

POL 351 – POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ARMED CONFLICT
SPRING 2014

“War, to be abolished, must be understood. To be understood, it must be studied.”
(Karl Deutsch, 1970: 473)

INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION

Instructor: Professor Caroline Hartzell

E-mail: chartzel@gettysburg.edu

Office: Trailer #199, Office 130

Office hours: Mon., 11:00 am – 12:30 pm; Thurs., 1:30-3:30 pm; and by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

300-level courses in the Political Science major engage the students in a critical examination of a core set of themes as well as of the manner in which Political Science has sought to address these themes. Students taking courses at this level are regularly involved in the practice of finding, reading and critically dissecting sophisticated material published in peer-reviewed political science journals and scholarly books, searching for databases, using primary resources, and constructing original analyses.

Course content

War is a form of organized social activity. Engaging in this activity requires the use of economic and other resources. This course will explore the reasons that states and non-state actors opt to devote valuable and often scarce resources to fighting wars. We will examine the economic motivations that actors have for engaging in political violence, the costs – economic and otherwise – of conducting war, and the consequences that follow for states and societies of having participated in armed conflict.

This course employs a political economy approach to study both interstate and intrastate conflicts. Our examination of the relationship between war and economics will take us from the role that these factors played in the development of the modern nation-state to civil wars and the virtual collapse of the state in some contemporary civil conflicts.

This course also employs service learning as part of its pedagogy. One of the means by which students will learn about the implications armed conflict has for individuals and societies is through their interaction with veterans in Adams County.

This course’s place within the Gettysburg Curriculum

Multiple Inquiries Requirement: POL 351 fulfills the Multiple Inquiries Requirement (MIR) in the Social Sciences.

COURSE GOALS

By the end of the semester, students enrolled in this course should be able to do the following:

1. Employ a political economy approach to the study of interstate and intrastate conflict.

2. Distinguish among different political economy explanations for the causes and outcomes of armed conflict.
3. Critically read and dissect peer-reviewed literature on the political economy of armed conflict.
4. Find and use data relevant to the study of armed conflict.
5. Frame research questions and conduct research relevant to an analysis of conflict.
6. Convey information and research regarding the economic motivations, costs, and consequences of armed conflict in an effective manner, both in writing and orally.
7. Recognize and articulate public policy issues pertaining to the conduct of armed conflict and, as engaged and knowledgeable citizens, participate with others in addressing those issues.

The course goals identified above and the assignments used in this class are designed to help students meet the effective communications conventions in the discipline as identified by the Political Science department. The department holds as important the ability of students to:

- Become conversant in the fundamental issues and concepts of the discipline;
- Obtain and organize the means for addressing these fundamental issues and familiarity with the various methods used in the field;
- Understand and critically evaluate the work of political scientists;
- Analyze and interpret information relevant to answering the fundamental questions of the discipline; and
- Communicate results of their analyses both orally and in writing.

COURSE READINGS

There are five required books for this course; four of them – the books by Bates, Beah, Collier et al, and Paris -- may be purchased at the College bookstore. The fifth book, *The Great Divide*, must be purchased online (see note below). Additional course readings should be accessed as follows: Some readings can be accessed online through the College library using the “Journal Locator” function on the library’s homepage. Other readings should be accessed via links provide on the syllabus. Yet other readings will be posted to the course Moodle site.

- Robert Bates. 2001. *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*.
- Ishmael Beah. 2007. *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier*.
- Paul Collier et al. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*.
- Roland Paris. 2004. *At War’s End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*.
- Stars and Stripes. 2013. *The Great Divide*. [Note: This 43-page “e-book” is available for \$2.99 via Kindle or as an iBook. If you cannot access this book via either of these means, please let me know *at the beginning of the semester* so that I can arrange an alternate means for you to access this reading.]

GRADING

This course will be run as a modified seminar with some lectures by the instructor. Student participation, which is an essential part of the modified seminar format, will take the form of

small-group activities, student-led discussion of readings and course themes, and student presentations.

- ✓ Three-page prospectus of IR research paper: 5%
- ✓ Research paper: 20%
- ✓ Class preparation (weekly mini-papers and quizzes, 7 x 5 points each): 35%
- ✓ Project with community veterans: (a) one-on-one interview with veteran; (b) follow-up work on project and preparation for public presentation. The interview, which must be typed, is worth 10 points. The follow up work, which you will also record in typed form, is worth 5 points: 15%
- ✓ Public presentation of veteran-related work: 5%
- ✓ Final exam: 20%

The following grading scale will be used in this course:

A+	(97-100)	B+	(87-89)	C+	(77-79)	D+	(67-69)
A	(93-96)	B	(83-86)	C	(73-76)	D	(63-66)
A-	(90-92)	B-	(80-82)	C-	(70-72)	D-	(60-62)
						F	(0-59)

A: Outstanding and original work; well argued, well organized, without significant error or omission.

B: Very good work; reasonably argued, clearly organized, with only slight error or omission; clearly well above the average.

C: Solid work; clear evidence of engagement and comprehension but with some organizational, factual, or interpretive errors or omissions.

D: Passing but only marginally acceptable work with clear deficiencies of fact, organization, interpretation, or length; incomplete work. ***Immediate conference with me is strongly suggested.***

F: Unacceptable work submitted with such significant deficiencies that no credit can be awarded. ***Immediate conference with me is required!***

ASSIGNMENTS

1. **Research paper:** Each student will write his or her own research paper. The research paper must focus on a theme relevant to the political economy of armed conflict. You must formulate a central research question and hypothesis that you will then use one of several data sets that will be provided to the class to test. You might, for example, be interested in the impact that political and/or economic liberalization has on whether countries experience certain forms of armed conflict (see Roland Paris's thesis regarding post-civil war countries). Accordingly, you might hypothesize that countries in the midst of a rapid process of economic liberalization have a higher likelihood of experiencing armed conflict than those countries not involved in such a process.

- The first stage of the research paper assignment is a three-page prospectus in which you do the following: make your first effort to identify the question that you will focus on for your research project; discuss why your question is important and how it relates to the political economy of armed conflict; state the hypothesis related to your question that you will seek to test; make clear how you will operationalize your independent and dependent variables; identify the data that you will use to test your hypothesis; and identify 5-10 works related to the topic at hand. ***The prospectus is due on February 17.***
- Your research paper should resemble a social science journal article on the political economy of armed conflict. It should consist of an introduction, a literature review, and explanation of your theory and central hypothesis, an overview of the data, a brief discussion of the testing of your hypothesis, an overview of your results, and a conclusion. Your paper should be double-spaced and the pages should be numbered. You must attach your STATA output to the paper. The paper should be approximately 20 pages in length. ***The research paper is due on April 21.***

2. Class preparation: A combination of eight “mini-papers” and quizzes will be used during the course of the semester to ensure that you are preparing for class discussion each week. Each student is expected to complete seven of these; you may thus skip one mini-paper or quiz during the course of the semester. The mini-papers and quizzes will be turned in/given for those weeks for which readings have been assigned; although you have assigned readings for the two sessions that we spend in the computer lab, there will be no class preparation assignments for those two weeks. For those weeks in which I have noted on the syllabus that a mini-paper is due, I will post a question regarding the readings to our course Moodle site earlier in the week. Each of you must type your response to the question and hand it in to me at our class meeting; the mini-papers should be 1-2 single-spaced typed pages in length. ***I will not accept your mini-paper if you have not been in class. I will also not let you turn the mini-paper in late even if you have been in class.*** For those weeks in which I have noted that there will be a quiz, the quiz will be given at the beginning of class.

3. Project with community veterans: Students will interact with veterans from the local community during the semester. More specifically, you will meet with veterans to learn about their experiences and to discuss the needs and challenges that the veterans identify as being most pressing at both the local and national levels. One of the goals of these interactions is to foster a deeper understanding on students’ part of some of the human costs – and benefits – of participation in wars that we will be studying during the semester. Another goal is to help narrow the military-civilian gap that currently exists in this country by giving veterans an opportunity to discuss, and students to listen to, their experiences.

There are two parts to this assignment. The first is a one-on-one interview with a veteran. You will be given a protocol to follow for this interview. You must type the interview and get the final product approved by the veteran you interview. The interview will then be added to the College’s Oral History Digital Collection. The second part of this assignment involves following through on an issue discussed by the veteran, conducting additional research on it, and preparing to discuss it in a public forum. This is an opportunity for you to pursue some aspect of your interaction with the veterans that was most of interest to you. I am prepared to give you some latitude on this part of the assignment. You can, for example, follow through on a public policy-related issue that came to light in your interview with a veteran (e.g., challenges in accessing health care benefits). Or, you might work with Special Collections in the library and the gallery to plan an exhibit of some sort focusing on the work we’ve done with the veterans (some veterans have approached me about donating war-related memorabilia, for example.) As a final example,

I've made contacts with people associated with the Pennsylvania Bar Association who work on veterans' issues and who would be willing to meet with students to talk about ways in which Gettysburg might go about meeting the legal needs of veterans. You can work in small groups on this part of the project (assuming the people in the group are focusing on the same issue) but you must each log the work you do for the project and hand that in to me individually. The log you keep for the second part of the assignment should provide specific details of the type of work you engage in on this issue including the research you conducted, the names of people and organizations with whom you speak, details regarding what you learn, and the dates on which you engaged in this research and amount of time you spent on it. *The typed transcript of the interview is due March 31; the log is due April 28.*

4. Public presentation of work on project with community veterans: Each student will participate in a presentation on the work you engaged in on related to the project with veterans. These presentations will be open to the public – i.e., to veterans, members of the Gettysburg College community, and to members of the Gettysburg Community. Further information regarding the public presentation, including the date it will take place, will be provided during the course of the semester.

HONOR CODE

Consistent with the Gettysburg College Honor Code, “students must submit work that is the fruit of their own study and labor, acknowledge assistance, words, and ideas they use in their work, and be honest with all members of the community involved in supporting their education” (Honor Code Summary, pl. 1). Please be sure to read the Honor Code in its entirety; it is your responsibility to be familiar with and abide by both the rule and spirit of this code.

CLASS ATTENDANCE

I understand that missing class is unavoidable *once in a great while*, but you cannot participate if you are not in class. Students who miss more than **one** class during the semester will lose three points from their final class grade for each additional class missed.

POLICY REGARDING LATE ASSIGNMENTS:

I will accept assignments turned in late, but only for a one-week period following the date that they were due. During the one-week period, assignments will be penalized by the loss of five points per day for each day they are late. After the one-week period, missing assignments will receive a grade of “0.” Note that this policy does not apply to the weekly mini-paper and quizzes, which may not be turned in late nor made up.

SCHEDULE

Week 1: Monday, January 20. *Overview and organizational issues.*

Division of class responsibilities; overview of syllabus and assignments. Why study armed conflict? Some trends in armed conflict.

Week 2: Monday, January 27. Studying armed conflict through a political economy lens.

[Quiz]

States, markets, and war. The liberal peace thesis. Data sets and case studies. Theory, methods, and planning for your research paper.

- Robert Bates. *Prosperity and Violence*. [Read entire book.]
- Roland Paris. *At War's End*. [Read chapters 1-2.]
- Collier et al. *Breaking the Conflict Trap*. [Read "Overview," pp. 1-10, and "Data Sources and Bibliography," pp. 193-200.]
- *The Great Divide*. [Read entire e-book.]

**Week 3: Monday, February 3: Political Economy Explanations for Armed Conflict.
Part I: Military expenditures and the military-industrial complex.**

[Mini-paper]

- William D. Hartung. Jan. 11, 2011. "Is Lockheed Martin Shadowing You?" *Salon* online. [Access at http://www.salon.com/2011/01/11/lockheed_martin/]
- William D. Hartung. July 2, 2013. "Just How Many Weapons Can America Sell?" *FP Online*. [Access at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/07/02/just_how_many_weapons_can_america_sell#sthash.F3TECgSM.dpbs]
- Uk Heo and John Bothe. 2012. "Who Pays for National Defense? Financing Defense Programs in the United States, 1947-2007." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, 3: 413-438. [Use library journal locator.]
- Jennifer Brauner. 2012. "Military Spending and Democratisation." *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 18, 3: 1-17. [Access through course Moodle site.]
- IAVA 2013 Veterans' Affairs Survey. [Access at <http://iava.org/2013survey>] Please make sure you download the survey from the initial landing page.
- *Why We Fight*. In-class viewing of film.

Week 4: Monday, February 10: Theorizing Armed Conflict.

Session in computer lab to work with data sets related to armed conflict that you will use to test your hypotheses for your research papers.

There will be no mini-paper or quiz this week. Please read the following two chapters in the Paris book and the readings related to veterans' issues/the military in order to keep on pace with the reading for the semester. We will discuss the reading related to policy implications associated with demographic changes in the veterans' population and the article by Rosa Brooks at the end of our lab session.

- *At War's End*, chapters 3 and 4.
- Jomana Amara. 2013. "Policy Implications of Demographic Changes in the VHA Veteran Population Following OEF/OIF." *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 19, 1: 56-72. [Access through course Moodle site.]

- Rosa Brooks. July 21, 2013. "Uncle Sam Wants Who? The Real Reasons People Join the Military." *FP Online*. [Access at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/07/31/uncle_sam_wants_who#.UfvWqV2xy6E.email]

Week 5: Monday, February 17: *Political Economy Explanations for Armed Conflict.*
Part II: Inequality, greed, and the resource curse.

[Quiz]

- *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, chapter 3.
- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, 4: 563-595. [Use library journal locator.]
- Gudrun Øsby. 2008. "Polarization, Horizontal Inequalities, and Violent Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 45, 2: 143-162. [Use library journal locator.]
- Michael L. Ross. 2004. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58: 35-67. [Use library journal locator.]
- Jonathan DiJohn. 2002. "Mineral Resource Abundance and Violent Political Conflict: A Critical Assessment of the Rentier State Model." Crisis State Programme, Working Paper no. 20. [Access at <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28271/1/WP20JDJ.pdf>]

Week 6: Monday, February 24: *Political Economy Explanations for Armed Conflict.*
Part III: State Weakness.

[Quiz]

- *At War's End*, chapters 5, 6, and 7.
- James D. Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97, 1: 75-90. [Use library journal locator.]
- Hanne Fjelde and Indra De Soysa. 2009. "Coercion, Co-optation, or Cooperation?" State Capacity and the Risk of Civil War, 1961-2004." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26, 1: 5-25. [Access at <http://cmp.sagepub.com/content/26/1/5.full.pdf>]
- Ishmael Beah, *A Long Way Gone*. [Read approximately first one-third of book.]
- In-class viewing of *Service: When Women Come Marching Home*.

Week 7: Monday, March 3: *Political Economy Explanations for Armed Conflict (or the lack thereof).* **Part IV: Liberalism, globalization, and liberalization.**

[Mini-paper]

- Erik Gartzke. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 1: 161-191. [Use library journal locator.]
- Katherine Barbieri and Rafael Reuveny. 2005. "Economic Globalization and Civil War." *Journal of Politics* 67, 4: 1228-1247. [Use library journal locator.]
- Silvia Federici. 2002. "War, Globalization, and Reproduction." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*. [Access at <http://www.alternativesjournal.net/volume1/number4/federicipdf.pdf>]

- Caroline Hartzell, Matthew Hoddie, and Molly Bauer. 2010. "Economic Liberalization via IMF Structural Adjustment: Sowing the Seeds of Civil Conflict?" *International Organization* 64, 2: 339-356. [Use library journal locator.]

Week 8: Monday, March 10: SPRING BREAK

Week 9: Monday, March 17: *Political Economy of Conflict Termination*

[Mini-paper]

- Achim Wennmann. 2011. "Economic Issues in Peace Negotiations." In Achim Wennmann, *The Political Economy of Peacemaking*. Routledge: London, pp. 34-51. [Access through course Moodle site.]
- Kwesi Aning and Samuel Atuobi. 2011. "The Neglected Economic Dimensions of ECOWAS's Negotiated Peace Accords in West Africa." *Africa Spectrum* 46, 3: 27-44. [Access at <http://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/article/view/485/483>]
- Vincenzo Bove and Ron Smith. 2011. "The Economics of Peacekeeping." In Derek L. Braddon and Keith Hartley, eds., *Handbook on the Economics of Conflict*. Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, UK, pp. 237-264. [Access through course Moodle site.]
- In-class viewing of *War Don Don*.

Week 10: Monday, March 24: No class. Instructor will be at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association this week.

- *A Long Way Gone*. [Read second third of book.]

Week 11: Monday, March 31: Class session in computer lab to work on research papers.

Week 12: Monday, April 7: Guest lecturer = Lindsay Reid, Gettysburg Class of 2011, PhD student in the Political Science Department at UNC Chapel Hill.

Readings and activities TBA.

Week 13: Monday, April 14: *The Consequences of Armed Conflict and Military Spending: Part I: The Economy*.

[Quiz]

- Seonjou Kang and James Meernik. 2005. "Civil War Destruction and the Prospects for Economic Growth." *Journal of Politics* 67, 1: 88-109. [Use library journal locator.]

- Paul Kellogg. 2013. "Welfare State vs. Warfare State: Toward a Comparative Political Economy of Militarism in Canada and the United States." *Political and Military Sociology: An Annual Review* 41: 61-87. [Access through course Moodle site.]
- Hamid E. Ali. 2013. "Income Inequality and Distributive Politics: Evidence from Pork Barrel and Social Spending." *Political and Military Sociology: An Annual Review* 41: 89-108. [Access through course Moodle site.]
- *A Long Way Gone*. [Finish reading the book in order to discuss it the last week of class.]

Week 14: Monday, April 21: *The Consequences of Armed Conflict and Military Spending: Part II: Social Effects*.

[Mini-paper]

- Susan G. Sample, Brandon Valeriano, and Choong-Nam Kang. 2013. "The Societal Determinants and Impact of Military-Spending Patterns." *Political and Military Sociology: An Annual Review* 41: 109-135. [Access through course Moodle site.]
- Susan Peterson and Stephen M. Shellman. n.d. "AIDS and Violent Conflict: The Indirect Effects of Disease on National Security." [Access at <http://wmpeople.wm.edu/asset/index/smpete/aidsviolentconflict>]
- Hazem Adam Ghobarah, Paul Huth, and Bruce Russett. 2003. "Civil Wars Kill and Maim People – Long After the Shooting Stops." *American Political Science Review* 97, 2: 189-202. [Use library journal locator.]
- In-class viewing of PBS Wide Angle – "AIDS Warriors."

Week 15: Monday, April 28: *The Post-conflict Environment – Challenges and Policies for Peace and Rebuilding*

- *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, chapters 5 and 6.
- *At War's End*, chapters 9 and 10.
- Christopher J. Coyne. 2006. "Reconstructing Weak and Failed States: Foreign Intervention and the Nirvana Fallacy." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2: 343-360. [Use library journal locator.]
- James A. Robinson. 2013. "*Curing the Mal Zairois: The Democratic Republic of the Congo Edges Toward Statehood*." Legatum Institute. Prosperity in Depth: Democratic Republic of the Congo. [Access at <http://www.li.com/docs/default-source/country-growth-reports/pid-democratic-republic-of-congo---curing-the-mal-zairois.pdf?sfvrsn=4>]