

State and Their Private Armies

INST 29208 (Winter 2009)

Office Hours: Wed 11:30-1:00

(Gates Blake, Room 218B)

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Course Definition:

This course deals with the issue of privatization of organized violence across time and space and tries to find answers to a number of questions. Why do states hire mercenaries, mercenary bands, or private military companies? What are the major historical cases relevant to the topic? What are the economic and social, as well as political, implications of privatization of force? These questions are then tied to the recent developments in the privatization of force: the rise of “corporate armies” in the post-Cold War era. We will first capture the empirical magnitude of the phenomenon by focusing on the African as well as Balkan cases, while also spending time on the role of the private military companies in the current US war efforts. While analyzing these recent cases we will try to answer some recent questions: does the rise of private armies mean the demise of the nation-state?; what are the implications of private armies for accountability and democracy?; how does globalization play a role in the recent developments?; can private armies be used for peace keeping operations? The course will place a significant emphasis on the *historical* roots of privatization of military services. Therefore, the readings will cover not only the present but also the distant past.

Requirements:

The final grade will be determined by three factors: class participation (20%), 4 short [2-page] papers (40%), and a final take-home exam (40%). As mentioned above, this is a seminar, and your participation is not only expected, but also highly valued and appreciated. Students who are interested in a research paper as a substitute for the final exam should contact the instructor no later than the end of Week 4.

Texts:

The only required book for the course is: Deborah Avant’s *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security* (Cambridge University Press), which will be available for purchase in the Seminary Co-Op. A reserved copy can also be found in Regenstein Library.

All the other assigned chapters and articles will be available [electronically] from the Chalk website.

January 5 Introduction

I. What is “Privatization of Organized Violence”?

January 7 Kinsey, C. (2006). *Corporate Soldiers and International Security*. Chapters 2-3, pp. 34-71.

Avant, D. (2004). *Foreign Policy* 143.

January 12 Thomson, J. (1994). *Mercenarism, Pirates, and Sovereignty*. Chapters 1-3, pp. 7-68.

Thomson, J. (1990). “State Practices, International Norms, and the Decline of Mercenarism.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 34 (1): 23-47.

Kiernan, V. (1956). “Foreign Mercenaries and Absolute Monarchy.” *Past and Present* 11: 66-86.

II. Mercenaries of the Distant Past:

January 14 Yalichev, S. (1997). *Mercenaries of the Ancient World*. Chapters 7-8 & 12-13, pp. 100-149 & 204-260.

January 21 Miller, H. (1984). “The Practical and Economic Background to the Greek Mercenary Explosion.” *Greece & Rome, Second Series* 31 (2): 153-160

Trundle, M. (2004). *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander*. Chapter 2, pp. 40-80.

Taulbee, J.T. (1998). “Carthage and Rome.” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 9 (3): 1-16.

III. Mercenaries in the Medieval Europe

January 26 Mockler, A. (1969). *Mercenaries*. Chapter 2, pp. 24-41.

Fowler, K. (2001). *Medieval Mercenaries*. Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-117.
** Don't worry about the names/wars etc..., skimming is OK**

IV. The Age of the Condottieri: Of Mercenaries and Italian City-States

- January 28** Mockler, A. (1969). *Mercenaries*. Chapter 3, pp. 42-73.
- Potter, D. (1996). "The International Mercenary Market in the Sixteenth Century: Anglo-French Competition in Germany, 1543-50." *The English Historical Review* 111: 24-58.
- Machiavelli, N. (1980). *The Prince*. Pp. 71-92.
- Frederick The Great (translated by Sonnino, P). (1981). *Anti-Machiavel*. Pp. 84-98.

V. Mercenaries and the Kings' War of the 16th-18th Centuries

- February 2** Urban, W. (2007). *Bayonets for Hire*. Chapters 1 & 5, pp. 29-43 & 97-126.
- Potter, D. (1996). "The International Mercenary Market in the Sixteenth Century: Anglo-French Competition in Germany, 1543-50." *The English Historical Review* 111: 24-58.

VI. Right Before the Dawn: Late-18th Century

- February 4** Mockler, A. (1969). *Mercenaries*. Chapter 5, pp. 105-129.
- Urban, W. (2007). *Bayonets for Hire*. Chapters 10-11, pp. 236-263.
- Avant, Deborah. (2000). "From Mercenary to Citizen Armies: Explaining Change in the Practice of war." *International Organization* 54 (1): 41-47.

VII. Silent Myths

- February 9** Rathaur, K. (2001). "British Gurkha Recruitment : A Historical Perspective." *Voice of History* 16 (2): 19-24.
- Mockler, A. (1969). *Mercenaries*. Chapter 11, pp. 254-275.
- Mockler, A. (1987). *The New Mercenaries*. Chapter 2, pp. 19-33.
- Lanning, M. (2005). *Mercenaries*. Chapter 14, pp. 152-173.

VIII. Dogs of War: A Case Study

February 11 Mockler, A. (1987). *The New Mercenaries*. Chapters 3-5, pp. 37-116.

IX. A New World Order: Globalization Meets the End of the Cold War

February 16 Rodrik, D. (1997). "Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate." *Foreign Policy* 107: 19-37.

Keohane, R. and J. Nye, Jr. (2000). "Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And So What?)." *Foreign Policy* 118: 104-119.

Singer, P. (2001). "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and its Ramifications for International Security." *International Security* 26:186-220.

Serewicz, L. 2002. "Globalization, Sovereignty and the Military Revolution: From Mercenaries to Private International Security Companies." *International Politics* 39: 75-89.

February 18 Avant, D. (2005). *The Market for Force*. Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-142.

February 23 Avant, D. (2005). *The Market for Force*. Chapters 4-7, pp. 143-264.

February 25 O'Brien, K. (2000). "Private Military Companies and African Security 1990-1998." In Musah, A. ed *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma*.

Musah, A. (2002). "Privatization of Security, Arms Proliferation and the Process of State Collapse in Africa." *Development and Change* 33 (5): 911-933.

Francis, D. (1999). "Mercenary intervention in Sierra Leone: providing national security or international exploitation?" *Third World Quarterly* 20 (2): 319-338.

March 2 Avant, D. (2007). "NGOs, Corporations and Security Transformation in Africa." *International Relations* 21(2): 143-161.

Abrahamsen, R. and M. Williams. (2007). "Introduction: The Privatisation and Globalisation of Security in Africa." *International Relations* 21(2): 131-141.

Abrahamsen, R. and M. Williams. (2007). "Securing the City: Private Security Companies and Non-State Authority in Global Governance." *International Relations* 21(2): 237-253.

Williams, M. and R. Abrahamsen. (2006). "Security sector reform: bringing the private in." *Conflict, Security, and Development* 6 (1): 1-23.

March 4 Singer, P. (2004). "The Private Military Industry and Iraq: What Have We Learned and Where to Next?" *GENEVA CENTRE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES (DCAF), Policy Paper*.

Singer, P. (2007). "Can't Win With 'Em, Can't Go to War Without 'Em: Private Military Contractors and Counterinsurgency." *Brookings Foreign Policy Studies Report*, September 24, 2007.

Bjork, K. and R. Jones. (2005). "Overcoming Dilemmas Created by the 21st Century Mercenaries: conceptualising the use of private security companies in Iraq." *Third World Quarterly* 26 (4-5): 777-796.

Bergner, D. (2005). "The Other Army." *The New York Times*, August 14, 2005.

March 9 Bures, O. (2005). "Private military companies: A second best peacekeeping option?" *International Peacekeeping* 12 (4): 533-546.

Gaston, E. (2008). "Mercenarism 2.0? The Rise of the Modern Private Security Industry and Its Implications for International Humanitarian Law Enforcement." *Harvard International Law Journal* 221.

Leander, A. (2005). "The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 33: 803-826.

Leander, A. (2007). "Private Security Contractors in the Debate about Darfur: Reflecting and Reinforcing Neo-Liberal Governmentality." *International Relations* 21(2): 201-216.

March 11 Wrapping Up – Of Patterns, Continuities, and Change

Schreier, F. and M. Caparini. 2005. "Privatising Security." *Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) Occasional Paper* 6. Read executive summary & pp.1-43, skim the rest ****very**** lightly.