

MACIS Core Seminar: Political Violence

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Fall Term 2013

Wednesdays 13:15-15:00, IFW D 42

This seminar offers an introduction to political violence and conflict in domestic and international politics. We start by considering classical strategic thought and explanations of interstate wars. The course also covers the theories of civil and ethnic wars as well as regional conflict and diffusion of political violence across state borders. Other topics include new threats, such as those from transnational terrorist networks and other non-state actors, and the privatization of political violence. Finally, the seminar also introduces the MACIS students to the relationship between conflict on the one hand and nation-building and democratization on the other hand.

Course sessions

Week 1 (September 18 th , 2013):	Introduction
Week 2 (September 25 th , 2013):	Concepts
Week 3 (October 2 nd , 2013):	Classical Theories of War
Week 4 (October 9 th , 2013):	State Formation and War
Week 5 (October 16 th , 2013):	Nationalism and War
Week 6 (October 23 th , 2013):	Cold War and Deterrence
Week 7 (October 30 st , 2013):	Decline of Interstate War
Week 8 (November 6 th , 2013):	<i>No class (reading week) Possible swap with Week 9</i>
Week 9 (November 13 th , 2013):	Civil Wars: Political Economy
Week 10 (November 20 st , 2013):	Civil Wars: Ethnicity
Week 11 (November 27 th , 2013):	Future Trends? Asymmetric Wars and Terrorism
Week 12 (December 4 th , 2013):	Political Order and Conflict
Week 13 (December 11 th , 2013):	Presentation and discussion of research papers
Week 14 (December 18 th , 2013):	Presentation and discussion of research papers

Readings

The required readings for each week will be made available online, on the e-learning platform *Moodle* (<https://moodle-app2.let.ethz.ch/>). You must do the readings to participate in the course. The recommended readings are designed to assist students in the preparation of their weekly response papers and the preparation of their final research paper. Obviously, the list is not exhaustive and

I welcome suggestions for additions. In general, those readings not available via Moodle are available in the library, in our collection of books and journals online (check http://www.nebis.ch/index_e.html).

Course requirements

The requirements for the course include participation in class discussions, three weekly response papers, and one research paper.

Participation: The quality of your experience in this course depends on your participation. Class participation constitutes a significant portion of the course grade. Students will be expected to read the required readings, think critically about them, and discuss them in class.

Weekly response papers: A 2-page response paper is required for two weeks of the semester (one for weeks 4-7, and one for weeks 8-12). The papers should critically discuss and assess the strengths and weaknesses of the required and some of the recommended readings. Students need to be prepared to briefly present the main arguments of their weekly response papers in class. These response papers should be circulated to all class participants and to the course convenor by midnight on the Monday night before class. A mailing list with the relevant email addresses will be made available in time.

Research paper: A research paper is required for the course (25-30 pages, double spaced). These papers should ask questions related to the courses content. Topics will be selected in consultation with the instructor. Students will prepare a research design (**due by December 9, 2013**) that outlines the research question and the relevant literature for the research paper. During the last seminar session, students will be asked to give a brief presentation on the subject of their final paper and discuss the research design of another student. **The final research papers should be submitted to lcederman@ethz.ch by February 7, 2014.**

Moodle registration

In addition to the registration for this course in *myStudies*, students will also have to subscribe to the course's e-learning page on *Moodle* (<https://moodle-app2.let.ethz.ch/>). A separate hand-out with instructions for the Moodle access will be distributed in class.

1. Introduction

Course goals and logistics

2. Concepts

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 16-31.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars. *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3, pp. 475-94.

Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 8.

Recommended readings:

Wright, Quincy. 1983. *A Study of War*. Chicago University Press, pp. 3-19.

Tilly, Charles. 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge University Press.

3. Classical Theories of War

Waltz, Kenneth. 1959. *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Recommended readings:

Levy, Jack S. 2002. War and Peace. In *The Handbook of International Relations*, ed. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons. London: Sage.

Thucydides. In *International Relations in Political Thought*, ed. C. Brown, T. Nardin and N. Rengger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 34-60.

Vasquez, John A. 1987. The Steps to War: Toward a Scientific Explanation of the Correlates of War Findings. *World Politics* 40:1, pp. 108-45.

4. State Formation and War

Holsti, Kalevi J. 1991. *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chaps. 1-5.

Tilly, Charles. 1999. War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. In *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, pp. 169-91. Cambridge University Press. (Or *Coercion, Capital and European States*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

Hintze, Otto. 1975. Military Organization and the Organization of the State. In *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. F. Gilbert. New York: Oxford University Press.

Recommended readings:

Mazower, Mark. 2002. Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century. *American Historical Review* 107:4, pp. 1158-78.

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Howard, Michael. 2001. *War in European History*. Oxford University Press.

Downing, Brian M. 1992. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

5. Nationalism and War

Holsti, Kalevi J. 1991. *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chaps. 6-13.

Clausewitz. *On War*. Princeton University Press, 1976, Book 8, Chap. 3B.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Warren, T. Camber, and Sornette, Didier 2011. Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War. *International Organization* 65, pp. 605–38.

Recommended readings:

Cederman, Lars-Erik. 2010. Nationalism and Ethnicity in International Relations. In *The Handbook of International Relations*, ed. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons, 2nd ed., pp. 409-28. London: Sage.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Brian Min. 2006. From empire to nation-state. Explaining wars in the modern world, 1816-2001. *American Sociological Review* 71, pp.867-897.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Posen, Barry R. 1993. Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power. *International Security* 18:2, pp. 80-124.

6. Cold War and Deterrence

Schelling, Thomas. 1980. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard University, Chap. 1.

Wenger, Andreas. 1997. *Living with Peril: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Nuclear Weapons*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 1-10, 313-22.

Jervis, Robert. 1979. Deterrence Theory Revisited. Review Article. *World Politics* 31:2 (Jan. 1979), pp. 289-324.

Recommended readings:

Freedman, Lawrence. 2003. *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 3rd ed. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nye, Jr., Joseph S. 2005. *Understanding International Conflicts*, 6th ed. NY: Longman, Addison-Wesley, Chapter 5.

Brodie, Bernard. 1946. *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Wohlstetter, Albert. 1959. The Delicate Balance of Terror. *Foreign Affairs* 37:3, pp. 211-34.

7. Decline of Interstate War

Kant, Immanuel. [1795] 1970. Perpetual Peace. In *Kant's Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Cederman, Lars-Erik. 2001. Back to Kant: Reinterpreting the Democratic Peace as a Macrohistorical Learning Process. *American Political Science Review* 95:15-31.

Zacher, Mark W. 2001. The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force. *International Organization* 55:2, pp. 215–50.

Recommended readings:

Harbom, Lotta, and Peter Wallensteen. 2005. Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946-2004. *Journal of Peace Research* 42, pp. 623-35.

Russett, Bruce. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brown, Michael E., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds. 1996. *Debating the Democratic Peace*. MIT Press.

8. No class (reading week)

9. Civil Wars: Political Economy

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars. *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, pp. 563-95.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97:1, pp. 75-90. http://www.nebis.ch/index_e.html

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War. *Perspectives on Politics* 2:2, pp. 259-79.

Blattman, Christopher and Edward Miguel. 2010. Civil War. *Journal of Economic Literature* 48 (1) pp. 3-57.

Recommended readings:

Berdal, Mats, and David Malone. 2000. *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2002. A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Quantitative Literature on Civil War. *Defense and Peace Economics* 13:3, pp. 215-43.

Ross, Michael. 2004. How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil War? *International Organization* 58, pp. 35-67.

10. Civil Wars: Ethnicity

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. 1998. Ethnic and Nationalist Violence. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, pp. 423-52.

Kaufman, Chaim. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. *International Security* 20:4, pp. 136-75.

Mueller, John. 2000. The Banality of Ethnic War. *International Security* 25:1, pp. 42-70.

Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weiner, Myron. 1971. The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development. *World Politics* 23, pp. 665-83.

Posen, Barry. 1993. The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict. *Survival* 35:1, pp. 27-47.

11. Future Trends? Asymmetric Wars and Terrorism

Pape, Robert. 2003. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 97, pp. 343-61.

Richardson, Louise. 2006. *What Terrorists Want*. New York: Random House. Chapter 3.

Abrahms, Max. 2008. What Terrorists Really Want. *International Security* 32:4, pp. 78-105.

Wenger, Andreas, and Alex Wilner. *Deterring Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012 (in print).

Recommended readings:

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2003. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, pp. 3-15, 121-47.

Wenger, Andreas. 2007. Securing Society Against the Risk of Bioterrorism. In *Bioterrorism: Confronting a Complex Threat*, ed. Andreas Wenger and Reto Wollenmann. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Crenshaw, Martha. 1995. *Terrorism in Context*. Pennsylvania State University Press.

van Creveld, Martin. 1991. *The Transformation of War*. New York: Macmillan.

Scheffler, Samuel. 2006. Is Terrorism Morally Distinctive? *Journal of Political Philosophy* 14:1, pp. 1-17.

12. Political Order and Conflict

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 2002. Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War, *International Organization* 56, 2, Spring 2002, pp. 297-337.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug, and Andreas Wenger, 2007. Democratization and War in Political Science. *Democratization* 15, 3, June 2008, pp. 509-524.

Michael Mann, "The Dark Side of Democracy," *New Left Review* 235 (1999), pp. 18-45.

McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary. 2009. Must Pluri-national Federations Fail? *Ethnopolitics* 8 (1), pp. 5-25.

Recommended readings:

Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co, 2000), pp. 15-43.

Bunce, Valarie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.