

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

**THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AND WAR
SIS-610-002**

Fall 2011

Instructor: Dr. K. Nuamah
Office: SIS 212
Phone: 202 885-1565
Email: Nuamah@american.edu

Time: Monday 08:10PM - 10:40PM
Venue: SIS 333
Office Hours: Mon, 3:00 PM-6:00PM
Wed, 3:00 PM-6:00PM

DESCRIPTION

This course explores some of the key theories that have shaped the study of social violence and wars in the international as well as domestic arena. It invites students to ponder the sources, nature, and uses of various kinds of violence (organized or spontaneous; intended or unintended) in conflict settings around the world. Students will be encouraged to probe the validity of general assumptions underlying contending theories of violence and war, test key conclusions against evidence and lessons from relevant cases, and assess the overall contribution of various theories to our quest to gain a better understanding of the nature and impact of violence and social conflict.

There are 7 parts to this course.

Part 1 (week1) introduces us to some of the seminal issues in the debate on violence and war. The class will not meet in week 2 (September 5th) due to the Labor Day holiday.

Part 2 (weeks 3, 4 and 5), continues our exploration of the larger conceptual field with a review of some of the key models explaining social violence (week 3), and war (weeks 4 and 5).

Part 3 (week 6) introduces levels of analysis by examining theories that explain conflict and violence at the individual- actor level. Our specific focus will be on personality-type and decision-making models. This week also marks the beginning of our case presentations.

Part 4 (weeks 7, 8 and 9) focuses on theories that explain conflict at the group or societal level. Specific models explored relate to gender (week 7), economic concerns (week 8), and ethnopolitical identity (week 9).

Part 5 explores theories at the regime or state level of analysis. It focuses specifically on mass protest and revolt against the state (week 10) and an exploration of how regime-type affects the propensity for war (week 11).

Part 6 (week 12) focuses on conflicts that arise at the dyadic interaction level. Theories examined here relate to boundaries and territorial disputes as well as irredentist tendencies that exacerbate tensions and eventually lead to conflict between neighbors.

Part 7 deals with theories that explain conflict at the systemic level. Theories explored in this segment include explanations of terrorism and political violence in the global arena (week 13), environmental security concerns and social conflict (week 14), and theories of hegemonic competition and conflict within the system (week 15).

COURSE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Knowledge

- To develop a better understanding of the importance of a strong theoretical foundation in the fields of peace studies and conflict resolution in that resolving conflict and building peace require understanding why mass organized violence occurs.
- To gain awareness of the implications for practice of adopting various theoretical positions.
- To develop a better understanding of how studies of conflict, violence, and war fit into the International Relations framework.
- To deepen our knowledge of recent key questions regarding war and violence in international relations.
- To deepen our knowledge of the range of main theories explaining violence and war, and how they are related to each other.
- To become familiar with various levels of analysis for studying violence and war: the global system, the state or regime, social or ethnic group, and individual.
- To develop awareness of various disciplinary approaches to the study of conflict, violence, and war, notably those of political science, anthropology, sociology, economics, and psychology.
- To deepen familiarity with feminist perspectives on the study of conflict, violence, and war.

Skills

- Ability to think theoretically and critically about warfare and mass violence.
- Ability to look at conflict, violence, and war from multiple perspectives.
- Ability to apply key theories of violence and war to contemporary cases of internal and international conflict.

•

Attitudes (Values)

- To develop respect for different disciplinary traditions in addressing violence and war.
- To develop respect for the necessity of integrating theory and practice.

REQUIRED TEXTS:

Three books are required for this class:

- Betts, Richard. 2007. *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*. 2007. New York: Longman. 3rd edition. ISBN: 9780205583522.
- Besteman, Catherine, ed. 2002. *Violence: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press. ISBN: 9780814799000.
- Hedges, Chris. 2002. *War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*. New York: Toronto: Anchor Books. ISBN: 9781400034635

All other assigned reading will be made available on Blackboard.

COURSE ASSESSMENT

Students will be assessed in four ways:

- **Attendance and Active Participation (20%)**

Class attendance is mandatory. The Professor should be notified ahead of time of any excusable absence. Students are expected to come prepared to actively participate in class discussions and all exercises. You will earn points (up to 20% of your final grade) for active participation in class.

- **Case Presentation: (10%)**

Each student will research one of several thematic cases and make a 10-minute oral presentation in class. The presentation will be worth up to 10% of your final grade.

- **Three Literature Review Papers (30%)**

Students will write three short papers (no more than two pages each), reviewing up to any two journal articles or book chapters assigned in class. The review papers will be due in class as follows:

- First review paper (weeks 1-5 reading): Due in Week 5 (September 26).
- Second review paper (weeks 6-9 reading): Due in Week 9 (October 24)
- Third review paper (weeks 10-12 reading): Due in Week 12 (November 14)

Each article will be worth up to 10% for a total of 30% of your final grade.

- **Final Paper (40%)**

In lieu of a final exam, students will write a 20 page, fully annotated research papers. The papers shall critique one (or several) of the theories considered in the course OR apply one (or several) of the theories to a recent instance (or instances) of international conflict. Students will turn in an outline of their papers in week 13 (November 21). The final paper (worth up to 40% of the final grade) shall be due by email at 8 PM on Monday December 12, 2011.

GRADING SCALE:

Final letter grades shall be determined as follows:

A 95-100	B+ 87-89	C+ 77-79	D 60-69	F < 59
A- 90-94	B 83-86	C 73-76		
	B- 80-82	C- 70-72		

A=excellent work, B=good work, C=satisfactory work, D=unsatisfactory work, F=inadequate work

STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

All students are governed by American University's Academic Integrity Code, which details specific violations of ethical conduct that relate to academic integrity. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. All of your work (whether oral or written) in this class is governed by the provisions of the Code. Academic violations, particularly plagiarism, have been increasing in recent years, partly due to web sites and other sources that offer information or papers that students can submit as their own work.

Defined by the Code, plagiarism is using the work, ideas, or words of someone else without attribution. Other violations include inappropriate collaboration (working on a project with another person but not acknowledging her or his contribution), dishonesty in examinations, whether in class or take-home, dishonesty in papers (not submitting original work), work done for one course and submitted to another, deliberate falsification of data, interference with other students' work, and copyright violations. The adjudication process and possible penalties are listed in American University's Academic Integrity Code booklet, which is also available on the American University web site.

The Instructor has the responsibility to monitor course assignments for violations of academic integrity, and the right to submit any suspicious assignments for electronic analysis to detect such violations. Being a member of this academic community entitles each of us to a wide degree of freedom in the pursuit of scholarly interests; with that freedom, however, comes a responsibility to uphold the ethical standards of scholarly conduct.

STATEMENT ON DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements.

Academic Support Center (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228.

Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

Disability Support Services (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical support and assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities.

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS FOR DISRUPTION OF CLASSES

In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

CLASS OUTLINE AND READING LIST

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (August 29): Issues in the Study of Violence and War

Read:

- Margaret Mead, "War is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Luttwak, Edward. 1999. "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*; Jul/Aug 1999; 78, 4;
- Arendt, Hannah. "Reflections on Violence," in *Violence: A Reader*

Week 2 (September 5): Labor Day-No Class

PART 2: GENERAL THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AND WAR

Week 3 (September 12): Theories of Violence: Frustration and Aggression, Drive-Discharge, Subculture of Violence.

Read:

- Ball-Rokeach, Sandra. 1973. "Values and Violence: A Test of the Subculture of Violence Thesis". *American Sociological Review* Vol. 38, No. 6 (Dec.): 736-749
- Priks, Mikael. 2010. "Does Frustration Lead to Violence? Evidence from the Swedish Hooligan Scene. *Kyklos*. Bern: Aug 2010. Vol. 63.
- Sipes, Richard. 1973. "War, Sports and Aggression: An Empirical Test of Two Rival Theories." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Feb.), pp. 64-86
- Anthony W. Clare 1969. "Is Aggression Instinctive? Konrad Lorenz's Theories Re-Assessed". *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*. Vol. 58, No. 230 (Summer): 153-165
- Freud, Sigmund. "Why War?" in *Conflict After the Cold War*

Week 4 (September 19): Theories of War 1: Clausewitz, Just War Traditions

Read:

- Introduction to Carl Von Clausewitz On War (on blackboard)
- Walzer, Michael. 2002. "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success.)" *Social Research*, Vol 69, Number 4 (Winter): 925-943
- Primoratz, Igor. 2002. "Michael Walzer's Just War Theory: Some Issues of Responsibility *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*. Vol. 5, No. 2, Pardoning Past Wrongs (Jun., 2002), pp. 221-243
- Ratner, Steven. 2002. "Jus ad Bellum and Jus in Bello after September 11," *The American Journal of International Law*. Washington: Oct 2002. Vol. 96
- Lee, Steven. 2004. "Double Effect, Double Intention, and Asymmetric Warfare," *Journal of Military Ethics*, 3(3): 233- 251

Week 5 (September 26): Theories of War 2: Social Impact of War

Read:

- Hedges, Chris. 2002. *War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*. New York: Toronto: Anchor Books. ISBN: 9781400034635

❖ **REVIEW PAPER 1 DUE**

PART 3: INDIVIDUAL ACTOR LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

Week 6 (October 3): Personality and Decision-making Models

Cases:

- Personality and decision-making in the Cuban-Missile Crisis
- Rational Choice in the Fatah– Hamas conflict

Read:

- Mongar, Thomas. 1969. "Personality and Decision-Making: John F. Kennedy in Four Crisis Decisions," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jun.).
- Kahneman, Daniel and Jonathan Renshon. "Why Hawks Win," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Suskind, Ron. 2004. "Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush," *New York Times Magazine*, October 17, 2004.
- Chaim Kaufmann. 2005. "Rational Choice and Progress in the Study of Ethnic Conflict: A Review Essay," *Security Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 1 October 2005 , pages 178 – 207

PART 4: GROUP/ SOCIAL LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

Week 7 (October 10): Gender, Violence, and Conflict

Cases:

- Sexual violence in the DRC
- Open: Gender and Violence/Conflict

Read:

- Copelon, Rhonda. "Surfacing Gender: Reconceptualizing Crimes Against Women in Times of War" in *Violence: A Reader*
- Peteet, Julie. "Male Gender and Rituals of resistance in the Palestinian Intifada: A Cultural Politics of Violence" in *Violence: A Reader*
- Burguières, Mary. 1990. "Feminist Approaches to Peace: Another Step for Peace Studies," *Millennium* 19:1: 1-18
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1998. "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct)
- Ehrenreich, Barbara et al., 1999. "Fukuyama's Follies," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan-Feb): 118-29.
- Tickner, Ann. "Men, Women, and War," in *Conflict After the Cold War*.

Week 8 (October 17): Socio-Economic Models: Basic Needs and Predation

Cases:

- Basic needs and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- Predation in Sierra Leone

Read:

- Burton, John. 1998. "Conflict Resolution: The Human Dimension." *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1. Available at: http://www.gmu.edu/academic/ijps/vol3_1/burton.htm
- Avruch, Kevin and Peter W. Black. 1987. "A Generic Theory of Conflict Resolutions A Critique (p 87-96), *Negotiation Journal* Volume 3 Issue 1 (January)
- Collier, Paul. 2001. "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their implications for policy" in Chester A. Crocker et al (eds) *Turbulent Peace: the Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press).
- Ross, Michael. 2003. "Oil, Drugs and Diamonds: The Varying Roles of Natural Resources in Civil War," in Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman (eds), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner and IPA)

Week 9 (October 24): Ethnopolitical Identity, Enemy Images and Relative Deprivation

Cases:

- Relative Deprivation and Race relations in America
- Enemy Images in the Sunni-Shiite conflict in Iraq

Read:

- Buchanan, Patrick. 2006. "The Invasion" in *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America*, New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Luostarinen, Heikki. "Finnish Russophobia: The Story of an Enemy Image," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 26, No. 2. (May, 1989), pp. 123-137.
- Bélanger, Sarah and Maurice Pinard. "Ethnic Movements and the Competition Model: Some Missing Links." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 56, No. 4 (Aug., 1991), pp. 446-457
- Siddharth Chandra and Angela Williams Foster. 2005. The "Revolution of Rising Expectations," Relative Deprivation, and the Urban Social Disorders of the 1960s: Evidence from State-Level Data. *Social Science History* 2005 29(2):299-332

❖ **REVIEW PAPER 2 DUE**

PART 5: STATE/ REGIME LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

Week 10 (October 31): Protests, Revolts, and Violence within States

Cases:

- Protest and Revolt in Egypt (2011)
- Protest in China (1989)
- Iraqi Shiite Uprising (1991)

Read:

- Cynthia McClintock. 1984. "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso." *World Politics*
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1
- Casciani, Dominic. "How Social Media Changed Protest," *BBC News Magazine*, December 9, 2010. Available online at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-11953186>
- Morozov, Evgeny. "Think Again: the Internet." *Foreign Policy*. May/June 2010
- Skocpol, Theda. "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Apr., 1976), pp. 175-210

Week 11 (November 7): Regime-Type and Propensity for War

Cases:

- The India-Pakistan conflict
- The Russia-Georgia conflict
- Open: Regime-Type and War

Read:

- Patty, John W and Roberto A. Wober, "Agreeing to fight: an explanation of the democratic peace." *Politics Philosophy and Economics*, Vol. 5; Number 3, 2006.
- Ray, James Lee "Does Democracy Cause Peace?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1998:1, 27-46.
- Tilly, Charles. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Violence: A Reader*.
- Mansfield, Edward and Jack Snyder. "Democratization and War," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Kant, Immanuel. "Perpetual Peace," in *Conflict After the Cold War*

PART 6: DYADIC INTERACTION LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

Week 12 (November 14): Boundaries, Irredentism and Territorial Dispute

Cases:

- The problem of Kurdish separatism in Turkey
- Peru-Ecuador boundary dispute

Read:

- Kumar, Radha. "The Troubled History of Partition," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Vasques, John. 2001. "Territorial Disputes and the Probability of War, 1816-1992," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 123-138 (2001)
- Ayissi, Anatole. 2001. "Territorial Conflicts: Claiming the Land", in I.W. Zartman, ed. *Preventive Negotiation: Avoiding Conflict Escalation*, (Boulder: Roman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. 41-65
- Tir, Jaroslav. 2005. "Keeping the Peace after Secession: Territorial Conflicts between Rump and Secessionist States" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 5 (Oct., 2005), pp. 713-741

❖ REVIEW PAPER 3 DUE

PART 7: SYSTEM LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

Week 13 (November 21): Terrorism and Political Violence

Cases:

- Boko Haram in Nigeria
- The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

Read:

- Kritzer, Herbert M. 1977. "Political Protest and Political Violence: A Nonrecursive Causal Model" *Social Forces* Vol. 55, No. 3 (March): 630-640.
- Crenshaw, Martha. "The Causes of Terrorism" in *Violence: A Reader*
- Barrington Moore, Jr. "The Impact and Function of Terror" in *Violence: A Reader*
- Kepply-Mahmood, Cynthia. "Playing the Game of Love: Passion and Martyrdom Among Khalistani Sikhs," in *Violence: A Reader*.
- Mao Tse-Tung. "On Guerrilla Warfare" in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Osama Bin Ladin. "Speech to the American People" in *Conflict After the Cold War*

❖ FINAL PAPER OUTLINES DUE

Week 14 (November 28): Environmental Scarcity and Violence

Cases:

- Hydropolitics and conflicts in Jordan River Basin
- Environmental Scarcity and Conflict in Rwanda

Read:

- Cooley, John. "The War Over Water," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas. "Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Halvard Buhauga, Nils Petter Gleditsch & Ole Magnus Theisen. 2008. "Implications of Climate Change for Armed Conflict." Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Rubenson, Sven. 1991. "Environmental Stress and Conflict in Ethiopian History: Looking for Correlations" *Ambio*, Vol. 20, No. 5, Environmental Security (Aug.), pp. 179-182.
- Philip Nel and Marjolein Righarts. "Natural Disasters and the Risk of Violent Civil Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 1 (Mar., 2008), pp. 159-185.

Week 15 (December 5): Hegemonic Theories of Aggression

Cases:

- The Vietnam war
- Soviet invasion of Hungary (1956)

Read:

- Galtung, Johan. 1964. "A Structural Theory of Aggression," *Journal of Peace Research*, 1 (1964), pp. 95-119
- Gilpin, Robert. "Hegemonic War and International Change," in *Conflict After the Cold War*
- Spiezio, Edward. 1990. "British Hegemony and Major Power War, 1815-1939: An Empirical Test of Gilpin's Model of Hegemonic Governance," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June), pp. 165-181
- Thucydides, "The Melian Dialogue," in *Conflict After the Cold War*

- Betts, Richard and Thomas Christensen. “China: Can the Next Superpower Rise Without War?” in *Conflict After the Cold War*.

Week 16 (December 12): FINAL PAPERS DUE BY EMAIL