

CIVIL WAR

CAUSES, DYNAMICS, INTER-STATE INFLUENCE, AND TERMINATION

Instructor: Carter Johnson

Email: cjohnson@gvpt.umd.edu

Back-up email: carterjohnson@yandex.ru

****Any correspondence to us via email should have "GVPT309C" in the subject heading****

ON-LINE VIRTUAL OFFICE HOURS:

I will be on-line using AOL Instant Messaging (IM or AIM), which you can use to contact me. My screen name is "CJohnsonCivilWar" and I typically work in the mornings until noon, and through the night; you will rarely find me on-line in the afternoons and evenings. To use AIM, you must also have a screen name and have downloaded AIM, which is a free service (<http://www.aim.com>). Alternatively, you can email me, but please put in the subject line of your email "GVPT309C".

The course itself will be managed through Blackboard. To login to Blackboard:

- Go to <https://elms.umd.edu>
- Login
- Enter GVPT309C under "My Courses"
- Note: This course will not appear as available to you on-line until January 2, 2008

COURSE OVERVIEW

There are three main goals of this course. First, the class will provide a survey of the recent literature on the concept of civil war as well as the origins, dynamics, end, and post-war transitions of this phenomenon. Second, each student will adopt one civil war and explore it in depth, both learning the details of their specific war, and learning how to apply the analytical framework and theory you learn in this course to a particular civil war of your choosing. Students will also learn broadly about other civil wars in the post-WWII period through readings in the syllabus, with a particular focus on Iraq. Third, students will learn critical thinking and writing skills, which will be developed through the on-line discussions and weekly assignments.

REQUIREMENTS

Readings:

Students are expected to have completed the readings by 12pm (noon) on the day of each class, and it is strongly encouraged that students finish the readings the day before each class. I have limited the readings to no more than two scholarly articles per day or its equivalent (e.g., it may involve one scholarly article and three or four shorter newspaper articles). The reading load takes into consideration that you have only one day to prepare and therefore it is

far less than you would normally read in a semester-long course. For those of you keen to read more on the topic, I include additional readings for each theme.

In addition to my implicit trust in students' determination to complete all the readings on their own volition, I have also developed a mechanism to allow students to demonstrate that they have indeed read the material: there will be a multiple-choice quiz for every class based on the day's readings. You will find more information about the quizzes below.

I have placed the readings on Blackboard. To check Blackboard for readings:

- Login to GVPT309C through Blackboard (<https://elms.umd.edu>)
- Go to "Course Documents" in the left-hand margin
- Click on the folder for the particular class and find the readings.
- Some of the readings are password protected: the password is **gvpt309ccar**

In addition, if you have any trouble accessing the readings through Blackboard, you can access most of the material electronically through the library: journal articles are available through Research Port (www.lib.umd.edu). If you have any questions about how to use Research Port, contact the librarian.

Lectures:

How do lectures work in an on-line course? With great difficulty, is the short answer. Your lectures will come in two forms, and both are written documents that you will need to read.

This course, as you will see below, is divided into four main sections: (i) introduction to civil war; (ii) causes of civil war; (iii) dynamics and duration; (iv) solutions or endings of civil war and post-war transitions. Each section will have a three-page 'lecture' that you must read at the start of the particular section and will provide an overview of the topic and help to put your readings into context with other literatures. This 'lecture' has been programmed into Blackboard to appear in the 'Course Documents' section of the course the day before the Section begins. For example, the first 'lecture' will appear at noon on January 2nd and will be for 'Section A: Introduction and Concepts'; and the second 'lecture' will appear at noon on January 7th and will be for 'Section B: Onset of Civil War'.

In addition, each class has a separate theme, as indicated on the syllabus below, and I will summarize some of the core points on that particular daily theme in a one-page summary that will be available for you read before you contribute your discussion thread for that day (see below for discussion threads). The daily postings from me will be found in the discussion forum for that day's class.

Discussion Threads:

Each class will have 'discussion forums,' which are your primary means to interact with your class-mates and the instructor/TA. Each of you has been placed randomly into a discussion section, and you will be monitored either by me or by the TA. Each group will contain 10 students, which should allow for more personal communication, and is named after an illustrious 20th century fashion designer: these were the creative wonders of last century and they should inspire your creativity when providing an intellectual contribution to the class

each day. The group names are: Cristobal Balenciaga, Guy Laroche, Jacques Fath, Mary Quant, Emilio Pucci, and Andre Courreges.

Each morning of each class a discussion forum will be open that comprises 2 ‘discussion threads.’ A discussion thread is a question drawn from the theme and readings. You are required to read all posts written by your classmates and post *at least two (2)* of your own comments during the day (each comment must be at least one paragraph each (approximately four sentences)), which either address one of the questions provided at the start of the discussion thread or responds to one of your class-mates’ comments that has already been posted. You must post *at least* one comment on each discussion thread. For example, you could log-on and leave one posting on the first discussion thread and one posting on the second discussion thread, and that would fulfill your requirement; or, you could log-on once and post a comment on the first discussion thread and then log-on six hours later and post another comment to the second discussion thread that replies to a class-mate’s comment. You are encouraged to post more than two comments, but this is not a requirement. You can post comments beginning at 6am until 11:55pm each day.

Your grade for each day will be based on (i) fulfilling the aforementioned criteria and (ii) the quality of your contributions. You will be deducted points if (i) you post only one comment; (ii) post comments that do not focus on the discussion; (iii) do not write in a respectful or decorous manner. The grading is approximately as follows: if you fulfill the basic criteria of what’s requested, you will receive a B+ (i.e., two comments, at least one paragraph each, and closely connected with the discussion-thread theme), and you will receive higher grades if you demonstrate knowledge of the reading and engage with your classmates; if you complete the assignment but fail to cover the minimum criteria, you will receive a C, and if you do not submit the assignment, you will receive a F.

You are allowed to drop your lowest grade from your postings at the end of the course.

To access the discussion threads:

- Login to GVPT309C through Blackboard (<https://elms.umd.edu>)
- Choose “Group Discussions” from the left-hand margin
- Choose your group (you should only have one)
- Choose “Group Discussion Board”
- Choose the “Forum” that corresponds to the particular class (e.g., Class 3 or Class 5)
- Choose from among any of the question “threads” that are presented to you.

Quizzes:

You will take a test every day of this course based on the readings. Each quiz is straightforward and will ask between 10 and 20 questions from the readings. This is not designed to question you on obscure details one might find in a given chapter or article, but rather it is designed to make sure you completed the readings, understood the basic ideas, arguments, findings, etc. Quizzes will involve details, but not obscure details. Any missed tests will receive a zero grade, although you will also be allowed to drop two quizzes from the total. Blackboard has been given a pool of questions for each quiz and it will draw from that pool randomly for each student, ensuring that no two students receive the same set of

questions. You will receive a posting of the correct answers to the quiz on the day following the day you take the quiz.

Timing of quizzes:

You can take the quiz at any time on the day of the class from 6am-11:55pm, but not any time before or after. Once you have started the quiz, you cannot stop; you cannot go back to previous questions: once you begin the quiz you must progress through all of the questions without stopping. If you try to go back with your internet browser, you risk forfeiting the entire quiz, so do not try it. You cannot retake the quiz for any reason; unfortunately, I cannot make exceptions, even for lost internet connections or other internet/ELMS problems. You are allowed to look at the readings while you take the quiz but you are not allowed to speak to anyone during this quiz, receive any assistance from others while answering this quiz, or communicate with other students about this quiz. This last point is based on the honor system, and I expect you to follow this. If it is found out that you received or gave unauthorized assistance on any of the quizzes, you will receive a zero for all the quiz results for the course you have taken up to that point. If you are unsure about whether a certain type of assistance is permitted, contact me to find out before taking the quiz.

The quizzes will be accessed through blackboard and you will have no less than 1.5 minutes per question (i.e., if there are 10 questions, you will have no less than 15 minutes). Before you take the test, you will be told how many questions there are and how much time you have. When you take the test there will be a clock on your screen indicating how much time you have (in the past, there has been a problem with some internet browsers – either Internet Explorer or Firefox, I don't know which – so have your own clock ready in case one is not displayed for you; whether the clock is displayed or not, the ELMS timer will be running): you are not permitted to continue taking the test after the time is finished, and you will not be graded on any answers given after time has expired. This last point is extremely important because there is a glitch with the system and Blackboard will allow you to continue answering these questions even though you will not be graded for the answers.

Film Comments:

There will be four films you should watch during the course. You must watch these films and write a one page (double-spaced, 1 inch margins, 12-point font) critical commentary on the film itself. This commentary should not be a summary of the film, but rather your opinion about the film. Some factors to consider in your review might be, how important was the film, did it teach you anything new, was it biased, how was the film structured, how did it relate to the readings, what were some flaws in the film that you noticed? These are just examples, so you should feel free to raise other comments as well.

You should complete the opinion piece by 11:59pm on the day the film is assigned.

To access the films you need to download software available at:

<http://www.lib.umd.edu/digital/films.jsp>

Use that same site to find the films.

Case Study Assignment:

To help you apply some of the material you read into practice, you will focus on one individual civil war that began after World War II and will apply the information learned in class to this case, exploring the details of the civil war and evaluating which theory best applies to your example. You are entirely responsible for selecting and researching this civil war. For a list of possible civil wars, see the Correlates of War webpage:

<http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>

Select “Available Datasets” from the left-hand column, and then select “Intra-State War” (their term for civil war), and then look under “Data Set” where you will see the file “Intra-State Wars” which you can download and open with Microsoft Excel (Hyperlinked as “Intra-State Wars (V 3-0).CSV”). You will find a list of many civil wars, and you can select any civil war on that list that started after 1945. If there is a civil war you want to use as a case study that is not on the COW list, please email me to discuss this possibility before 11:59pm on Friday, January 4th. The only civil war you cannot choose is contemporary Iraq; we will be reading about and discussing Iraq through the course so you cannot choose this for your case-study.

There will be three written assignments associated with your civil war that you need to submit over the duration of the course. Each assignment will relate to one of the broad themes covered in the course.

Assignment 1: Introduction to your case study. You should decide upon a civil war and provide a 3 page (double-spaced, 1-inch margins, bibliography not counted as part of 3 pages) overview of your war focusing on: (i) why this is considered a civil war (you should draw upon the framework and readings when writing this); and (ii) who are the key actors (leaders, factions, parties/organizations – domestic and international). This paper should have an introduction and conclusion and a bibliography of what readings you consulted for this work. The bibliography should demonstrate that you have completed a preliminary investigation of some important scholarly resources about the civil war you chose; these should include multiple sources, including books and/or scholarly journal articles. You should not discuss how the war began or how it ended: these will be discussed in Assignments 2 and 3 (see below). One important dimension is connecting the readings from class to your case of civil war.

Assignment 1 due: 11:59pm Sunday January 6th

Assignment 2: The second assignment will give you an opportunity to discuss war onset for your particular civil war. Your four page paper (double-spaced, 1-inch margins, bibliography not counted as part of 4 pages) should have (i) an introduction and conclusion; (ii) one to two pages devoted to a summary of the possible causes of civil war as outlined in the class readings; (iii) two-three pages describing your particular civil war’s start, and linking which theory best fits your case: it is important that you integrate what you read with your particular case; (iv) a bibliography. The theories may not fit your case well, and you can also state that

in your paper, describing how and why the current theories do not explain your case, or explaining some of the ways a theory works and some of the ways it does not work to explain your particular civil war. You are also expected to include a bibliography, with the same rules that applied to assignment 1; you can have overlapping sources but it is expected that you have found new sources as well.

Assignment 2 due: 11:59pm Sunday January 13th

Assignment 3: The third assignment relates to civil war termination. This four page paper (double-spaced, 1-inch margins, bibliography not counted as part of 4 pages) explains either your particularly civil war's termination, if it has one, linking which theory/practice best describes your case: it is important that you integrate what you read with your particular case. If your civil war is not yet over, your paper should focus on which of the solutions about which you have read is most appropriate for your case and why. The theories may not fit your case well, and you can also state that in your paper, describing how and why the current theories do not explain your case, or explaining some of the ways a theory works and some of the ways it does not work to explain your particular civil war. The paper should have (i) an introduction and conclusion; (ii) one to two pages devoted to a summary of the possible causes of civil war as outlined in the class readings; (iii) two-three pages describing your particularly civil war's termination; (iv) a bibliography.

Assignment 3 due: 11:59pm Sunday January 20th

Optional Bonus Assignment 4:

There will be an optional fourth assignment: to increase your grade by up to 5 percent, you can submit all three assignments as a complete, single paper. For these, you must revise previous editions based on feedback comments you received. Your final assignment should be 10-12 pages in length, have one coherent introduction, one coherent conclusion, and should explain your civil war, the actors, the onset, and the termination. Your grade will be based on (i) your revisions, and (ii) the overall quality and coherence of the essay.

GRADES

Quizzes:	30%
Discussion Threads:	15%
Film comments	5%
Case Study Assignment 1:	10%
Case Study Assignment 2:	20%
Case Study Assignment 3:	20%
(Optional Assignment 4:	5%)

POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS

If you hand in any written assignment late, you will receive one half-letter-grade deduction for each day the assignment is late, but you will never receive below a D grade as long as the assignment is satisfactory. In other words, if you hand in the assignment two days late and you receive a B grade on the paper, your grade will fall to a C+ (i.e. your grade fell from B to

a B- to a C+). However, no matter how late an assignment is handed in, as long as it is handed in before final grades are submitted to UMEG, a completed assignment that is satisfactory will never receive below a D grade.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The University of Maryland, College Park has a nationally recognized Code of Academic Integrity, administered by the Student Honor Council. This Code sets standards for academic integrity at Maryland for all undergraduate and graduate students. As a student you are responsible for upholding these standards for this course. It is very important for you to be aware of the consequences of cheating, fabrication, facilitation, and plagiarism.

For more information on the Code of Academic Integrity or the Student Honor Council, please visit:

<http://www.studenthonorcouncil.umd.edu/whatis.html>

Any student that plagiarizes will receive a 0 for that assignment and will be reported to the University for disciplinary proceedings.

ACCOMMODATING STUDENT NEEDS

The University has a legal obligation to provide appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities. *Students with disabilities should inform the instructor of their needs at the beginning of the semester.* The instructor will then consult with the department chair and Dr. William Scales at Disability Support Service (314-7682). Dr. Scales will help to determine and implement appropriate academic accommodations.

Students will not be penalized because of observances of their religious beliefs and will be given the opportunity to make up within a reasonable time any academic assignment that is missed due to individual participation in religious observances. *It is the student's responsibility to inform the instructor of any intended absences for religious observances **in advance**.* Notice should be provided as soon as possible, but no later than the end of the schedule adjustment period.

CLASSES

CLASS 1: JANUARY 2ND

Introduction to Course, Syllabus, Expectations

Use this class to:

- Read through the detailed syllabus
- Log into and familiarize yourself with the course's ELMS website
 - Try downloading readings for tomorrow's class and work out any problems you may encounter.
- Get an AIM account
- Contact me about any questions you have regarding any part of the course

**** You should be considering which case study civil war you want to explore over the next three weeks. The deadline for the first assignment is Sunday at 11:59pm.****

Section A: Introduction and Concepts

CLASS 2: JANUARY 3RD

Overview: Trends in Global Conflict, Civil War as Collective Violence

Readings:

- Economist Article: "Civil Wars: The Global Menace of Civil Strife" May 22nd 2003
- Marshall, Monty and Gurr, Ted Robert (2005) *Peace and Conflict 2005* (College Park: Center for International Development and Conflict Management)
 - Go to the website below and download the report.
 - <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/publications/publication.asp?pubType=paper&id=15>
 - Or try: http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/peace_and_conflict.asp
 - Read only pp.1-2, 11-15
- Tilly, Charles (2002) "Violence, Terror, and Politics as Usual." *Boston Review Summer 21-4*
 - <http://bostonreview.net/BR27.3/tilly.html>

**** You should be seriously considering which case study civil war you want to explore over the next three weeks.****

CLASS 3: JANUARY 4TH

Types of Civil War I: Definitions, Variations

Readings:

- Wong, Edward, "A Matter of Definition: What Makes a Civil War, and Who Declares It So?" *New York Times*, November 26, 2006

- Council on Foreign Relations, “Iraq: Is there a Civil War in Iraq?” (September 16, 2005)
 - This has a few policy “experts” briefly discussing their opinion of whether Iraq is in a civil war and, by implication, their opinion of what a civil war is
 - <http://www.cfr.org/publication/8869/#1>
- Council on Foreign Relations, “The Implications of ‘Civil War’ in Iraq” (December 1, 2006)
 - http://www.cfr.org/publication/12154/implications_of_civil_war_in_iraq.html
 - This looks at the policy implications of the term ‘civil war’ and the politicization of this term.
- Listen: NPR, “What Constitutes A Civil War?” *Day to Day* November 28, 2006; (Six minutes)
 - <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6549129>
 - Go to this Website and click “Listen”; or go to NPR website and search
 - This is primarily an interview with Nicholas Sambanis (Yale)
- Fearon, James (2007) “Iraq's Civil War” *Foreign Affairs* 86, 2 (March/April), pp.2-16
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2004) “What Is Civil War?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6) pp.814-858.
 - Read only pp.814-825 and 829-831 for variations in how *academics* have defined civil wars in the past couple of decades

Additional Reading:

- Kalyvas, Stathis (2003) “What is Political Violence? On the Ontology of Civil War” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3) pp. 475-494
- Kalyvas, Stathis (2004) “The Urban Bias in Civil War Research” *Security Studies* 13(3), Spring, pp.160-190
- Fearon, James (2007) “Congressional Testimony” from Symposium: Policy Implications of Research on Civil Wars in *American Political Science Association-Comparative Politics Newsletter* Vol.18 No.2, pp.8-11

****First Assignment Due on Sunday, January 6th by 11:59pm****

CLASS 4: JANUARY 7TH

Types of Civil War II: Ethnic, Revolutionary, Coup

Readings:

- Taras, Ray and Ganguly, Rajat (2006) *Understanding Ethnic Conflict* (New York: Longman)
 - Chapter 1: Ethnic Conflict on the World Stage
- John Mueller, “The Banality of ‘Ethnic War’,” *International Security*, Summer 2000, pp. 42-70
- Film: Spain, 1936: prélude à la tragédie (1986)
 - See comments about the film in the introduction of the syllabus. A one-page critical commentary is due by 11:59pm today.

Additional Readings If Interested:

- Kalyvas, Stathis N.; Kocher, Matthew Adam (2007) “Ethnic Cleavages and Irregular War: Iraq and Vietnam” *Politics and Society* 35(2) pp.183-223
 - To page 183- bottom of p.190 (rest is optional); pp.204-216.
- Byman, Daniel (2002) *Keeping the Peace* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press)
 - Chapter 2: “Causes of Ethnic Conflict”
- Tharoor, Shashi (1999) “The Future of Civil Conflict,” *World Policy Journal*, 16 (1) Spring, pp.1-11
- Licklider, Identity and non-Identity Civil Wars *APSR*
- Nicolas Sambanis. 2001. “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 45(4): 259-82.
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2006) “What is an Ethnic War? Organization and Interests in Insurgencies” Unpublished, from author’s website (October 29, 2006)
- Isabelle Duyvesteyn, “Contemporary War: Ethnic Conflict, Resource Conflict or Something Else?” *Civil Wars* 3:1 (Spring 2000), 92-116
- Fearon, James and Laitin, David (1996) “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation,” *American Political Science Review*, 90(4) December, pp. 715-735

Section B: Onset of Civil War

CLASS 5: JANUARY 8TH

Causes of Civil War I: International Issues, and Regime Type

Readings:

- Brown, Michael (1996) “Introduction” in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, Brown, Michael (ed.) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), pp. 1-29
- Hegre, Havard, Ellingsen, Tanja, Gates, Scott, Gleditsch, Nils Petter (2001) “Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1922” *American Political Science Review* 95(1) pp.33-48.
 - A few articles in this syllabus use statistical methods to support theoretical arguments. This is one of them, and it is a long article. However, I want you to concentrate on the argument being presented and the conclusions drawn from the analysis: do not get bogged down in the details of how each variable is operationalized, but rather try to understand what the variables broadly mean and what patterns are discovered by the author. Do not be concerned if you do not understand the tables of statistical results; if you do know some statistics then try to follow along.

Additional Readings:

- Barry Posen (1993), “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival*, (Spring), pp. 27-47
- Gleditsch, Kristian (2007) “Transnational Dimensions of Civil War” *Journal of Peace Research* 44(3) 293-309
- Jervis, Robert and Snyder, Jack, “Civil War and the Security Dilemma,” in Walter, Barbara and Snyder, Jack (eds.), *Civil War, Insecurity and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University, 1999).

CLASS 6: JANUARY 9TH

Causes of Civil War II: Greed vs Grievance

Readings:

- Collier, David et al. (2003) *Breaking the Conflict Trap* (World Bank)
 - Chapter 3: “What Makes a Country Prone to Civil War?”
- Gurr, Ted Robert (1993) “Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict Since 1945” *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, 14(2) April, pp.161-201
 - This is a statistical piece – but don’t spend time trying to figure out the statistics, just try to understand the arguments and results that the author presents in regular prose.
- Listen: “Breaking the Conflict Trap” *World Bank Radio*; Three Minutes
 - <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20111317~menuPK:34495~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.html>

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Collier, Paul (2003) “The Market for Civil War,” *Foreign Policy*, (May-June) pp. 38-45
- Tilly, Charles (1973) “Does Modernization Breed Revolution?” *Comparative Politics*, 5 (3), April, pp. 425-447
- Ballentine, Karen and Sherman, Jake (eds.), (2003) *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner)
 - Chapter 7: Kosovo
- Gurr, Ted Robert (2000) *Peoples Versus States* (Washington DC: USIP)
- Badi Hasisi and Ami Pedahzur, “State, Policy, and Political Violence: Arabs in the Jewish State,” *Civil Wars* 3:4 (Winter 2000), pp. 64-84
 - Here you will find reference to the concepts of “relative deprivation” and the politics of exclusion versus inclusion
- Indra De Soysa. 2002. “Paradise is a Bazaar? Greed, Creed, and Governance in Civil War, 1989-1999,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 39 (4): 395-416.
 - This article looks at the role of natural resources
- Ross, Michael (2004) “What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 41, pp.337-356

Section C: Duration and Dynamics

CLASS 7: JANUARY 10TH

Duration of Civil Wars

Readings:

- Hegre, Håvard (2004) “The Duration and Termination of Civil War” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol.41 pp. 243-252
- Fearon, James. (2004) “Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?” *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3) 275-301

- Read the whole article but do not get bogged down in the statistics and the formal models if you do not understand them. The point of this is to see the classification of wars that are presented and some of the arguments that accompany this classification for war duration: you do not need to understand the statistics or formal models – skim those section and concentrate on the arguments/theories and results that the author discusses.

Additional Reading if Interested:

- See all articles from the *Journal of Peace Research* 2004, Vol. 41, which is a special edition on duration
- Licklider, Roy, ed. (1993) *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press)

CLASS 8: JANUARY 11TH

Dynamics: Terrorism and Targeting Civilians During War

Readings:

- Hughes, James (2007) “The Chechnya Conflict: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 15(3) pp.293-311.
- Valentino, Benjamin *Final Solutions: Genocide and Mass Killings in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)
 - Chapter 6 only: “Counterinsurgency mass killings : Guatemala and Afghanistan”
- Film: In the name of liberation (2003)
 - One-page critical commentary due by 11:59pm today.

Additional Readings:

- Valentino, Ben, Paul K. Huth, and Dylan Balach-Lindsay (2004), “Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare” *International Organization* 58 (2):375–407.
 - This is a quantitative, cross-national test of the Valentino argument introduced above.

****Second Assignment Due on Sunday, January 13th by 11:59pm****

Section D: Ending Conflict

CLASS 9: JANUARY 14TH

Ending the War: International Intervention

Readings:

- Betts, Richard (1994) “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” *Foreign Affairs* (November-December), pp. 20-33
- Evans, Gareth and Sahnoun, Mohamed (2002) “The Responsibility to Protect,” *Foreign Affairs* (November-December) pp. 99-110
- Luttwak, Edward (1999) “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs* (July-August) pp. 36-51
- Financial Times Editorial: “Invading Somalia is no recipe for stability” January 4 2007

- Listen: The Economist, “African Peacekeeping: The Doves of War” 11/22/07 (approximately 6 minutes)

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Kaufmann, Chaim (1996) “Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can be Done and the Other Can't” *Security Studies*, 6, (1) pp.62-100
- Hoffmann, Stanley (1995) “The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention,” *Survival* 37 (4) pp.29-51.

CLASS 10: JANUARY 15TH

Ending the Conflict II: Internal Solutions

Readings:

- Licklider, Roy (1995) “The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars”, 1945-1993,” *American Political Science Review*, 89 (3) pp.681-690
 - This is another statistical piece: again, do not worry about the tables, but try to follow the results, the patterns and conclusions found by the author.
- O’Leary, Brendan (2006) “Debating Partition: Justifications, Critiques & Evaluations” MFPP Working Paper No.28, pp.1-30
 - http://www.qub.ac.uk/cibr/WPpdffiles/MFWPpdf/w28_bol.pdf
- Film: The Korean War (1990)
 - One-page critical commentary due by 11:59pm

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Walter, Barbara (2002) *Committing to Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Collier, David et al. (2003) *Breaking the Conflict Trap*; Chapter 5: “What Works Where?”
- Economist: “The Poor Man’s Curse: Some things the world can do to prevent wars” May 22, 2003
- Daniel Byman, “Forever Enemies? The Manipulation of Ethnic Identities to End Ethnic Wars,” *Security Studies* 9:3 (spring 2000), 149-90
- Licklider, Roy (1993) “How Civil Wars End: Questions and Methods,” in Licklider, Roy, ed. *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*. (New York: New York University Press), pp. 3-19
- Licklider, Roy (1998) “Early Returns: Results of the First Wave of Statistical Studies of Civil War Termination,” *Civil Wars* 1:3 (Autumn), pp.121-132;

CLASS 11: JANUARY 16TH

Ending Civil War III: Focus on Partition and Iraq

As many discussions involving Iraq are focused now on partitioning the country, we will focus one class on a debate about partition as a solution to civil war.

Readings:

- Kumar, Rada (1997) “The Troubled History of Partition” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February), pp.22-34
- Listen: Galbraith, Peter, “Exiting Iraq: Ambassador Galbraith's View” 08/05/06 (5 minutes)

- <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5620002>
- Optional: audio by Telhami, Kagan, and Brzezinski
- Galbraith, Peter, “The Case for Dividing Iraq” *Time Magazine*, November 6, 2006.
 - <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1555130,00.html>
- Gelb, Leslie (2003) “The Three State Solution” *New York Times* (November 25)
- Horowitz, Donald (2006) “The Iraq Alternative” *Wall Street Journal* (December 4)
- Glanz, James, “Future Look of Iraq Complicated by Internal Migration” *New York Times* September 19, 2007

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Sambanis, Nicholas (2000) “Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War” *World Politics*
- Kaufmann, Chaim. (1996) “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 20 (4) pp.136-175
 - Read only: pp.136-151; and bottom of 169 to 175

Section E: Post-Conflict Transitions

CLASS 12: JANUARY 17TH

Post Conflict Peace

Readings:

- Ahmed, Salman (2005) “Review Essay—No Size Fits All: Lessons in Making Peace and Rebuilding States,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February), pp.162-69
- Smootha, Sammy and Hanf, Theodor (1992) “The Diverse Modes of Conflict-Regulation in Deeply Divided Societies,” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 33 pp.26-47

Additional Reading if Interested:

- Doyle, Michael and Sambanis, Nicholas (2000) “International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis” *American Political Science Review* 94(4), pp.779-803
- Roeder, Philip G. and Rothchild, Donald (eds.) (2005) *Sustainable peace : power and democracy after civil wars* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press).
 - Introduction
- Walter, Barbara (2004) “Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol.41 pp.371-388
- Walter, Barbara (1999) “Designing Transitions from Civil War,” in Walter, Barbara and Snyder, Jack (1999) *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 38-72.

CLASS 13: JANUARY 18TH

Post War Transitions to Democracy

Readings:

- Ottaway, Marina (2003), “Promoting Democracy after Conflict: The Difficult Choices,” *International Studies Perspectives* 4:3 (August), pp.314-22
- Bermeo, Nancy (2003) “What the Democratization Literature Says—or Doesn’t Say—About Postwar Democratization” *Global Governance* Vol.9 pp.159-77

Additional Reading if Interested:

- Labonte, Melissa (2003), “Dimensions of Postconflict Peacebuilding and Democratization,” *Global Governance* Vol. 9 pp.261-72
- Call, Charles & Cook, Susan (2003), “On Democratization and Peacebuilding,” *Global Governance* Vol.9 pp.233-46

****Third Assignment Due on Sunday, January 20th by 11:59pm****

(NOTE: NO CLASS ON JANUARY 21ST: MLK DAY, UNIVERSITY IS CLOSED)

CLASS 14: JANUARY 22ND (LAST CLASS)

Post War Transitional Justice

Readings:

- Mendeloff, David (2004) “Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding: Curb the Enthusiasm?” *International Studies Review* Vol. 6, 355–380
- Hayner, Priscilla B. (1994) “Fifteen Truth Commissions- 1974 to 1994: A Comparative Study” *Human Rights Quarterly* 16(4): 597-655
 - Read only: pp.597-611; read only two examples of the 15 mini-case studies; and read pp.635-655
- Film: Legacy of Nuremberg (1995)
 - One-page critical commentary due by 11:59pm today.
- Romero, Simon, “Living in Exile Isn’t What it Used to Be,” *New York Times*, October 7, 2007
 - http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/weekinreview/07romero.html?_r=1&scp=40&sq=exile&oref=slogin

Additional Reading if Interested:

- Minow, Martha. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston:Beacon Press, 1998
- Backer, David. “Civil Society and Transitional Justice: Possibilities, Patterns and Prospects” *Journal of Human Rights* 2(3): 297-313.
- Hayner, Priscilla. *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Gary J. Bass. 2000. *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 3-36, 276-285
- Backer, David. “Civil Society and Transitional Justice: Possibilities, Patterns and Prospects” *Journal of Human Rights* 2(3): 297-313.