to receive accommodations in this course, you must provide me with a Letter of Accommodation from the Office of Disabilities Services, Lucy Stone Hall, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Ave., Suite A145, (848) 445-6800.

Classroom Expectations

Some of the material covered in this course may be controversial. While debate is expected and in fact encouraged, students are required to conduct themselves in a professional manner at all times. Students are expected to arrive on time and ready to start class. Even though the seminar allows us a larger block of time, the class only meets once weekly and it is disrespectful to the instructor and your fellow classmates to show up late. All disruptive behavior is not permitted during class, including but by no means limited to sleeping, talking outside of regular discussion, using cell phones, and insulting classmates and/or the instructor. Laptops are permitted, but checking email, browsing the internet, online chatting, or similar activities are prohibited without the instructor’s explicit approval. Failure to follow rules regarding the use of laptops or similar electronic devices will negatively affect the student’s participation grade. Repeated warnings will lead to the student being prohibited from bringing such devices to class.

Course Schedule

The following is a preliminary schedule of topics and readings for the course. The schedule is subject to change based on the pace of the class. The instructor will clearly announce changes to the course schedule should any occur. Please be mindful that some of the readings for a particular week may be split across separate pages in the syllabus.

Part I. Course Overview and Protections for Noncombatants

Week 1 (September 3): Introduction to the Course

Tilly, Charles. 2002. "Violence, Terror, and Politics as Usual." *Boston Review* 27 (3-4):21-24.

Powner, Leanne C. 2007. "Reading and Understanding Political Science." Only read pg.1-14. Read carefully, since this article provides a firm foundation for more effectively reading and understanding all later readings in the course. The exercises included in-text are completely optional.

Week 2 (September 10): The Humanitarian Ideal – Just War Theory and Moral Limits (and permissions) on the Use of Force

Walzer, Michael. 2000. *Just and Unjust Wars*. Third Edition ed. New York, N.Y.: Basic Books. Ch.3 (34-47), Ch.8-9 (127-159), Ch.14 (225-232), and Ch.16 (251-268).

Stimson, Henry L. 1947. "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb." *Harper's Magazine*, 97-107.

Sherman, William T. 1875. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, Volume 2*. New York, N.Y.: D. Appleton and Company. (Excerpt dealing with the capture of Atlanta by the Union Army, 125-127).

Week 3 (September 17): Should We Know It When We See It? Conceptualizing and Measuring Wartime Violence

Who Counts as a Victim? Conceptualizing Wartime Violence

Downes, Alexander B. 2008. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.1 "Defining and Explaining Civilian Victimization" (Excerpt 13-21), and Ch.2 "Statistical Tests" (Excerpt 43-47).

Eck, Kristine, and Lisa Hultman. 2007. "One-Sided Violence against Civilians in War: Insights from New Fatality Data." *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (2):233-46.

Morrow, James D., and Hyeran Jo. 2006. "Compliance with the Laws of War: Dataset and Coding Rules." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 23 (1):91-113.

The Fog of Wartime Measures for Violence

Ron, James, Howard Ramos, and Kathleen Rodgers. 2005. "Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986–2000." *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (3):557-88.

Goldstein, Joshua S. 2011. *Winning the War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Group. Ch.10 "Three Myths" (253-274).

Part II. The Causes of Violence Against Noncombatants

Week 4 (September 24): Race and Culture in the Waging of War

The Seven Rules of Nationalism: A Beginner's Guide to Ethnic Politics (1 page).

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3):22-49.

Dower, John W. 1986. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books. Ch.3 "War Hates and War Crimes" (33-73).

Straus, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.2 "Genocide and the National and Regional Levels" (41-64).

Fazal, Tanisha and Brooke Greene. "A Particular Difference: European Identity and Compliance with Jus in Bello." Unpublished manuscript, Columbia University.

Week 5 (October 1): Democratic Distinctiveness? Regime Type and Wartime Violence

- Merom, Gil. 2003. *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch.1 "Introduction" (3-32).
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam. 2002. *Democracies at War*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Ch.6 "Democracy, Consent, and the Path to War" (144-163).
- Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul K. Huth, and Sarah E. Croco. 2010. "Bear Any Burden? How Democracies Minimize the Costs of War." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (2):528-44.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2007. "Restraint or Propellant? Democracy and Civilian Fatalities in Interstate Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (6):872-904.

Week 6 (October 8): The (Dis)Organization of Violence – Organizational Matters

- Legro, Jeffrey W. 1997. "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure' of Internationalism." *International Organization* 51 (1):31-64.
- Kahl, Colin H. 2007. "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq." *International Security* 32 (1):7-46.
- Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. Ch.6 "Violence" (Excerpt 198-239).

Week 7 (October 15): The Nature of the Fighting and Guerrilla Warfare

- Downes, Alexander B. 2008. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.1 "Defining and Explaining Civilian Victimization" (Excerpt 29-37).
- Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58 (2):375–407.
- Hultman, Lisa. 2007. "Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs for Fighting." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19 (2):205-22.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1999. "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars." *Rationality and Society* 11 (3):243-285.

Week 8 (October 22): Micro-Level Theories and the Role of Individuals

- Milgram, Stanley. 1973. *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*. New York, N.Y.: Harper and Row. Ch.1 "The Dilemma of Obedience" (1-12).
- Zimbardo, Philip G. 1973. "The Mind is a Formidable Jailer: A Pirandellian Prison." *New York Times Magazine*, April 8, 38-45.
- Zimbardo, Philip G. 2004. "Power Turns Good Soldiers into 'Bad Apples'." *Boston Globe*, May 9, D11.
- Wolfson, Andrew. 2005. "A Hoax Most Cruel: Caller Coaxed McDonald's Managers into Strip-Searching a Worker." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, October 9. (12 pages).
- Valentino, Benjamin A. 2004. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.2 "The Perpetrators and the Public" (30-65).
- Straus, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.5 "Why Perpetrators Say They Committed Genocide" (122-152).

Part III. The Consequences of Violence Against Noncombatants

Week 9 (October 29): Film screening – *The Battle of Algiers* (Length 121 minutes + discussion afterwards); Though there is the potential for a different film based on availability and class demand.

Rejali, Darius. 2007. *Torture and Democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Ch.22 “What the Apologists Say” (Excerpt 480-493).

Shatz, Adam. 2002. "The Torture of Algiers." *New York Review of Books*, November 21, 53-57.

Week 10 (November 5): Evaluating the Effectiveness of Violence Against Noncombatants

Drum, Kevin. 2013. “America’s Real Criminal Element: Lead.” *Mother Jones*. Available at <http://www.motherjones.com/environment/2013/01/lead-crime-link-gasoline>.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. Ch.6 “A Logic of Indiscriminate Violence” (146-172).

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* 63 (3):331-362.

Kocher, Matthew A., Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2):201-218.

Week 11 (November 12): Does Terrorism “Work”? Sources and Effectiveness of Terrorism

Ganor, Boaz. 2002. "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?" *Policy Practice and Research* 3 (4):287-304.

Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1):49-79.

Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3):343-361.

Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31 (2):42-78.

Part IV. “Emerging” Forms of Violence and Preventing Future Atrocities

Week 12 (November 19): Recruitment and Child Soldiers

Achavarina, Vera, and Simon Reich. 2009. "No Place to Hide: Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Child Soldier Recruits." In *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States*, ed. S. Gates and S. Reich. Pittsburg, P.A.: University of Pittsburg Press:55-76.

Andvig, Jens C., and Scott Gates. 2009. "Recruiting Children for Armed Conflict." In *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States*, ed. S. Gates and S. Reich. Pittsburg, P.A.: University of Pittsburg Press:77-92.

Beber, Bernd, and Christopher Blattman. 2013. "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion." *International Organization* 67 (1):65-104.

Peters, Krijn, and Paul Richards. 1998. "“Why We Fight”: Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone." *Africa* 68 (2):183-210.

Week 13 (November 26): **No class meeting – change in designation of class days**

Week 14 (December 3): Wartime Rape and Sexual Violence

Peterman, Amber, Dara K. Cohen, Tia Palermo, and Amelia Hoover Green. 2011. "Rape Reporting During War: Why the Numbers Don't Mean What You Think They Do." *Foreign Affairs*. (4 pages).

Wood, Elisabeth J. 2006. Variation in Sexual Violence During War. *Politics and Society* 34(3): 307-42.

Burds, Jeffrey. "Sexual Violence in Europe in World War II, 1939-1945." *Politics and Society* 37, no. 1 (2009): 35-73.

Carpenter, R. Charli. "Recognizing Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations." *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 1 (2006): 83-103.

Week 15 (December 10): Preventing Atrocities – Intervention, International Law, and Post-Conflict Justice

Powers, Samantha. 2001. "Bystanders to Genocide." *The Atlantic Monthly*, September, 84-108.

Kuperman, Alan J. 2008. "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (1):49-80.

Baker, Bruce. 2004. "Twilight of Impunity for Africa's Presidential Criminals." *Third World Quarterly* 25 (8):1487-1499.

Goodman, David. 1999. "Why Killers Should Go Free: Lessons from South Africa." *Washington Quarterly* 22 (2):169-81.

Staub, Ervin. 1992. *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. Ch.18 "The Creation and Evolution of Caring, Connection, and Nonaggression" (274-283).

Malinowski, Tom, Sarah Holewinski, and Tammy Schultz. 2011. "Post-Conflict Potter." *Foreign Policy Magazine* (August 11).