

**Rebels in Civil Wars**  
**PLSC # 387**

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Tuesday 9:20 – 11:10  
Location: RZK 102  
Office hours: Tuesday 2:00-4:00  
34 Hillhouse Ave, Luce Hall, Room 115

**Course description**

This seminar explores the origins and behavior of non-state armed groups fighting in civil wars—rebel insurgents and militias. The course addresses the following questions: What are the origins of rebel groups? How are they internally organized? How do they recruit new members? How do they behave towards the civilian populations they interact with? When, and why, do they use violence against non-combatants? When do they provide public goods and services to civilian populations? What are the broader implications of these behaviors on 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. Most weeks we look at cases from different continents; occasionally, we focus on one single region. The final week of the course will be devoted to discussing the organization and behavior of insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan. We will rely on the discussions of previous classes to critically examine claims about war rebel behavior and war dynamics in these two cases.

**Eligibility for enrollment**

Students must have prior coursework in Political Science.

**Requirements**

- Attendance and participation in the discussion are mandatory. Students will send a comment or question (1 paragraph) based on the readings every week (by 7:00 pm on Monday) (15%).
- Each student will present to the class a short critical assessment of the readings once in the semester (20%).
- Each student will write a short essay (8-10 pages) on a particular rebel group (25%). You may write about one of the cases discussed in class, or one of your own choosing with the instructor's approval. This essay can be the basis for your final paper; however, you can also write on an armed group that you do not focus on in your paper. The essay is due in class on March 2 (25%).
- Each student will write a final paper (15-20 pages) (40%). The instructor 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 23. The paper is due by email on Friday, April 23.

## Readings

We will read book chapters, journal articles, and human rights reports. You are only expected to buy Jeremy Weinstein's *Inside Rebellion* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), which is available at Labyrinth Books. We will start using Weinstein's book on February 9, so you have time if you prefer to order it online. All other materials are available online in the class server at <https://classesv2.yale.edu/portal>.

## COURSE SYLLABUS AND SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

### Week 1: January 12

#### Organizational Meeting and Introduction to Course

No readings for this class. We will go over the syllabus.

### Week 2: January 19

#### The origins of rebel groups I: Theory

- Fearon, James and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *APSR* 97, 1:75-90
- Ross, Michael. "What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 3, 2004.
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Havard Hegre 2006. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 508-535. (Note: skip the technical details, and focus on the results and implications for the literature).
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, no.1: 99-118.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1

### Week 3: January 26

#### The origins of rebel groups II: Cases in Central and South America

- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, 1989. "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements." In Susan Eckstein, *Power and Popular Protest*. University of California Press.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 5 and 6.
- 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.
- Gutierrez, Francisco, 2008. "Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War". *Politics & Society*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 3-34

## II. The internal organization of rebels

### Week 4: February 2

#### Warfare

- William Friedland, 1982. *Revolutionary Theory*. Ch. 15. "Revolutionary Warfare as Mobilizational"
- Kalyvas, Stathis 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 5. (87-145)

- Galula, David, 2006. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Greenwood Publishing Group. Pp. 1-42.

### **Week 5: February 9**

#### **Internal dynamics I: Theory and empirics**

- Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*. Introduction and chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-95)
- Dora Costa and Matthew Kahn, "Cowards and Heroes: Group Loyalty in the American Civil War". *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 2003 .

### **Week 6: February 16**

#### **Internal dynamics II: Cases in Africa**

- Southern 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.
- Liberia: Ellis, Stephen, "Liberia's Warlord's Insurgency". In Clapham (Ed.), *African Guerrillas*. Pp. 155-171.
- Ethiopia: Berhe, Aregawi, 2004. "The Origins of The Tigray People's Liberation Front". *African Affairs*, 103/413: 569-592.
- Sierra Leone: Abdullah, Ibrahim, 1998. "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front, Sierra Leone." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2: 203-235.
- Northern Uganda: Frank Van Acker, 2005. "Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: The new order no one ordered". *African Affairs*, 103/412: 335-357.

### **Week 7: February 23**

#### **Recruitment I: The Peasant Revolution Literature**

- James Scott, 1977. "Hegemony and the Peasantry". *Politics & Society*.
- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, 1991. *Exploring Revolutions. Essays on Latin American Insurgency and Revolutionary Theory*. M. E. Sharpe. Chapter 6: "What makes peasants insurrectionary?"
- Samuel Popkin, 1980. "The Rational Peasant". *Theory and Society* Vol. 9 No. 3.
- Paige, Jeffrey, 1983. "Social Theory and Peasant Revolution in Vietnam and Guatemala". *Theory and Society* Vol. 12 No. 6: 699-737.
- Theda Skocpol, 1982. "Review: What makes peasants revolutionary?" *Comparative Politics* Vol. 14. No. 3. [Note: read this piece last].

### **Week 8: March 2**

#### **SHORT ESSAY DUE TODAY IN CLASS**

#### **Recruitment II: The Civil War Literature**

- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler 2004. "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).
- Gates, Scott, 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46, No. 1: 111-130.
- Jeremy Weinstein, 2007. *Inside Rebellion*. Chapter 3 (pp. 96-123).
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War". *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2008).

### **Week 9: March 23**

#### **Recruitment of Women and Children**

##### LAST WEEK TO HAVE TOPIC OF FINAL PAPER APPROVED BY THE INSTRUCTOR

- Alison, Miranda. 2003. "Cogs in the Wheel? Women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam". *Civil Wars* 6(4): 37-54.
- Viterna, Joycelin. "Pulled Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army". *American Journal of Sociology* 112(1): 1-45.
- Human Rights Watch, "Living in Fear. Child Soldiers and the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka". HRW, 2004. (Selections)

### **III. Rebel behavior towards civilians**

#### **Week 10: March 30**

##### **Violence against non-combatants**

- Kalyvas, Stathis 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6 and 7.
- Weinstein, Jeremy, 2007. *Inside Rebellion*. Chapter 6.

##### Recommended:

- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War". *APSR* 100, 3 429-447.
- 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.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge. Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2)

#### **Week 11: April 6**

##### **Rebel Governance: Theoretical approaches**

- Weinstein, J. 2006. *Inside rebellion: The Political Economy of a Rebel Organization*. Cambridge University Press. "Governance". Chapter 5: 163-197.
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. 1987. "The rise (and sometimes fall) of guerrilla governments in Latin America " *Sociological Forum* 2 (3):473-99.
- Arjona, Ana. 2010. "Social Order in Civil War". Dissertation, Dept. of Political Science, Yale University. Chapters 2, 3 & 4 (excerpts).

#### **Week 12: April 13**

##### **Rebel Governance: Case studies**

- Förster, Till, 2010. "Dialogue Directe. Governance and Social Order in the Rebel Zone of Northern Côte d'Ivoire." Working paper.
- 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.
- 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.
- Zachariah Mampilly, "Building a New Sudan: The Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A)". Unpublished book manuscript.

Recommended:

- 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.

**Week 13: April 20**

**Resistance against the rebels**

- 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.
- Rojas, Catalina, 2007. "Islands in the Stream". In Hancock, Landon and Christopher Mitchell (Eds), *Zones of Peace* (Kumarian Press).
- Shah, Saubhagta, 2008. "Revolution and reaction in the Himalayas: Cultural resistance and the Maoist "new regime" in western Nepal". *AMERICAN ETHNOLOGIST*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 481-499.
- 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.

FINAL PAPER DUE BY EMAIL ON FRIDAY, APRIL 30

SENIOR ESSAY DUE BY EMAIL ON MONDAY, APRIL 26