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Spring 2010
January 12, 2009

*Research Seminar:
Armed Organizations and Patterns of Political Violence
PLSC 355/741 and LAST 352*

Why do some insurgent groups and some state militaries engage in broad repertoires of violence, including selective assassinations, massacres, sexual violence, torture, forced displacement, etc., while others limit their violence to selective assassinations? Why do some insurgent groups and some state militaries target civilians indiscriminately or according to civilians' political or ethnic identity while others rarely target civilians? In this seminar we will analyze the differences in the repertoires and targeting of violence against civilians by armed organizations. Participants will discuss various theoretical approaches, including the role of territorial control in patterns of selective vs. indiscriminate violence in civil war, the role of the inversion of control in ethnic and political "cleansing," internal discipline as a principal/agent problem, the contrast in recruits to groups controlling economic vs. social resources, the role of socialization and brutalization of combatants, and the role of ideology and discipline in Marxist-Leninist groups. Among the cases we will discuss are the German army at the Eastern Front in World War II, state and insurgent actors in El Salvador and Vietnam, and insurgent actors in Colombia, Peru, Uganda, Mozambique, and Sierra Leone.

Among other issues, participants will focus on the puzzle posed by restraint (narrow repertoires and targeting), particularly in conflicts that are asymmetric in the sense that one party to the conflict engages in a narrow repertoire while the other does not, or targets civilians to a very limited extent while the other does so on a much wider scale. Course reading draws on relevant literatures in political science, history, anthropology and sociology. Throughout the course we will consider the policy implications of our discussion: how might actors intervene to narrow repertoires and civilian targeting?

The course, a research seminar intended for graduate students and senior undergraduates, is organized as follows. Participants will spend the first ten weeks analyzing the extent to which different theoretical approaches explain observed repertoires of violence and patterns of targeting on the part of different organizations. In the remaining weeks of class, participants will discuss drafts of their final papers.

Pre-requisites: Undergraduate participants must have taken Introduction to Comparative Politics (PLSC 116) or its equivalent. For all participants, permission of the instructor is required.

Class Meeting: Tuesdays 7 - 8:50 pm. Rosenkranz, Rm. 102

Office Hours: Wednesdays 3:00 - 5:00 (sign up on office door), 115 Prospect Street, room 234.

Requirements: Participation in class discussion is expected. Participants are required to submit 6 2-page reviews of the weekly reading. Undergraduate participants will write a final paper of 15-20 double-spaced pages for the course, or a senior essay. Graduate students can write either a final research paper, a dissertation prospectus, or a research proposal. All participants will submit an abstract, outline, bibliography, draft, and the final paper. Those writing senior essays will submit more than one draft.

Some course readings will be posted on the course website. There are three required books for the course, soon to be available at Labyrinth Books:

Omer Bartov. 1985 [2001]. *The Eastern Front, 1941-45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare*, 2nd edition.. Palgrave MacMillan.

Stathis Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*. Cambridge

Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge.

Course Outline and Reading

1. January 12. *Introduction: variation in repertoires and targeting*

2. January 19. *The challenge of organized violence*

“The direction, operation, and control of a human organization whose primary function is the application of violence is the peculiar skill of the officer.” Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 1957: 11

Gwynne Dyer. 2004. Anybody’s Son Will Do. Chapter 2 of *War. The Lethal Custom*. Carroll and Graf.

Lt. Col. Dave Grossman. 1996. Selections. *On Killing. The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. Back Bay Books, Little Brown and Company.

Bilton, Michael and Kevin Sim. 1992. Selections. *Four Hours in My Lai*. Penguin.

Nick Turse and Deborah Nelson. August 6, 2009. Civilian Killings Went Unpunished. *Los Angeles Times*.
latimes.com/news/printedition/asection/la-na-vietnam6aug06,0,92368.story

Deborah Nelson and Nick Turse. August 20, 2006. A Tortured Past. *Los Angeles Times*.
latimes.com/news/printedition/asection/la-na-vietnam20aug20,0,690199.story

Martin van Creewald. 1985. Chapter 7. *Command in War*. Harvard.

Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2009. Armed groups and sexual violence: when is wartime rape rare? *Politics and Society* 37, No. 1

Recommended

Chris Hedges. 2002. *War Is a Force that Gives us Meaning*. Anchor Books.

Nick Turse. December 1, 2008. A My Lai a Month. *The Nation*.

Olson, James and Randy Roberts. 1998. *My Lai. A Brief History with Documents*. Bedford Books.

Holmes, Richard. 1985. *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle*. Free Press.

Deborah Nelson, 2008. *The War Behind Me. Inside the Army's Secret Archive of Investigations*. Basic Books

Douglas Heckathorn. 1988. Collective sanctions and the creation of prisoner's dilemma norms. *AJS* 94:535-62

James Ron. 2000. Boundaries and violence: repertoires of state action along the Bosnia/Yugoslavia divide. *Theory and Society* 29(5): 609-647

Gina Marie Weaver. 2006. Ideologies of Forgetting: American Erasure of Women's Sexual Trauma in the Vietnam War. PhD diss, University of Houston.

3. January 26. *Territorial control and information: selective vs. indiscriminate violence in civil wars*

Stathis Kalyvas. 2006. Selections. *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*. Cambridge

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher. 2009. The Dynamics of Violence in Vietnam: An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES). *Journal of Peace Research* 46; 335-55

Recommended:

Laia Balcells Ventura. 2010. *Behind the Frontlines: Identity, Competition, and Violence in Civil War*. PhD diss, Yale University.

Alexander B. Downes. 2006. Desperate Times, Desperate Measures. The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War. *International Security* 30 (4):152-195

4. February 2. *Economic vs. social endowments: time horizon of recruits*

Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge.

Recommended:

Claire M. Metelits. 2008. The Consequences of Rivalry: Explaining Insurgent Violence Using Fuzzy Sets. *Political Research Quarterly*

Claire M. Metelits. *Inside Insurgency. Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior*. New York University Press.

5. February 9. *Armed group institutions*

Neil J. Mitchell. 2004. Selections. *Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War*.

James Q. Wilson. Chapter 9, Compliance. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do And Why They Do It*

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín. 2008. "Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War." *Politics and Society* 36: 3-34.

James Ron. 2000. Savage Restraint: Israel, Palestine and the Dialectics of Legal Repression. *Social Problems*, 47:4, pp. 445-72.

Amelia Hoover. 2010. "Repertoires of Violence Against Noncombatants: Theory and Initial Evidence." Unpublished paper

Guest: Amelia Hoover, Yale University and HRDAG

Recommended:

Scott Gates. 2002. Recruitment and Allegiance: the Microfoundations of Rebellion. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46 (1): 111-130

Osiel, Mark. 1999. *Obeying Orders: Atrocity, Military Discipline, and the Law of War*: Transaction Publishers.

Eyal Ben-Ari. 1998. *Mastering Soldiers. Conflict, Emotions and the Enemy in an Israeli Military Unit*. Berghahn Books.

Christopher K. Butler, Tali Gluch, and Neil J. Mitchell. Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a Principal-Agent Argument. *Journal of Peace Research*

Thomas Blass. 1991. Understanding Behavior in the Milgram Obedience Experiment: The Role of Personality, Situations, and Their Interactions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 60 (3):398-41

February 16. *Group targeting: Ethnic and political "cleansing"*

Zeynep Bulutgil. 2010. "Ethnic Cleansing in Europe: A Historical Perspective."
Unpublished paper

Abbey Steele. 2010. Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia."
Unpublished paper

Paper abstract due (post on server)

Recommended:

Michael Taussig. 2003. *Law in a Lawless Land. Diary of a Limpieza in Colombia.*
Chicago.

Geoffrey Robinson. 1995. *The dark side of paradise: political violence in Bali*
Cornell.

Amnesty International. 2004. Sudan, Darfur. Rape as a Weapon of War: Sexual
Violence and its Consequences. AI: London

Hayden, Robert M., 2000. Rape and rape avoidance in ethno-national conflicts:
sexual violence in liminalized states. *American Anthropologist*, 2000
102(1):27-41.

Arjun Appadurai. 1998. Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of
Globalization," *Development and Change*, 29

Jean-paul Azam and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. Violence Against Civilians in Civil
Wars: Looting or Terror? *Journal of Peace Research* 2002; 39; 461

February 23. *Combatant socialization*

Krijn Peters and Paul Richards. 1998. 'Why We Fight': Voices of Youth Combatants in
Sierra Leone. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 68(2): 183-210.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2006. Handling and Manhandling
Civilians in Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 100(3): 429-47

Dara Kay Cohen. Explaining Sexual Violence During Civil War: Evidence from Sierra

Leone. Unpublished paper

Donna Winslow. 1999. Rtes of Passage and Group Bonding in the Canadian Airborne. *Armed Forces and Society*, 25:3, pp. 429-57.

Recommended:

Dara Kay Cohen. Female Combatants and Violence in Armed Groups: Women and Wartime Rape in Sierra Leone. Unpublished paper

Dara Kay Cohen. The Causes of Sexual Violence By Insurgents During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence. Unpublished paper

Anthony Swafford. 2003. *Jarhead: A Marine's Chronicle of the Gulf War and Other Battles*. Scribner

Joshua Goldstein. 2003. *War and Gender*. Cambridge

Lesley Gill. 1997. Creating Citizens, Making Men. The Military and Masculinity in Boliva. *Cultural Anthropology* 12(4): 527-50.

Scott Gates and Simon Reich. 2009. *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States*. University of Pittsburgh.

Robert B. Cialdini and Melanie R. Trost. 1998. Social Influence: Social Norms, Conformity, and Compliance. Chapter 21 of *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Garnder Lindsey, 4th edition, Vol. 2, pp. 151-92. McGraw-Hill.

John M. Levin and Richard L. Moreland. 1998. Small Groups. Chapter 26 of *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Garnder Lindsey, 4th edition, Vol. 2, pp. 415-69. McGraw-Hill.

The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone. 2004.

Kelman, Herbert C. and V. Lee Hamilton. 1989. Chapters 1, 3, and 4 of *Crimes of Obedience: Toward a Social Psychology of Authority and Responsibility*. Yale.

March 2. Marxist Leninist organizations: socialization, ideology, and organization

Mao Tse-tung, translated by Samuel B. Griffith II. 2000. Organization for Guerrilla Warfare, The Political Problems of Guerrilla Warfare, and Appendix. From *On Guerrilla Warfare*, pp. 95-113. Illinois University Press.

E.J. Hobsbawm. 2001. Selections *Revolutionaries*. The New Press.

Henderson, William D. Selections. 1979. *Why the Vietcong Fought: A Study of Motivation and Control in a Modern Army in Combat*. Westport, CT and London, England: Greenwood Press.

Recommended

Nathan Leites and Charles Wolf. 1970. *Rebellion and Authority*. Markham Publishing

Ernesto Che Guevara. Chapters 2 and 3. *Guerrilla Warfare*. Pps 30-92

[Spring break]

March 23. Combatant brutalization and the barbarisation of warfare

Omer Bartov. 1985 [2001]. *The Eastern Front, 1941-45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare*, 2nd edition.. Palgrave MacMillan.

Shils, Edward A. and Morris Janowitz. 1948. Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 12: 280-315

Paul L. Savage and Richard A. Gabriel. 1976. Cohesion and Disintegration in the American Army: An Alternative Perspective. *Armed Forces & Society* 2(3): 340-76

Due: abstract, outline and bibliography (post on server)

Recommended:

Mary R. Habeck. 2006. The Modern and the Primitive: Barbarity and Warfare on the Eastern Front. *The Barbarization of Warfare*, ed. George Kassimeris New York University Press, 2006), 98-99.

Christopher R. Browning. 1992. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. HarperCollins

Herbert C. Kelman and V. Lee Hamilton. 1989. *Crimes of Obedience: Toward a Social Psychology of Authority and Responsibility*. Yale.

Peter S. Bearman. 1991. Desertion as Localism: Army Unit Solidarity and Group Norms in the US Civil War. *Social Forces* 70(2): 321-42

March 30. Reprisals and other atrocities as terrorizing communication

Lee Ann Fujii. 2009. The puzzle of extra-lethal violence. Unpublished paper.

Truman Anderson. 1999. Incident at Baranivka: German reprisals and the Soviet partisan movement in Ukraine, October-December 1941. *Journal of Modern History* 71:585-623

Recommended:

Truman Anderson. 2000. Germans, Ukrainians and Jews: Ethnic politics in Heeresgebiet Sud, June-December 1941. *War in History* 7 (3):325-351

Randal Collins. 2008. Forward Panic. Chapter 3 of *Violence. A Micro-Sociological Theory*. Princeton.

Christopher C. Taylor. 2002. The Cultural Face of Terror in the Rwandan Genocide of 1994," in *Annihilating Difference*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton. California

Jean-Paul Azam and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. Violence Against Civilians in Civil Wars: Looting or Terror? *Journal of Peace Research* 2002; 39; 461

April 6, 13 and 20: Discussion of paper drafts

Final papers due April 26 (post on server)