

Political Science 627  
Topics in International Politics: How Civil Wars End  
Spring 2008

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**OFFICE HOURS:**

At Hickman 616: Tuesday 3:00-4:30 and Friday 3:00-4:00.

At Milledoler 11-C: Tuesday and Thursday 11-12:45; Thursday 2:45-4:45

No appointments are necessary during office hours—just drop in.

**REQUIRED BOOKS (paperbacks at Douglass Bookstore):**

Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*

Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild & Elizabeth Cousens, *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*

Caroline Hartzell & Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars*

Lise Morjé Howard, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*

James Gibson, *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?*

Lotta Harbom, *States in Armed Conflict 2006* (to be distributed in class)

Most of the assigned reading is in these books. The few other materials on the syllabus will be on electronic reserve in Alexander Library. As a backup, full sources are given for all of them, and most can be located in the university library system.

**GRADING:**

**20% CLASS PARTICIPATION:** In a seminar, students are expected to actively participate in the learning process by contributing to class discussions. Grading will be based on quality rather than quantity of discussion. In particular, comments that show that you have read the material, have listened to your classmates, and are able to say things which move the discussion forward rather than repeating what has already been said will be valued. Since the whole point of discussion is to help your classmates, at the end of the semester each student will assign a letter grade to every other student's class participation. The average of these grades will count half of the total participation grade (10% of your final grade); I will independently assign a participation grade which will count the other half.

**30% FINAL EXAMINATION** at the regularly scheduled time and place unless decided otherwise by the class

**40% RESEARCH PAPER:** You may do either of these two types of papers.

**(A) LARGE-N PAPER:** Using at least one of the major databases (extra credit if you use two), test a plausible hypothesis from the reading about civil wars and discuss the implications of your findings for the literature.

**(B) SMALL-N PAPER:** Select *two* countries, at least one of which has had a civil war that has ended for five years, and use them to illuminate a theoretical issue in the course by process tracing. You may pick two countries which are similar to one another, one of which has had a civil war and one of which has not. Alternatively you may pick two different countries which have had civil wars but which differ in other ways such as how it ended. Other combinations are possible; consult with me about topics.

Regardless of the type of paper, you must submit a tentative topic for approval to me by February 8; by February 15 all topics should be fixed. Feel free to consult with me about them. On March 7, each student is required to bring to class copies for everyone (including me) of a first draft of the paper. The assignment for March 14 is to read these summaries and write a written critique of each one; these critiques will be graded and count as 10% of your grade and also be given to the author for use in revision, so bring two copies to class. During the class we will discuss each project based on these critiques.

**10%: CRITIQUE OF OTHER STUDENTS' PROJECTS,** as noted above. The critiques should normally be at least two pages long and are expected to be written in standard English. Two copies should be submitted, one for me and one for the paper author.

## **INTRODUCTION**

**1/25:** Roy Licklider, "Civil War Outcomes," draft chapter for Manus Midlarsky, *Handbook of War Studies 3*  
Nicholas Sambanis, "What Is A Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48, 6  
(December 2004), 814-858

### **OPTIONAL READING:**

Harry Eckstein, *Internal War: Problems and Approaches*  
Fred Iklé, *Every War Must End*  
James B. Rule, *Theories of Civil Violence*  
Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*

## **CAUSES AND PREVENTION**

**2/1:** *Leashing the Dogs of War*, Foreword and chapters 2 and 6-13  
David Laitin and James Fearon, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97, 1 (February 2003), 75-90

### **OPTIONAL READING:**

*Leashing the Dogs of War*, chapters 1 and 3-5.  
Michael E. Brown, "Ethnic and Internal Conflicts: Causes and Implications," pp.

209-226 in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*  
 Fen Osler Hampson, *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*  
 David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*  
 Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups and Conflict*  
 Monica Toft, *The Geography of Ethnic Violence*  
 Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*  
 Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*  
 Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*  
 Manus Midlarsky, *The Internationalization of Communal Strife*  
 T. David Mason, *Caught in the Crossfire: Revolutions, Repression, and the Rational Peasant*  
 Michael S. Lund, *Preventive Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*  
 Ted Robert Gurr, *Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*  
 Daniel L. Byman, *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts*  
 Jonathan Fox, *Religion, Civilization, and Civil War: 1945 Through the New Millennium*  
 Mats Berdal and David M. Malone, *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*  
 Michael Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*  
 John L. Davies and Ted Robert Gurr, *Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems*  
 Bruce Jentelson, *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World*  
 Robert Rotberg, *Vigilance and Vengeance: NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies*  
 I. William Zartman, *Cowardly Lions: Missed Opportunities to Prevent Deadly Conflict and State Collapse*

## EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN CIVIL WARS

2/8: *Leashing the Dogs of War*, chapters 14-19, 21, 23, 26, 29-31, 36-37  
 Patrick Regan and Aysecul Aydin, "Diplomacy and Other Forms of Intervention in Civil Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50, 5 (October 2006), 736-756  
 OPTIONAL READING (AND VIEWING):  
*Leashing the Dogs of War*, chapters 20, 22, 24-25, 27-28, 32  
 Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*  
 John L. Hirsch, *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope : Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*  
*Black Hawk Down* (movie-video)

**Mark Bowden, *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War***  
**Mark Danner, “The US and the Yugoslav Catastrophe,” “America and the Bosnia Genocide,” and “Clinton, the UN, and the Bosnian Disaster,” *New York Review of Books* November 20, 1997, pp. 56-64; December 4, 1997, pp. 55-65; and December 18, 1997, pp. 65-81**  
**Thomas G. Weiss and Cindy Collins, *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition**  
**Herman J. Cohen, *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent*.**  
**Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention***  
**David Carment and Frank Harvey, *Using Force to Prevent Ethnic Violence: An Evaluation of Theory and Evidence***  
**William Lahneman, *Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century***  
**Michael O’Hanlon, *Saving Lives With Force: Military Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention***  
**Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—Or War***  
**Fiona Terry, *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action***  
**Anthony Lang, *Just Intervention***  
**John Darby and Roger MacGinty, *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes***  
**Lori Fisler Damrosch, *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts***  
**Teresa Whitfield, *Friends Indeed? The United Nations, Groups of Friends and the Resolution of Conflict***  
***The Responsibility to Protect. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty.***  
**Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force***  
**Simon Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law***

## **ENDING THE WARS**

**2/15: Roy Licklider, “Obstacles to Peace Settlements” in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Olser Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, 697-718.**

***Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 1 & 13-16**

### **OPTIONAL READING:**

**Ted Robert Gurr, “On the Outcomes of Violent Conflict.” Pp. 238-294 in Ted Robert Gurr, *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research***

**Roy Licklider, *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End***

Barbara Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*  
Elisabeth Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*  
Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*  
Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda*

2/22: *Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 17-21 & 3-4

OPTIONAL READING:

Ivo Daalder, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America's Bosnia Policy*

Richard Holbrooke, *To End A War*

Ivo Daalder and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: America's War to Save Kosovo*

2/29: *Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 6-7, 10-12 & 22

OPTIONAL READING:

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Demobilization and Reintegration," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (August 2007) 531-567

Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman, *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict*

Michael Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization*, 58 (Winter 2004): 35-67

Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke, *Profiting from Peace: Managing the Resource Dimensions of Civil War*

Stephen John Stedman and Fred Tanner, *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics, and the Abuse of Human Suffering*

Karen Guttieri and Jessica Piombo, *Interim Governments: Institutional Bridges to Peace and Democracy?*

Building Civilian Capacity for U.S. Stability Operations: The Rule of Law Component," Special Report 118, U.S. Institute for Peace, April 2004

Robert B. Oakley, Michael J. Dziedzic, and Eliot M. Goldberg, *Policing the New World Order: Peace Operations and Public Security*

Robert Perito, *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him? America's Search for a Postconflict Stability Force*

Seth Jones et. al., *Establishing Law and Order After Conflict*

Jock Covey, Michael Dziedzic, and Leonard Hawley, *The Quest for Viable Peace: International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation*

Krishna Kumar, *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical Roles for International Assistance*

Antonio Donini, Norah Niland, and Karin Wermester, *Nation-Building Unraveled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan*

Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren, *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges*

William Maley, Charles Sampford, and Ramesh Thakur, *From Civil Strife to Civil Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States*

## PEACE SETTLEMENTS

- 3/7: Roy Licklider, "'The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993," *American Political Science Review*, 89 (September, 1995), 681-690  
*Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars*, entire  
"After Victory: An Alternative View of Democracy after Civil War," anonymous paper submitted to *Comparative Political Studies* for review, 2007
- OPTIONAL:  
Isak Svensson, "Fighting With Faith: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51, 6 (December 2007), 930-949  
Christine Bell, *Peace Agreements and Human Rights*  
Roy Licklider and Mia Bloom, *Living Together After Ethnic Killing: Exploring the Chaim Kaufmann Argument*  
Patrick Johnson, "Negotiated Settlements and Government Strategy in Civil War: Evidence from Darfur," *Civil Wars*, 9, 4 (December 2007), 359-377

## 3/14: PAPER PRESENTATIONS

## 3/21: SPRING BREAK

## 3/28: NO CLASS

## DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS

- 4/4: *Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 8-9  
*Leashing the Dogs of War*, chapter 33  
Valerie Bunce, "Global Patterns and Postcommunist Dynamics," *Orbis*, 50, 4 (September 2006), 621-627
- OPTIONAL READING:  
Elisabeth Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*  
Mark Peceny, *Democracy at the Point of Bayonets*  
Karin von Hippel, *Democracy by Force: U.S. Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World*  
Krishna Kumar, *Postconflict Elections, Democratization and International Assistance*

## PEACEKEEPING AND NATION BUILDING

- 4/11: *U.N. Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*, Acknowledgments and chapters 1-6

- 4/18: *U.N. Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*, chapters 7-10 and Appendices A and B  
 Michael Doyle & Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacekeeping: A  
 Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, 94,  
 4 (December 2000), 779-801  
 V. Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention  
 and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly*,  
 48, 2 (June 2004), 269-292.
- OPTIONAL READING:  
 Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United  
 Nations Peace Operations*  
 V. Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil  
 War*  
 Gary T. Dempsey, *Fool's Errands: America's Recent Encounters with Nation Building*  
 David Callahan, *Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict*  
 Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*  
 James Dobbins et. al., *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*  
 James Dobbins et. al., *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*  
 Garland H. Williams, *Engineering Peace: The Military Role in Postconflict  
 Reconstruction*  
 Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey Sachs and Joseph Stiglitz, *Escaping the Resource  
 Curse*  
 Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren, *Postconflict Development: Meeting New  
 Challenges*  
 William Maley, Charles Sampford, and Ramesh Thakur, *From Civil Strife to Civil  
 Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States*

## TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

- 4/25: *Overcoming Apartheid*, Preface and Acknowledgments and chapters 1-5
- 5/2: *Overcoming Apartheid*, Chapters 6-9 and Appendices A & B  
 David Mendeloff, "Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict  
 Peacebuilding: Curb the Enthusiasm?" *International Studies Review*, 6, 3  
 (Fall 2004) 355-380.
- OPTIONAL READING:  
 Fen Osler Hampson, *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail*  
 Robert Rothstein, *After the Peace: Resistance and Reconciliation*  
 Andrew Rigby, *Justice and Reconciliation After the Violence*  
 Martha Minow, *Breaking the Cycles of Hatred: Memory, Law and Repair*  
 Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide  
 and Mass Violence.*

Patricia Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*  
Gary Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals*  
Tim Judah, "The Fog of Justice," *New York Review of Books*, LI, 1 (January 15, 2004), pp. 23-25

**Making Justice Work.** The Report of the Century Foundation/Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Apprehending Indicted War Criminals

Elizabeth Cousens and Chetan Kumar, *Peacebuilding As Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*

Kimberly Maynard, *Healing Communities in Conflict: International Assistance in Complex Emergencies*

Cynthia Sampson and John Paul Lederach, *From the Ground Up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peacekeeping*

Nigel Biggar, *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*

Leigh Payne, *Unsettling Accounts: Neither Truth Nor Reconciliation in Confessions of State Violence*

Samantha Power, "A Problem from Hell": *America and the Age of Genocide*  
Peter Ronayne, *Never Again? The United States and the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide since the Holocaust*

Tom Perriello and Marieke Wierda, **Lessons from the Deployment of International Judges and Prosecutors in Kosovo.** International Center for Transitional Justice, New York, March 2006

Caitlin Reiger and Marieke Wierda, **The Serious Crimes Process in Timor Leste: In Retrospect.** International Center for Transitional Justice, New York, March 2006

Vanessa Pupavac, "War on the Couch: The Emotionology of the New International Security Paradigm," *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7, 2 (2004), 149-170.

David Mendeloff, "The Psychological Impact of Post-Conflict Truth-Telling: A Critical Examination"

Erica Bouris, *Complex Political Victims*

Michael Henderson, *Forgiveness: Breaking the Chain of Hate*

Paul van Tongeren, Malin Brenk, Marte Hellema, and Juliette Verhoeven, *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society*

Ifi Amadiume and Abdullahi An-Na'im, *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*

Elizabeth Cole, *Teaching the Violent Past: History, Education and Reconciliation*