

Political Science 395, Section 4  
How Civil Wars End  
Fall 2009

Roy Licklider  
licklide@rci.rutgers.edu  
732 932-9249 (Douglass office)

**CAREERS:** Students often want information about jobs related to international affairs. Careers in International Relations is an essay about different kinds of positions in this area and appropriate ways to prepare for them; it is on the political science department web-page at <http://polisci.rutgers.edu/undergraduate>. (For those who have already read it, the essay was substantially revised this summer by Professor Rhodes.) We are in the process of adding substantially more material including experiences of Rutgers alums.

**OFFICE HOURS (616 Hickman Hall):** Tuesday 2:30-5:00, Thursday 10:30-2:30, Friday 2:30-4:00

**WHAT IS THIS COURSE ABOUT?** After the Cold War, civil wars, wars within states, have become more prominent (although it's not clear they really are more numerous or more violent than before). Thus a central foreign policy question, for the U.S. and other developed states, is whether and how to intervene in such conflicts.

But this choice requires that we know something about how civil wars end, which means learning how people who have been killing one another with considerable skill and enthusiasm can come together to form a common political system. This seems obviously impossible, but in fact we know that almost all major states have done it at least once. (The U.S. has done it at least twice, after the Revolutionary War in which one historian asserts that as many people from New Jersey fought for the British as for the American side, and the Civil War when New Jersey was also divided.) So we know that it happens, but we do not really understand how. This question is also central to current U.S. involvement in Iraq, usually discussed as "nation building."

This seminar will focus on the ways in which civil wars end and states are formed afterward in the post-World War II era. The central concern will be to develop and test general statements which can guide our actions in the future.

**REQUIRED BOOKS (paperbacks at the Douglass Bookstores and New Jersey Books):**

William Lahneman, *Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century*

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

Anna Jarstad and Timothy Sisk, *From War to Democracy*

Andrew Rigby, *Justice and Reconciliation after the Violence*

A post-Cold War atlas

**All other materials in the syllabus should be available in one of two places. (1) Those materials which are available online from the library (mostly periodical articles) can be accessed directly through the IRIS system. They will not be placed on reserve. (2) Other materials which cannot be obtained through IRIS will be on electronic reserve, which allows you to download them at any computer. (Materials on reserve will be marked with an asterisk in the syllabus.) If for some reason the materials are not available, please notify me immediately. Regardless of how you obtain them, you are required to read the assigned material *before you come to class*; class sessions will consist primarily of discussions about the reading and related topics, and, as noted below, class participation will count a substantial portion of your grade.**

#### **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.

**10% READING QUIZZES:** Nine reading quizzes will be given during the semester at the beginning of class; they will not be announced in advance, and no makeups, excuses, or rewrites will be accepted. Each quiz will require you to demonstrate that you have read a specified part of the reading assignment for that day; outlining the major points and noting a few things which are unique to the assignment are the obvious ways to do this. Written notes (but no books or xeroxes) may be used. Quizzes will be graded pass or fail. Students with six passing grades will get an A for the reading portion of their final grades; those with five will get a B, those with four will get a C, those with three will get a D, and those with fewer than three will get an F.

**20% FINAL EXAMINATION** at the regularly scheduled time and place unless decided otherwise by the class

**40% RESEARCH PAPER:** Select *two* countries, at least one of which has had a civil war that has ended for five years. 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. Present brief histories (a page or two) of each, then discuss how they are *similar* and *different* and how these similarities and differences have influenced how their civil wars (or lack of them) have affected them.**

**You must submit your topic for approval to me in writing by September 22. Feel free to consult with me about it. All students will present ten-page written summaries of their papers on days noted in the syllabus. For each class during these three weeks, each student will be required to read summaries some of the projects being presented, so authors must bring sufficient copies for me and for your readers. Late excuses will not be accepted; if you have schedule conflicts, plan around them, and if you get sick, have someone else submit your paper. Each student is expected to critique papers of other students in writing before each class; these critiques will be graded and count as 10% of your grade and also be given to the author for use in revision, so submit two copies. During the class we will discuss the projects for that day.**

**Each student should plan to interview at least one individual from one of the countries of study. This should take place after most of the library research has been done; the aim is to clear up issues remaining after the usual sources have been exhausted. Among the possibilities are government officials at the United Nations missions or consulates in New York or authors of articles and books which you found particularly useful. Through the generosity of an alumnus, the political science department has money available to pay everyone's expenses for a day trip to New York; a few students can also be sent to Washington or Boston if necessary. As you do your research, keep track of individuals with whom you want to speak.**

**Draft presentations and final papers are due on a rolling basis (those who present early hand in early, etc.). Students will be assigned time slots by me at random early in the course; you may trade slots with someone else until the initial draft is due but not afterward.**

**Both the draft and final versions of the paper must be submitted to [www.turnitin.com](http://www.turnitin.com) electronically as well as in paper to me. Turnitin is an anti-plagiarism system which automatically compares the text of material to millions of published sources, web sites, and student papers.**

**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.**

**NOTE: Students must complete at least one version of the paper and the final exam in order to pass the course.**

**9/1: Introduction**

## **I. WHAT CAUSES CIVIL WARS AND CAN OUTSIDERS HELP PREVENT THEM?**

**9/4: CAUSES AND THEORIES OF PREVENTION**

**\*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***

***Military Intervention*, pp. 1-7 and 11-27**

**\*Bruce Jentelso, "Preventive Statecraft: A Realist Strategy for the Post-Cold War Era" in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, pp. 249-264**

## **II. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ONGOING CIVIL WARS**

**9/8: Monday classes**

**9/11: SOMALIA AND BOSNIA**

***Military Intervention*, chapters 2-3**

**9/15: HAITI AND SIERRA LEONE**

***Military Intervention*, chapters 6-7**

**9/18: EAST TIMOR**

***Military Intervention*, chapters 8-9**

## **III. ACHIEVING AND IMPLEMENTING PEACE AGREEMENTS**

### **A. CASES**

**9/22: INTRODUCTION TO CASES AND NICARAGUA**

**\*Roy Licklider, "Obstacles to Peace Settlements," pp. 697-718 in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict***

*Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 1 and 13

**9/25: EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA**  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 14-15

**9/29: RWANDA AND CAMBODIA**  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 16-17

**10/2: BOSNIA AND LEBANON**  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 18-19

**10/6: LIBERIA AND SRI LANKA**  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 20-21

## **B. SECURITY AND POLICING**

**10/9: *From War to Democracy*, chapters 2-3**

**10/13: *Ending Civil Wars*, chapters 6 & 11**

\*Martin P. Ganzglass, "Afterword: Rebuilding the Rule of Law in the Horn of Africa," pp. 340-350 in William Maley, Charles Sampford, and Ramesh Thakur, *From Civil Strife to Civil Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States*

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

## **PRESENTATIONS OF RESEARCH PROJECT DRAFTS**

**10/16: Group #1**

**10/20: Group #2**

**10/23: Group #3**

## **C. ECONOMY**

**10/27 NO CLASS** but material may be on a reading quiz in the next period  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 7

\*Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, chapter 6

**10/30: Group #4**

**11/3: Group #5**

#### **D. POLITICAL PROCESS**

**11/6: *From War to Democracy*, chapters 4-5**

**11/10: *Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 8  
*From War to Democracy*, chapter 6  
GROUP 1 PAPERS DUE**

**11/13: *From War to Democracy*, chapter 7  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 9  
GROUP 2 PAPERS DUE**

#### **E. INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND LOCAL OWNERSHIP**

**11/17: *Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 12  
\*Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, chapter 10  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 22  
GROUP 3 PAPERS DUE**

**11/20: *From War to Democracy*, chapters 8-9  
GROUP 4 PAPERS DUE**

#### **F. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

**11/24: 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.  
*Ending Civil Wars*, chapter 4  
\*Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*, chapter 3  
GROUP 5 PAPERS DUE**

#### **IV. FROM CIVIL WAR TO CIVIL SOCIETY–TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE**

**12/1: THE CONCEPT OF RECONCILIATION AND POST-WORLD WAR II EUROPE AND SPAIN**

*Justice and Reconciliation after the Violence*, Preface and chapters 1-2  
“Ethical Advice: Conflict Management vs. Human Rights in Ending Civil Wars”  
by Roy Licklider, *Journal of Human Rights*, 7 (2008), pp. 376-387.

**12/4: SPAIN AND LATIN AMERICA**

*Justice and Reconciliation after the Violence*, chapters 3-4

**12/7: POST-SOVIET EASTERN EUROPE AND SOUTH AFRICA**

*Justice and Reconciliation after the Violence*, chapters 5-6

**12/11: PALESTINE AND LESSONS LEARNED (?)**

*Justice and Reconciliation after the Violence*, chapters 7-9

#### **FINAL EXAMINATION**