Department of Political Science
University of Toronto

January 2018

The Changing Face of War:

From Interstate War to Asymmetric Conflict

David, Michelangelo

POL486/Pol2205

Tuesday, Thursday
14:00-16:00
BF315

Prof. Lilach Gilady

Sidney Smith Hall,
Room 3034
Lilach.gilady@utoronto.ca
Tel: 416 978 6135

Office Hours:
Wednesday,
15:00-16:00

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

Canadian forces in Afghanistan

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. A midterm at the end of the fall semester will examine student familiarity with the readings. 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.

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 articles should you have the time and interest.

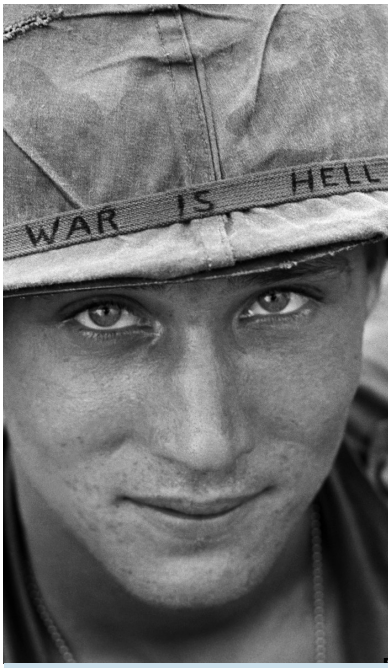
Lastly, I maintain the right to make minor changes to the attached reading list throughout the year, especially if any new articles appear or related controversies flare out. Any such changes are not likely to affect the overall workload.

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 the Academic Integrity Checklist to their essay. The Checklist form is available on Blackboard. 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.



US soldier, Vietnam, 1965

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

Grade Breakup

Research proposal	10%
Commentary	20%
Presentations	15%
Participation	25%
Research paper	30%

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 Blackboard and to provide comments and constructive feedback to fellow students. This proposal will then be developed into a 15 -20pp 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 days leading to their presentation. Class discussion following the presentation will (hopefully) offer input that can help in the final re-writing of the papers.

Commentary

Each students is expected to submit a short 2-3 page commentary on that 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 question/s and suggest ways to improve further research. The commentaries are due at the beginning of the relevant session.

The Battle of Algiers (movie), 1966

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.

Blackboard

Important course information will be distributed electronically through Blackboard. Students can use the Blackboard 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: portal.utoronto.ca

Important Dates

February 13

Research proposals uploaded to Blackboard

February 13

Movie week

February 15

Research proposal presentations

March 8

Movie week

March 20

First week of paper presentations

April 3

Papers are due

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 or missed midterm. 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

King Henry V of England

Session I: Introduction (Jan 4)

Session II: Is Asymmetry New? (Jan. 9)

Shakespeare, William. 1599. *henry v.*
Hammes, Thomas X. 2006. *The Sling and the Stone.* Zentih Press: St. Paul, MN. pp.1-16
.

Session III: Classic Writings and the Bargaining Model of War (Jan. 11)

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

"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*

T.E. Lawrence

Session IV: Classic Writings on Insurgency (Jan. 16)

Lawrence, T. E., 1989 (1920). *The Evolution of a Revolt.* Fort Leavenworth, Kan.: Combat Studies Institute.
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

Recommended:

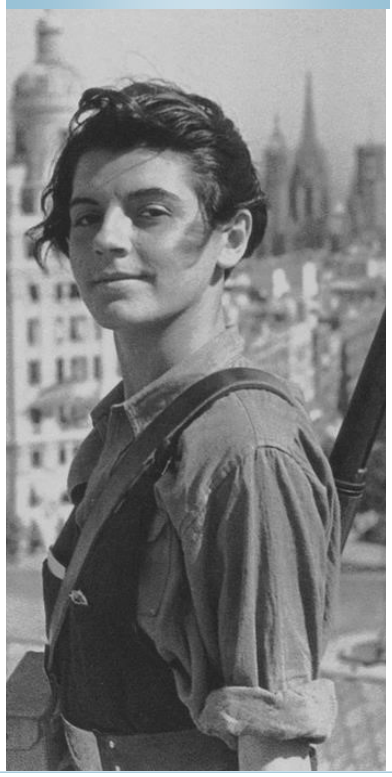
The CBC aired an excellent episode of *Ideas* on T.E. Lawrence. You can find the podcast here.
For additional background the 1962 classic *Lawrence of Arabia,* is always worth the time. Two more recent movies cover different times in Guevara's life: *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004) and Steven Soderbergh's 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.

Session V: States in a World of Asymmetric War (Jan. 18)

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

Session VI: Civil Wars (Jan. 23)

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Defnition." *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
Huang, Reyko. 2016. "Rebel Diplomacy in Civil War." *International Security,* 40/4: 89-126.



"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 (Jan. 25)

Lichbach, M.I. 1994. "What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary? Dilemma, Paradox and Irony in Peasant Collective Action." *World Politics,* 46/3: 383-418.
Scott, James. 2008. "Everyday Forms of Resistance." *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies,* 33-59
Ahmad, Aisha. 2014/15. "The Security Bazzar: Business Interests and Islamic Power in Civil War Somalia." *International Security,* 39/3:89-117.

Session VIII: The Logic of Extreme Violence (Jan. 30)

Kalyvas, Sthatis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War.* New York: Cambridge university Press, Intro. and pp.87-208.
Woods, Elizabeth. 2006. "Variation in Sexual Violence during War." *Politics & Society,* 34/3: 307-342
Fujii, Lee Ann. 2013. "The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence." *Perspectives on Politics,* 11/2: 410-426.

Above: Marina Ginesta, a French volunteer, the Spanish Civil War.

Tip:

Kalyvas' *The Logic of Violence* and Zegart's *Spying Blind* are available as e-books on the university's library catalogue.

A U.S. Army soldier prepares to launch a drone , Afghanistan, 2010.

Session IX: State Sponsored Terrorism (Feb. 1)

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
Carter, David B. 2012. "A Blessing or a Curse? State Support for Terrorist Groups." *International Organization,* 66/1: 129-151
Thomas, Ward. 2000. "Norms and Security: The Case of International Assassinations." *International Security,* 25/1: 105-133.

Session X: Cyber War (Feb. 1)

Lindsay, Jon R. 2013. "Stuxnet and the Limits of Cyber Warfare." *Security Studies,* 22/3: 365-404.
Deibert, Ronald J. and Rafal Rohozinski. 2010. Risking Security: Policies and Paradoxes of Cyberspace Security. *International Political Sociology,* 4/1: 15-32.
Wong, Wendy H. and Peter A. Brown. 2013. E-Bandits in Global Activism: WikiLeaks, Anonymous and the Politics of No One. *Perspectives on Politics,* 11/4: 1015-1033.

Session XI: Terrorism I (Feb. 6)

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
Clinton, Joshua, Adam Meirowitz and Kristopher Ramsay, Design. 2008. Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, *American Political Science Review,* 102/2: 269-273.
Pape, Robert. 2008. Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review,* 102/2: 275-277.

Reminder:

Paper proposals are due on February 15. A draft of your proposal should be uploaded to Blackboard by midnight, February 13.

Mumbai, 2008

Oklahoma City, 1995

Session XII: Terrorism II (Feb. 8)

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
Lee, Alexander. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics*, 63/2: 203-245.
Thayer, Bradley A. and Valerie M. Hudson. 2010. "Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism." *International Security,* 34/4: 37-62.

Session XIII: Movie week– *The Battle of Algiers* (Feb. 13)

Session XIV: Presentation of Research Proposals (Feb. 15)

Reading Week

Session XV: Counterinsurgency I (Feb. 27)

Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization,* 63: 67-106
Lyall, Jason. 2013. "Bombing to Lose? Airpower and the Dynamics of Violence in Counterinsurgency Wars." *Working Paper.*
Johnston, Patrick B. and Anoop K. Sarbahi. 2013. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan." *Working Paper*.
Kreps, Sarah and John Kaag. 2012. "The Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Contemporary Conflict: A Legal and Ethical Analysis." *Polity.* 44: 260-285.

Session XVI: Counterinsurgency II (Mar. 1)

Patraeus, David. 2007. *The US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Manual* (especially ch. 1).
Galula, David. 1963 (2006). *Pacification in Algeria, 1956-1958.* Washington, DC: RAND, forward, ch.2, conclusions (available on Blackboard).
Brym, Robert J. and Robert Andersen. 2011. "Rational Choice and the Political Bases of Changing Israeli Counterinsurgency Strategy." *The British Journal of Sociology,* 62/3: 482-503.

Session XVII: Counterinsurgency III (Mar. 6)

Zegart, Amy B. 2007. Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Read chapters 1-5, pp 1-120.

Session XVIII: Movie Week– *The Gatekeepers* (Mar. 8)

Session XIX: Other Violent Non-State Actors (Mar. 13)

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

"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

Above: Armed Somali pirate, Hobyo, Somalia, 2010.

Session XX: Ethical Concerns (Mar. 15)

Coetzee, J. M. 1982. *Waiting for the Barbarians.* Penguin Books: New York

Session XXI: Presentations I (Mar. 20)

Session XXII: Presentations II (Mar. 22)

Session XXIII: Presentations III (Mar. 27)

Session XXIV: Presentations IV (Mar. 29)

Session XV: Summary (April 3)

Book to Purchase:

Coetzee's novel is the only item on this reading list that is not available freely online. You can purchase this book, or find it in your public library.

Please note: The readings for sessions 21-24 will be drafts of your papers. In each meeting we will read 3-5 drafts (depending on the number of presenters).