

Rebels in Civil Wars
PLSC # 387

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Tuesday 9:25 – 11:15
124 Prospect St., room 102
Office hours: Tuesday 2:15-4:15
34 Luce Hall, Room 115

Course description

This seminar explores the origins and behavior of non-state armed groups fighting in civil wars—insurgents and militias. The course addresses the following questions: What are the origins of rebel groups? How are they internally organized? How do they behave towards the civilian populations they interact with? How do they recruit new members? What do the characteristics of these groups tell us about the dynamics of armed conflict? We approach these questions through both theoretical and empirical pieces (including case studies, comparative analyses, and human rights reports). The readings describe and explain cases drawn from Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

The course is structured as follows. In the first part, we will discuss four aspects of rebel organizations by looking at theoretical and empirical contributions. We start with alternative approaches to the question on the origins of rebel groups. We then turn to the study of the behaviors that these organizations display. In order to have an understanding of the context in which they operate, we devote one session to warfare. We then turn to the first type of behavior: recruitment. How do these organizations recruit their members? What are the motivations of those who join? How are children and women drawn to these groups? The second type of behavior is what can be called ‘rebel governance’. To what extent do armed groups rule over civilian affairs in areas under their control? How they do it? Why? What explains variation within and across armed groups in their display of governance structures in war zones? The third behavior is the use of violence against civilians. Why do armed groups rely on violence against noncombatants? What explains their decision to do so in some places, but not in others? Why are some conflicts more violent than others?

The second part of the seminar will be devoted to discussing specific armed groups in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East, as well as the conflicts in which they fight. We will critically examine the readings on the basis of our discussions throughout the course on the origins and behaviors of these organizations.

Eligibility for enrollment

Students must have prior coursework in Political Science.

Requirements

- Class attendance and participation in discussion on the basis of completed reading are mandatory (15%).
- Each student will present to the class a short assessment of the readings once in the semester. This presentation should include a brief summary of the mandatory readings,

and a few topics for discussion based on a critical assessment of the materials. A memo with the discussion should be sent by email to the class by 8 pm on Sunday (20%).

- Students will write a short essay (8-10 pages) on a specific rebel group. You may write about one of the cases discussed in class, or one of your own choosing with the instructor's approval. Essay due on March 3rd. (25%).
- Students will write a final paper (15-20 pages). I will suggest a few topics, but students can propose a different one. The papers may discuss one or several aspects of a particular rebel group; a comparative analysis of a set of rebel groups; a theoretical or empirical puzzle; or present a critical literature review on a research question about rebel groups. All topics for the final papers must have been discussed with the instructor by March 27th (40%).

Readings

We will read book chapters, journal articles, and human rights reports.

Key:

(O) Available online at the class server

(R) Available in the reading package at Tyco.

Week 1: January 13

Organizational Meeting and Introduction to Course

No readings for this class. We will go over the syllabus and review key concepts.

Week 2: January 20

The origins of rebel groups (from literature on civil war onset)

- Lichbach, M. I., 2008. "Contending Theories of Contentious Politics and the Structure-Action Problem of Social Order." *Annual review of political science*(1): 401-24. (O)
- Fearon, James and David D. Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *APSR* 97, 1:75-90 (O)
- Ross, Michael. "What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 3, 2004. (O)
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, no.1: 99-118. (O)
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Harvard Hegre 2006. Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 508-535. (O) (Note: skip the technical details, and focus on the results and implications for the literature).

Week 3: January 27

Warfare

- Galula, David, 2006. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Greenwood Publishing Group. Pp. 1-42. (O)
- McColl, Robert W. 1969. "The Insurgent State: Territorial Bases of Revolution. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 59, No. 4, Pp. 613-631. (O)
- Kalyvas, Stathis 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 5. (R)
- Balcells, Laia and Stathis Kalyvas, 2008. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict". Under review. (O)

Week 4: February 3

Rebel Recruitment I: Theory and patterns

- Gurr, T. 1970. *Why men rebel*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. Chapter 2. (R)
- Lichbach, Mark. 1994. "What makes rational peasants revolutionary? Dilemma, paradox, an irony in peasant collective action." *World Politics* 46. (O)
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler 2000. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War". The Centre for the Study of African Economies Working Paper Series 128. (Skip the statistical analysis; focus on the theoretical claim and results). (O)
- Arjona, Ana and Stathis Kalyvas. 2008. "Rebelling against Rebellion: Comparing Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Recruitment". Working Paper. (O)
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War". *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2008). (O)

Week 5: February 10

Rebel Recruitment II: Women and Children

- Alison, Miranda. 2003. "Cogs in the Wheel? Women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam". *Civil Wars* 6(4): 37-54. (O)
- Viterna, Joycelin. "Pulled Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army". *American Journal of Sociology* 112(1): 1-45. (O)
- Human Rights Watch, "You'll Learn Not to Cry: Child Combatants in Colombia". HRW, 2003. Pages 19-86 (O)
- Bernd, Beber and Christopher Blattman, 2009. "The industrial organization of rebellion: the logic of forced labor and child soldiering". Working Paper (O—will be uploaded one week before the class)

Week 6: February 17

Rebel Governance: Theoretical approaches

- Kasfir, Nelson. "The Creation of Civil Administration by Guerrillas: The National Resistance Army and the Rwenzururu Kingdom Government in Uganda". Prepared for delivery at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. (O)
- Mampilly, Zachariah 2008. *Title TBA*. (O)
- Weinstein, J. 2006. *Inside rebellion: The Political Economy of a Rebel Organization*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5: 163-197. (R)

Week 7: February 24

Rebel Governance: Case studies

- Mampilly, Zachariah 2007. *Stationary Bandits: Understanding Rebel Governance*. Dissertation, Department of Politics UCLA. Chapter 5: "Sudan: The Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army (SPLM/A)" (pages 107-149) (O)
- Stokke, Kristian 2006. "Building the Tamil Eelam State: Emerging State Institutions and Forms of Governance in LTTE-controlled Areas in Sri Lanka". *Third World Quarterly* 27 (6): 1021-1040. (O)
- Gutierrez, Francisco and Mauricio Barón 2005. "Re-stating the State: paramilitary territorial control and political order in Colombia (1978-2004)." Crisis States Programme, Working Paper No. 6. (O)
- Pool, David. *From Guerrillas to Government. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front*. 2001. Chapters 3 and 4. (O)

Week 8: March 3

Violence against noncombatants

FIRST ESSAY DUE TODAY IN CLASS

- Azam, Paul “2006, On thugs and heroes: Why warlords victimize their own civilians”. *Economics of Governance* 7:53-73. (O)
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein 2006. “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War”. *APSR* 100, 3 429-447. (O)
- Kalyvas, Stathis 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6 and 7. (R)
- Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. “Draining the Sea:” *Mass Killing, Genocide, and Guerrilla Warfare. International Organization*, vol 58, no 2: 375-407. (O)

Week 9: March 24

Armed groups in Latin America

- Degregori, Carlos Iván, 1992. “The Origins and Logic of Shining Path: Two Views”. In Scott Palmer (Ed.), *Shining Path of Peru*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. (R)
- Isbell, Billie Jean, 1992. “Shining Path and Peasant Responses in Rural Ayachucho”. In Scott Palmer (Ed.), *Shining Path of Peru*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. (R)
- Moroni, José Angel, 1995. *Strategy and Tactics of the Salvadoran FMLN Guerrillas: Last Battle of the Cold War, Blueprint for Future Conflicts* (Greenwood Publishing Group). Pp. 1-43; 53-73. (O)
- Gutierrez , Francisco, 2008. “Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War”. *Politics & Society*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 3-34 (O)
- Manz, Beatriz, 2004. *Paradise in Ashes. A Guatemalan Journey of Courage, Terror, and Hope*. University of California Press. Introduction and chapter 3. (R)

Week 10: March 31

Armed groups in Africa I

LAST WEEK TO HAVE TOPIC OF SECOND ESSAY APPROVED BY THE INSTRUCTOR.

- Ethiopia: Young, John (1997). *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: The Tigray People’s Liberation Front, 1975-1991*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 92-169 (R)
- Mozambique: Vines, A. (1991). *Renamo: Terrorism in Mozambique*. London Bloomington, Centre for Southern African Studies. Indiana University Press. Pp. 5-11, 73-120. (R)
- Sudan: Johnson, D. H. 1998. "The Sudan People’s Liberation Army and the problem of factionalism." In *African Guerrillas*, ed. C. Clapham. Oxford: James Currey. (O)

Week 11: April 7

Armed groups in Africa II

- Liberia: Ellis, Stephen, “Liberia’s Warlord’s Insurgency”. In Clapham (Ed.), *African Guerrillas*. Pp. 155-171. (R)
- Sierra Leone: Abdullah, Ibrahim and Patrick Muana, “The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone. A Revolt of the Lumpenproletariat”. In Clapham (Ed.) *African Guerrillas*. Pp. 172-194. (R)
- Uganda: Ngoga, Pascal. “The National Resistance Army”. In Clapham (Ed.), *African Guerrillas*. (R)

Week 12: April 14

Armed groups in Asia and the Middle East.

- Hashim, A.S 2003. "The Insurgency in Iraq". *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Volume 14, Number 3, Autumn, pages 1-22. (O)
- Sharma, Sudheer 2004. "The Maoist Movement: An Evolutionary Perspective". In Michael Hutt, *Himalayan People's War*. Indiana University Press. Pages 38-58. (R)
- Giri, Saroj. 2008. "Taking the Bait: Maoists and the Democratic Lure in Nepal". *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol. 38, No. 2. Pp. 277-299. (O)

Week 13: April 21

Against the rebels: peasant resistance, death squads, and paramilitaries

FINAL PAPER DUE TODAY IN CLASS

- Paul, Benjamin D. and William J. Demarest. 1988. "The Operation of a Death Squad in San Pedro la Laguna." In Robert M. Carmack (ed.), *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 119-154. (R)
- Manitzas, Elena, 1991. "All the Minister's Men: Paramilitary Activity in Peru". In Martha Huggins (Ed.) *Vigilantism and the State in Modern Latin America*. New York: Praeger. Pp. 85-105. (R)
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta, 2000. "State of Siege: Political Violence and Vigilante Mobilization in the Philippines". In Bruce Campbell and Arthiur Brenner, *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Pp. 125-152. (R)
- Sanford, Victoria, 2003. "Peacebuilding in a War Zone: The Case of Colombian Peace Communities". *International Peacekeeping* Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 107-118. (O)