

CIVIL WARS

CAUSES, DYNAMICS, TERMINATION, POST-WAR TRANSITION

MA Course at Higher School of Economics
Fall 2012

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

OFFICE HOURS

I will be available 1 hour after the course.

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. 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:

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 per class or its equivalent (e.g., it may involve shorter newspaper articles). For those of you keen to read more 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 variety of book chapters and scholarly articles but only one cover-to-cover book:

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

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 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 (v4-0 or 4-1.CSV). 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.

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 four page (double-spaced, 1-inch margins, bibliography not counted as part of 4 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) (iii) provide an outline of your full paper; and (iv) a bibliography of the sources you are consulting. 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 later. One important dimension is connecting the readings from class to your case of civil war.

Assignment 2: The second assignment is a draft of your final paper and should be an application of the readings to your particular civil war. Your 15 page paper (double-spaced, 1-inch margins, bibliography not counted as part of 15 pages) should have (i) an introduction and conclusion; (ii) include why this case is considered an civil war and whether it is ethnic or ideological or other; (iii) include the possible causes of civil war as outlined in the class readings; (iii) include an analysis of your particularly civil war’s start, linking which theory best fits your case: it is important that you integrate what you read with your particular case; (iv) explain the war’s dynamics, and (v) explain the war’s termination – always applying theory from the readings to your civil war; and (vi) include 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 3: The third assignment is a final draft based on feedback from the second assignment. This 15 page paper (double-spaced, 1-inch margins, bibliography not counted as part of 15 pages).

Presentation

You will present your civil war in class, part descriptive, part analytical, with powerpoint and no more than 10 minutes, followed by questions.

GRADES

Presentation:	15%
Case Study Assignment 1:	15%
Case Study Assignment 2:	25%
Case Study Assignment 3:	30%
Attendance:	15%

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 HSE, a completed assignment that is satisfactory will never receive below a D grade.

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 for that assignment and will be reported to the University for disciplinary proceedings.

CLASSES

CLASS 1:

Introduction to Course, Syllabus, Expectations

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

Readings:

- Economist Article: “Civil Wars: The Global Menace of Civil Strife” May 22nd 2003
 - <http://www.economist.com/node/1795830>
- Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, and Gurr (2012) *Peace and Conflict 2012* (College Park: Center for International Development and Conflict Management)
 - Go to the website below and download the Executive Summary.
 - <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/pc/>
 - Read only pp.18
- Tilly, Charles (2002) “Violence, Terror, and Politics as Usual.” *Boston Review Summer* 21-4
 - <http://bostonreview.net/BR27.3/tilly.html>

CLASS 2:

Civil War: Definitions, Variations

Readings:

- Al-Jazeera, Video, “Is Syria in a State of Civil War?” August 26, 2012 (25 minutes)
 - <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidetsyria/2012/08/201282683723964944.html>
- Wong, Edward, “A Matter of Definition: What Makes a Civil War, and Who Declares It So?” *New York Times*, November 26, 2006
 - <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/26/world/middleeast/26war.html?pagewanted=all>
- 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>
- 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)
- 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 (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

CLASS 3:

Types of Civil War: Ethnic

Readings:

- Taras, Ray and Ganguly, Rajat (2006) *Understanding Ethnic Conflict* (New York: Longman)
 - Chapter 1: Ethnic Conflict on the World Stage
 - Password: gvpt309ccar
- John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," *International Security*, Summer 2000, pp. 42-70
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2006) "What is an Ethnic War? Organization and Interests in Insurgencies" *Unpublished*

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
- 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 B: Onset of Civil War

CLASS 4:

- Fearon and Laitin (2003) "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97(1)
- Kaufman, Stuart (1996) "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War" *International Security* 21(2)
- Kaufman, Stuart (1998), "Ethnic Fears and Ethnic War In Karabagh" [This is an early version of his book *Modern Hatreds* 2001]

CLASS 5:

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 6:

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

CLASS 7:

Causes of Civil War: 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 8:

Causes of Civil War: 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?"
- Kalyvas, Stathis (2003) "What is Political Violence? On the Ontology of Civil War" *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3) pp. 475-494
- 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>

- Kalyvas, Stathis (2001) “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* Vol.54
- Film: Spain, 1936: Prelude to Tragedy (1986)
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xFIgCRNq7hE>

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
- 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>

Section C: Duration and Dynamics

CLASS 9:

Duration of Civil Wars

Readings:

- Hegre, Håvard (2004) “The Duration and Termination of Civil War” *Journal of Peace Research* Vol.41 pp. 243-252
- King, Charles (2001) “Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia’s Unrecognized States” *World Politics* Vol.53
- Lyall, Jason (2010) “Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War,” *American Political Science Review*, 104 (1)
- 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 10:

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: “Counter guerrilla mass killings : Guatemala and Afghanistan”
- Downes, Alexander (2006) “Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War” *International Security*

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.

CLASS 11:

Understanding Rebel Organizations and Civilian Violence

Readings:

- Weinstein, Jeremy (2007) *Inside Rebellion* (Cambridge University Press); chapters 1-5

Section D: Ending Conflict

CLASS 12:

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

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 13:

Ending the War: Peacekeeping

- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work?*
- "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.

CLASS 14:

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
 - 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.
- Toft (2010) "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security*
- 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>

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 15:

Ending Civil War III: Partition

Readings:

- Kaufmann, Chaim. (1996) "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20 (4) pp.136-175
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2000) "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War" *World Politics*
- Johnson (2008) "Partitioning to Peace" *International Security*

Section E: Post-Conflict Transitions

CLASS 16:

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.