

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT**

**ISP-409/GOV-2122
Civil Wars: Theory and Policy**

Monica Duffy Toft
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Description

This course introduces students to the analytical and comparative study of civil wars. Historical and contemporary civil wars, including Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, El Salvador, Iraq, Lebanon, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, will be analyzed from a variety of perspectives, and prominent cases will be discussed in depth. The course will address the role of nationalism, interstate dimensions (including refugee flows and repatriation) external intervention, and conflict management and resolution. The course aims to provide students with solid theoretical and historical foundations, and to highlight the difficult policy dilemmas associated with civil wars, such as the tension between states' rights and human rights and whether to intervene. By the end of the course, students will be well prepared to think through policy options in the prevention and resolution of civil wars.

Required texts:

- Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: Penguin, 1996).
- Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History* (New York: Vintage, 1996).
- David Keen, *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*, Adelphi Paper 320 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Roy Licklider, ed., *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).
- Monica Duffy Toft, *The Geography of Ethnic Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- I. William Zartman, ed., *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars* (Brookings Institution Press, 1995).

Overview of course

| <i>Session</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Subject</i> |
|----------------|-------------|---|
| | | I. What are civil wars? |
| 1 | Sept 15 Th | Definitions and Concepts |
| 2 | Sept 20 Tu | Scope of Issue |
| | | II. Origins of civil wars: frameworks for analysis |
| 3 | Sept 22 Th | Security dilemmas and the Commitment Problem |
| 4 | Spt 27 Tu | Geography and Territory |
| 5 | Sept 29 Th | Identity Part I: Ethnicity and Brotherhood |
| 6 | Oct 4 Tu | Identity Part II: Nationalism and History |
| 7 | Oct 6 Th | Material Explanations Part I: Grievances |
| 8 | Oct 11 Tu | Material Explanations Part II: Greed |
| 9 | Oct 13 Th | Elite-driven explanations |
| 10 | Oct 18 Tu | Elite Manipulation in Yugoslavia |
| 11 | Oct 20 Th | Civil Wars Averted |
| | | III. Processes of civil wars |
| 12 | Oct 25 Tu | Economics: profiteers and victims |
| 13 | Oct 27 Th | Political Obstacles to Resolution |
| | | IV. Resolution & management of civil wars |
| 14 | Nov 1 Tu | How civil wars end |
| 15 | Nov 3 Th | Negotiating the end |
| 16 | Nov 8 Tu | Ending War in Sudan and El Salvador |
| 17 | Nov 10 Th | Intervention: normative, legal, and pragmatic issues |
| 18 | Nov 15 Tu | Diplomacy and peacekeeping |
| 19 | Nov 17 Th | Sanctions and aid |
| 20 | Nov 22 Tu | Military intervention |
| | Nov 24 Th | Thanksgiving No Class |
| 21 | Nov 29 Tu | Post War Reconsolidation Part I |
| 22 | Dec 1 Th | Post-War Reconsolidation Part II |
| 23 | Dec 6 Tu | Case Studies: Lebanon and Rwanda |
| 24 | Dec 8 Th | Partition |
| 25 | Dec 13 Tu | <i>Group presentations</i> |

Course readings

I. What Are Civil Wars?

- 1 15 Sept Th ***Definitions and Concepts***
- Harry Eckstein, "Introduction: Toward the Theoretical Study of Internal War," in *Internal War*, ed. Harry Eckstein (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 1-32.
 - Michael Brown, "Introduction," in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, ed. Michael Brown (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-29.
 - Stathis N. Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics*, Vol. 54, October 2001, pp. 99-118.
- 2 20 Sept Tu ***Scope of the Issue***
- I. William Zartman, "Dynamics and Constraints in Negotiations in Internal Conflicts," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 3-29.
 - Shashi Tharoor, "The Future of Civil Conflict," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 1-11.
 - Andrew Mack, "Civil War: Academic Research and the Policy Community," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 5, September 2002, pp. 515-525.
 - John Mueller, *The Remnants of War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 1-23.

II. Origins of Civil Wars: Frameworks for Analysis

- 3 22 Sept Th ***Security Dilemmas and the "Commitment Problem"***
(Case Study: Yugoslavia)
- James D. Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. David Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 107-126.
 - Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, chapters 1 and 3.
 - Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 1993, pp. 27-47.
 - Warren Zimmerman, "The Last Ambassador," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1995, pp. 2-20.
- 4 27 Sept Tu ***Geography and Territory***
- William Rose, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict: Some New Hypotheses," *Security Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Summer 2000, pp. 1-51.
 - Monica Duffy Toft, *The Geography of Ethnic Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), chapters 1-4.
 - Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, (Aug 2003) 97, pp. 343-361.

- 5 29 Sept Th ***Identity Part I: Ethnicity and Brotherhood***
(Case Studies: *Burundi, Rwanda*)
- Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 255-310.
 - Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1978, pp. 401-411.
 - Walker Connor, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3, July 1993, pp. 373-389.
 - Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Spring 1994, pp. 5-39.
 - Charles King, "The Myth of Ethnic Warfare (Review Essay)," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 6, November/December 2001, pp. 165-170.
 - Peter Uvin, "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 3, April 1999, pp. 253-271.
- 6 4 Oct Tu ***Identity Part II: Nationalism and History***
(Case Studies: *Sudan, Yugoslavia*)
- Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts* (New York: Vintage Press, 1994), Part I, pp. 3-78.
 - Francis Mading Deng, "Negotiating a Hidden Agenda: Sudan's Conflict of Identities," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 77-102.
 - Recommended: Giuseppe Mazzini, *Selected Writings*, ed. Nagendranath Gangulee (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1974), pp. 66-96.
- 7 6 Oct Th ***Material Explanations Part I: Grievances***
(Case Studies: *Tajikistan, Yugoslavia*)
- James Davies, "The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfaction as a Cause of some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion," in *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Ted Robert Gurr and Hugh Davis Graham (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969), Vol. 2, pp. 547-576.
 - Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 3, April 1973, pp. 425-447.
 - Muriel Atkin, "Thwarted Democracy in Tajikistan," in *Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, eds. Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 277-311.
 - Nicolas Sambanis, "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part I)," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 45, No. 3, June 2001, pp. 259-282.
 - Michael L. Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 1, Winter 2004, pp. 35-67.

- 8 11 Oct Tu **Material Explanations Part II: Greed and Opportunity
(Case Study: Sierra Leone)**
- Alfred B Zack-Williams, "Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War, 1991-98," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, February 1999, pp. 143-162.
 - James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1, February 2003, pp. 75-90.
 - Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 56, No. 4, October 2004, pp. 563-595.
 - Philippe Le Billon, *Fuelling War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflict*, Adelphi Paper No. 373 (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 29-49.
- 9 13 Oct Th **Elite-Driven Explanations**
- Paul Brass, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia," in *Political Identity in South Asia*, eds. David Taylor and Malcom Yapp (London: Curzon, 1979), pp. 35-77.
 - Russell Hardin, "Violent Conflicts," in *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 142-182.
 - Elizabeth J. Wood, "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador," *Comparative Political Studies*, 2001.
- 10 18 Oct Tu **Elite Manipulation in Yugoslavia**
- Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, chapters 2 and 4.
 - V.P. Gagnon, Jr., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Winter 1994/95, pp. 130-166.
 - Rui J. P. deFigueiredo and Barry R. Weingast, "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," in *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*, ed. Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 261-302.
- 11 20 Oct Th **Civil Wars Averted**
- Jim Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol 90, No. 4, December 1996, pp. 715-735.
 - David D. Laitin, "Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 8, October 2001, pp. 839-861.
 - Sergey Khrychikov and Hugh Miall, "Conflict Prevention in Estonia: The Role of the Electoral System," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 33, No. 2, June 2002, pp. 193-208.
 - Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98, No. 4, November 2004, pp. 529-545.
 - Erin Jenne, "A Bargaining Theory of Minority Demands: Explaining the Dog that Did Not Bite in 1990s Yugoslavia," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 4, December 2004, pp. 729-754.

III. Processes of Civil Wars

- 12 25 Oct Tu **Economics: Profiteers and Victims**
- Mark Bradbury, "Sudan: International Responses to War in the Nuba Mountains," *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 25, No. 77, Sep 1998, pp. 463-474.
 - David Keen, *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*, Adelphi Paper No. 320 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 1-80.
 - Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2, July 2001, pp. 524-552.

13 27 Oct Th

Political Obstacles to Resolution

- Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome," *World Politics*, Vol. 23, No. 4, July 1971, pp. 665-683.
- Mary Jane Deeb and Marius Deeb "Internal Negotiations in a Centralist Conflict: Lebanon," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 125-146.
- Daniel Druckman and Justin Green, "Playing Two Games: Internal Negotiations in the Philippines," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 299-331.
- Myron Weiner, "Bad Neighbors, Bad Neighborhoods: An Inquiry into the Causes of Refugee Flows," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Summer 1996, pp. 5-42.
- Stuart Horsman, "Uzbekistan's Involvement in the Tajik Civil War 1992-97: Domestic Considerations," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 37-48.

IV. Resolution and Management of Civil Wars

14 1 Nov Tu

How Civil Wars End

- Roy Licklider, "How Civil Wars End: Questions and Methods," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 3-19.
- Jane E. Holl, "When War Doesn't Work: Understanding the Relationship between the Battlefield and the Negotiating Table," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 269-291.
- R.H. Wagner, "The Causes of Peace," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 235-268.
- Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3, September 1995, pp. 681-690.
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Provisions and Benefit and Harm: Making Negotiated Settlements Stick," Harvard University Manuscript, 2005.

15 3 Nov Th

Negotiating the End

- I. William Zartman, "The Unfinished Agenda: Negotiating Internal Conflicts," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 20-36.
- Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Summer 1997, pp. 335-364.
- Virginia Page Fortna, "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Spring 2003, pp. 337-372.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, "Making and Keeping Peace," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 2, Spring 2005, pp. 261-292.

- 16 8 Nov Tu ***Ending War in Sudan and El Salvador***
- Donald Rothchild and Caroline Hartzell, "The Peace Process in the Sudan, 1971-1972," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 63-93.
 - Randolph Martin, "Sudan's Perfect War," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2, March/April 2002, pp.111-127.
 - Joanna Spear, "Demobilization and Disarmament: Key Implementation Issues," in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 141-159.
 - Charles T. Call, "Assessing El Salvador's Transition from Civil War to Peace," in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 383-420.
 - Marc Lacey, "Sudan and Southern Rebels Sign Deal Ending Civil War," *New York Times*, January 10, 2005.
- 17 10 Nov Th ***Intervention: Normative, Legal, and Pragmatic Issues***
- Amitai Etzioni, "The Evils of Self-Determination," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1993, No. 89, pp. 21-34.
 - Richard Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6, November/December 1994, pp. 20-33.
 - Stephen D. Goose and Frank Smyth, "Arming Genocide in Rwanda," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 5, September/October 1994, pp. 86-96.
 - Edward N. Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 4, July/August 1999, pp. 36-44.
 - Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6, November/December 2002, pp. 99-110.
 - Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 1, January/February 2005, pp. 123-133.
- 18 15 Nov Tu ***Diplomacy and Peacekeeping***
- Howard Wriggins, "Sri Lanka: Negotiations in a Secessionist Conflict," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 35-58.
 - Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, "The United Nations and Internal Conflict," in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, ed. Michael Brown (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 489-535.
 - Mark Danner, "Clinton, the UN, and the Bosnian Disaster," *New York Review of Books*, December 18, 1997, pp. 65-81.
- 19 17 Nov Th ***Economic Sanctions and Humanitarian Aid***
- Lori Fisler Damrosch, "The Civilian Impact of Economic Sanctions," in *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993), pp. 274-315.
 - Jonathan Goodhand and Nick Lewer, "Sri Lanka: NGOS and Peace-building in Complex Political Emergencies," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, February 1999, pp. 69-87.
 - David Hendrickson, "The Democratic Crusade: Intervention, Economic Sanctions and Engagement," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 4, Winter 1994/95, pp. 18-30.

- 20 22 Nov Tu ***Military Intervention***
- Bogdan Denitch, "A Botched Just War," *Dissent*, Vol. 46, No. 3, Summer 1999, pp. 7-10.
 - Catherine Guicherd, "International Law and the War in Kosovo," *Survival*, Vol. 41, No. 2, Summer 1999, pp. 19-33.
 - Michael O'Hanlon, "Saving Lives with Force: An Agenda for Expanding the ACRI," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 2, Spring 2002, pp. 289-300.
 - Patrick M. Regan, "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46, No. 1, February 2002, pp. 55-73.
 - Virginia Page Fortna, "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.
- 24 Nov Th ***No Class: Thanksgiving***
- 21 29 Nov Tu ***Post-War Reconsolidation Part I***
- Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Conflict Management for Policymakers," in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, Joseph Montville, ed. (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1990), pp. 115-132.
 - Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson, "Making Peace Settlements Work," *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1996, pp. 54-71.
 - Nina Caspersen, "Good Fences Make Good Neighbours? A Comparison of Conflict-Regulation Strategies in Postwar Bosnia," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41, No. 5, September 2004, pp. 569-588.
- 22 1 Dec Th ***Post-War Reconsolidation Part II***
- Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Fall 1997, pp. 54-89.
 - David Wippman, "Practical and Legal Constraints on Internal Power Sharing," in *International Law and Ethnic Conflicts*, ed. David Wippman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 211-241.
 - Matthew Hoddie and Caroline Hartzell, "Signals of Reconciliation: Institution-Building and the Resolution of Civil Wars," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, March 2005, pp. 21-40.
- 23 6 Dec Tu ***Case Studies: Lebanon and Rwanda***
- Aziz Abu-Hamad, "Communal strife in Lebanon: Ancient Animosity or State Intervention?" *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Summer 1995, pp. 231-254.
 - Philip Gourevitch, "Letter from Rwanda: After the Genocide," *The New Yorker*, December 18, 1995.
 - Philip Gourevitch, "Letter from Rwanda: The Return," *The New Yorker*, January 20, 1997, pp. 44-54.
 - Michael C. Hudson, "Lebanon after Ta'if: Another Reform Opportunity Lost?" *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Winter 1999, pp. 27-40.
 - Marie-Joelle Zahar, "Peace By Unconventional Means: Lebanon's Ta'if Agreement," in *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, ed. Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 567-597.

24 8 Dec Th

Partition

- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Van Evera, "When Peace Means War," *The New Republic*, December 18, 1995, pp. 16-21.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 4, Spring 1996, pp. 136-175.
- Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1, January/February 1997, pp. 22-34.
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 4, July 2000, pp. 437-483.
- Leslie H. Gelb, "The Three-State Solution," *New York Times*, November 25, 2003.

25 13 Dec Tu

Group Presentations