

**Course Title: “CIVIL WARS: CAUSES, DYNAMICS, TERMINATION,
POST-WAR PEACE”**

Approved by Academic Council

16 May 2018

Instructor: Carter Johnson

Course type: elective

ECTS 4

Total hours 152

Email: johnsoncarter@gmail.com;

Any correspondence via email should have “Civil War Course” in the subject heading

OFFICE HOURS

Email me to arrange a time before class.

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 conflict, 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. The course will draw attention to civil wars in the post-Soviet region. Third, students will learn critical thinking and writing skills, which will be developed through the on-line discussions and weekly assignments.

REQUIREMENTS

Readings and Quiz:

Students are expected to have completed the readings by the start of each class. I have limited the readings to no more than two to three scholarly articles or chapters per class. For those of you interested in more reading on the topic, I include additional readings for each theme. The readings will be available electronically to all students at the start of the class. There will be a quiz at the start of each class to help motivate you to read and to consider the material.

Combined Seminars and Lectures:

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 short lecture to provide an overview of the topic and help to put your readings into context with other literatures. 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. However, the format of the courses will be on group discussions, with a focus on (i) clarifying the arguments of each author, (ii) critiquing the argument, and (iii) proposing alternatives, either in terms of research design, structure, evidence, logic, etc. I expect each student to actively participate.

Case Study Presentation:

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 will present your civil war in class, part descriptive, part analytical, with powerpoint or prezi. This will last no more than 12 minutes, followed by questions.

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 “Datasets” then “COW War Data” then “Intrastate War Data (v4.1)”. You will find a list of many civil wars, and you can select any civil war on that list that started after 1944, but I encourage you to choose a civil war in the Soviet space.

Exam:

There will be one written exam at the end of the semester, and the questions will be based on all material with questions that will be similar to the quiz questions.

GRADES

Presentation:	25%
In-class Quizzes:	35%
Exam:	40%

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

It is very important for you to be aware of the consequences of cheating, fabrication, facilitation, and plagiarism: any student that plagiarizes will receive a 0 and will be reported to the University for disciplinary proceedings.

LAPTOPS

You can use laptops to take notes during class, but keep in mind that students probably learn better when taking hand-written notes

(<http://www.psychologicalscience.org/index.php/news/releases/take-notes-by-hand-for-better-long-term-comprehension.html>).

If you need to take a call or message people on your phone, please exit the classroom to do so.

CLASSES

CLASS 1:

INTRODUCTION TO COURSE, SYLLABUS, EXPECTATIONS

OVERVIEW: TRENDS IN GLOBAL, INTRA-STATE CONFLICT

- Newman, Edward (2009): “Conflict Research and the 'Decline' of Civil War”. In: *Civil Wars* 11:3, pp. 255- 278.

Additional Reading:

- Lotta Themner and Peter Wallensteen, “Armed Conflicts, 1946-2011,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 49, no. 4 (July 2012): 565-57
- Gat, Azar (2013) “Is war declining – and why?” *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (2).
- Pinker, Steven. *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. New York: Viking, 2011. Print.
- Tilly, Charles (2002) “Violence, Terror, and Politics as Usual.” *Boston Review Summer* 21-4
 - <http://bostonreview.net/BR27.3/tilly.html>
- *Peace and Conflict 2016* (College Park: Center for International Development and Conflict Management)

CLASS 2:

DEFINITIONS OF CIVIL WAR

Readings:

- Sambanis, Nicholas (2004) “What Is Civil War?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6) pp.814-858.
 - Read only pp.814-825 and 829-831
- The Economist (2013) “Defining Conflicts: What Makes it a War?”
- New York Times (2006) “A Matter of Definition: What Makes a Civil War, and Who Declares It So?”

Additional Reading:

- Baev, P. K. (2007). Defining Civil War by Examining Post-Soviet Conflicts. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19(2), 247–268
- 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

Section B: Onset of Civil War

CLASS 3

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

- Barry R. Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47

Additional Readings:

- Ray, Subhasish (2016), "Sooner or later: The timing of ethnic conflict onsets after independence." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(6)
- Gurr, Ted Robert (2000) *Peoples Versus States* (Washington DC: USIP)
- Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 130-166.
- Kaufman, Stuart (1998) "Ethnic Fears Ethnic War in Karabakh," PONARS Working Paper 008
<https://www.csis.org/analysis/ponars-working-paper-008-ethnic-fears-and-ethnic-war-karabagh>

CLASS 4

"GREED, OPPORTUNITY, GRIEVANCE"

- Taydas, Zeynep, Jason Enia, and Patrick James. "Why Do Civil Wars Occur? Another Look at the Theoretical Dichotomy of Opportunity versus Grievance." *Review of International Studies Rev. Int. Stud.* 37.05 (2011): 2627-650.

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Michael L. Ross, *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations* (2012); Chapter 5
- Collier, David et al. (2003) *Breaking the Conflict Trap* (World Bank)
 - Chapter 3: "What Makes a Country Prone to Civil War?" Pages 53-79
- Wimmers (2013) *Waves of War*. USA: Cambridge University Press.
 - Introduction and Conclusion (only Intro and Conclusion are required reading but read more if you can, esp. chapter 5)
- Economist Article: "Civil Wars: The Global Menace of Civil Strife" May 22nd 2003
 - <http://www.economist.com/node/1795830>
- 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>
- 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
- 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
- Joshua R. Gubler and Joel Sawat Selway, (2012) “Horizontal Inequality, Crosscutting Cleavages, and Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; 56 pp.206-232
<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/56/2/206>

CLASS 5:

CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR: IDENTITY CONFLICT

Readings:

- Kaufman, Stuart (1998) “Ethnic Fears Ethnic War in Karabakh,” PONARS Working Paper 008

Additional Readings:

- Toft, Monica (2007) “Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War” *International Security* 31(4)
- Brown, Michael (1996) “Introduction” in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, Brown, Michael (ed.) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), pp. 1-29
- 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).
- Kuperman, Alan, “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (March 2008): 49-80.

CLASS 6:

TYPES OF CIVIL WAR: IDENTITY CONFLICTS VS IDEOLOGICAL

Readings:

- John Mueller, “The Banality of ‘Ethnic War’,” *International Security*, Summer 2000, pp. 42-70
- NY Times 1994, “Rwandians in Death Squad Say Choice Was Kill or Die”
- Kalyvas, Stathis (2003) “What is Political Violence? On the Ontology of Civil War” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3) pp. 475-494

Additional Readings If Interested:

- Kalyvas, Stathis (2001) “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* Vol.54
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2006) “What is an Ethnic War? Organization and Interests in Insurgencies” *Unpublished*
- Lyall, Jason (2010) “Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War,” *American Political Science Review*, 104 (1)
- Taras, Ray and Ganguly, Rajat (2006) *Understanding Ethnic Conflict* (New York: Longman)
 - Chapter 1: Ethnic Conflict on the World Stage

- Password: gvpt309ccar
- 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
- Nicolas Sambanis. 2001. “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 45(4): 259-82.
- 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 C: Dynamics

CLASS 7

DYNAMICS: DURATION OF CIVIL WARS

Readings:

- King, Charles (2001) “Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia’s Unrecognized States” *World Politics* Vol.53

Additional Readings:

- Salehyan, Idean 2007, “Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Group” *World Politics* 59(2).
- See all articles from the *Journal of Peace Research* 2004, Vol. 41, which is a special edition on duration
- Fearon, James. (2004) “Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?” *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3) 275-301
- Julian Wucherpfennig, Nils W. Metternich, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2012) “Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil War” *World Politics* Vol. 64, No. 1
- Hegre, Håvard (2004) “The Duration and Termination of Civil War” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol.41 pp. 243-252

CLASS 8

DYNAMICS: TERRORISM AND TARGETING CIVILIANS DURING CIVIL WAR STATE-LED AND NON-STATE ACTORS

Readings:

- Pape, Robert “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361.

- Dumitru and Johnson "Constructing Interethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some People Harmed Jews and Others Helped Them during the Holocaust in Romania." *World Pol. World Politics* 63.01 (2011): 1-42

Additional Readings

- Pierre-Richard Prosper and John B. Bellinger III, "Rex Tillerson wouldn't call Putin a war criminal. That was the right choice" *Washington Post*, January 14, 2017
- Downes, Alexander (2006) "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War" *International Security*
- Hughes, James (2007) "The Chechnya Conflict: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?" *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 15(3) pp.293-311.
- Kalyvas, Stathis (2004) "The Urban Bias in Civil War Research" *Security Studies* 13(3), Spring, pp.160-190
 - Critique of methods used in Valentino's Final Solutions
- Valentino, Benjamin *Final Solutions: Genocide and Mass Killings in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004)
 - Chapter 6 only: "Counterterrorism mass killings : Guatemala and Afghanistan"
- 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.
- Gross, Jan (2001) *Neighbors* (Princeton University Press)
- Strauss, Scott (2006), *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell University Press)

CLASS 9

APPLYING THEORY TO CASES

Zurcher, Christoph (2007) *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus* (London: New York University Press): Chapters 1, 2, 3

CLASS 10

CONTINUATION OF THEORY AND CASES

Zurcher, Christoph (2007) *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus* (London: New York University Press): Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7

Section D: Ending Conflict

CLASS 11

ENDING THE WAR: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION

Readings:

- 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

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Toft (2010) "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security*
- Mazzetti, Mark, "C.I.A. Study of Covert Aid Fueled Skepticism About Helping Syrian Rebels" *The New York Times*, October 14, 2014.
- 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.
- Gilligan and Sergenti, "Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 2 (July 2008): 89-122.
- "Civil Wars: How to Stop the Fighting, Sometimes" *Economist*, Nov.9, 2013
- Patrick M. Regan, "Interventions into Civil Wars: A Retrospective Survey with Prospective Ideas," *Civil Wars* 12, no. 4 (2010)
- Driscoll, Jesse. "Warlord Coalitions and Militia Politics." *Warlords and Coalition Politics in Post-Soviet States* (2015: Cambridge University Press).
 - Chapters 1, 5&6
- Betts, Richard (1994) "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* (November-December), pp. 20-33
- Licklider, Roy, ed. (1993) *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press)

CLASS 12:

ENDING CIVIL WAR III: PARTITION

Readings:

- Kaufmann, Chaim. (1996) "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20 (4) pp.136-175

Additional Reading

- Krebs, Ronald R., and Roy Licklider. "United They Fall: Why the International Community Should Not Promote Military Integration after Civil War." *International Security* 40.3 (2016): 93-138.
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2000) "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War" *World Politics*
- Johnson (2008) "Partitioning to Peace" *International Security*

CLASS 13:

ENDING THE WAR: 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

Additional Readings if Interested:

- Cecilia Albin and Daniel Druckman, "Equality Matters: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2012; 56, pp.155-182
<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/56/2/155>
- 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 14:

NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS

- Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008)
 - Introduction and Chapter 1

CLASS 15:

ENDING THE WAR: PEACEKEEPING

- Fortna, Virginia “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2, June 2004, pp. 269-292.

Additional Reading if Interested:

- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents’ Choices after Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Section E: Post-Conflict Transitions

CLASS 16:

POST CONFLICT PEACE

Readings:

- Paris, Roland (1997) “Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism” *International Security*
- Ahmed, Salman (2005) “Review Essay—No Size Fits All: Lessons in Making Peace and Rebuilding States,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February), pp.162-69

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.
- Smooha, Sammy and Hanf, Theodor (1992) “The Diverse Modes of Conflict-Regulation in Deeply Divided Societies,” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 33 pp.26-47
- Samii, Cyrus (2013), “Who wants to forgive and forget? Transitional justice preferences in postwar Burundi” *Journal of Peace Research* 50(2)