

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

KSG ISP-409 Civil Wars: Theory and Policy

Monica Duffy Toft

This course introduces students to the analytical and comparative study of civil wars. Historical and contemporary civil wars will be analyzed from a variety of perspectives, and prominent cases (e.g. Chechnya, Sudan, Yugoslavia, and Zimbabwe) 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. Additionally, each student will choose one civil war at the beginning of the course and be the class expert on that war.

Office hours:

A sign-up sheet will be posted outside of Professor Toft's door. Her office is L376, telephone 495-5154, e-mail mtoft@wcfia.harvard.edu.

Course requirements:

This is a graduate-level course. Grades will be based on class attendance, preparation, participation, and written assignments. There are six written assignments: five short memoranda and a longer research and policy paper on a civil war. There is also a group presentation. Details of these assignments will be explained in class.

Attendance and participation: 10% of grade

Group Presentation: 15% of grade

Memoranda—a total of five: 25% of grade

Research and policy essay: 50% of grade

Course materials:

Course packets will be available for purchase at the Course Materials Office. Required books will be available for purchase at the Harvard Coop. Copies of the readings will be on reserve at the KSG library. There are six texts:

Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*. Penguin Press, 1996. revised edition.

Robert D. Kaplan. *Balkan Ghosts*. Vintage Press, 1996. 2nd edition.

David Keen. *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*. Adelphi Paper 320, IISS/Oxford University Press, 1998.

Roy Licklider, ed. *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*. New York University Press, 1993.

Michael O'Hanlon. *Saving Lives with Force: Military Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention*. Brookings Institution Press, 1997.

I. William Zartman, ed. *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars*. Brookings Institution Press, 1995.

Enrollment:

Enrollment is open and there are no prerequisites. Auditors may be permitted at the discretion of the instructor.

Overview of course

<i>Session</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
I. What are civil wars?			
1	Sep 19 tues	Overview of civil wars and violence	
2	Sep 21 thur	Continued	
II. Origins of civil wars: frameworks for analysis			
3	Sep 26 tues	Security dilemma explanations	1 st memo
4	Sep 28 thur	Case for discussion: Yugoslavia	
5	Oct 3 tues	Modernization and relative deprivation	2 nd memo
6	Oct 5 thur	Cases for discussion: Sierra Leone and Tajikistan	
7	Oct 10 tues	Nationalism and identity	3 rd memo
8	Oct 12 thur	Cases for discussion: Sudan and Yugoslavia	
9	Oct 17 tues	Elite-driven explanations	4 th memo
10	Oct 19 thur	Case for discussion: Yugoslavia	
III. Processes of civil wars			
11	Oct 24 tues	Economics of civil wars: profiteers and victims	5 th memo
12	Oct 26 thur	Politics during civil wars	6 th memo
13	Oct 31 tues	Obstacles to resolution	7 th memo
IV. Resolution & management of civil wars			
14	Nov 2 thur	How civil wars end	8 th memo
15	Nov 7 tues	Negotiating an end	9 th memo
16	Nov 9 thur	Cases for discussion: Sudan and Zimbabwe	
17	Nov 14 tues	Intervention: normative, legal, and pragmatic issues	10 th memo
18	Nov 16 thur	Diplomacy and peacekeeping	
19	Nov 21 tues	Sanctions and aid	
20	Nov 28 tues	Military intervention	
21	Nov 30 thur	Political reconsolidation after war	
22	Dec 5 tues	Continued	
23	Dec 7 thur	Cases for discussion: Lebanon, Rwanda, Yugoslavia	
24	Dec 12 tues	Partition	
25	Dec 14 thur	<i>Group presentations</i>	
26	Dec 19 tues	<i>Group presentations</i>	
Dec 20 Wed		Research and policy paper due at noon	

Course Readings

<i>Session</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject and assigned readings</i>
		I. What are civil wars?
1	Sep 19 tues	Overview of civil wars and violence Harry Eckstein, "Introduction: Toward the Theoretical Study of Internal War," in <i>Internal War</i> , Harry Eckstein, ed. (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 1-32. Michael Brown, "Introduction," in <i>The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict</i> , Michael Brown, ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-29.
2	Sep 21 thur	Overview continued Ted Robert Gurr, "Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System," <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> , Vol. 38, 1994, pp. 347-377. I. William Zartman, "Dynamics and Constraints in Negotiations in Internal Conflicts," in <i>Elusive Peace</i> , pp. 3-29. Jim Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," <i>American Political Science Review</i> , Vol 90, No. 4, December 1996, pp. 715-735. Shashi Tharoor, "The Future of Civil Conflict," <i>World Policy Journal</i> , Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 1-11.
		II. Origins of civil wars: frameworks for analysis
3	Sep 26 tues	Security dilemma explanations Robert Jervis "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," <i>World Politics</i> , January 1978, pp. 167-214. Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," <i>Survival</i> , Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 1993, pp. 27-47. James Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in <i>The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict</i> , David Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 107-126.
4	Sep 28 thur	Case for discussion: Yugoslavia Misha Glenny, <i>The Fall of Yugoslavia</i> , chapters 1 and 3. Warren Zimmerman, "The Last Ambassador," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , March/April 1995.
5	Oct 3 tues	Material explanations: modernization and relative deprivation James Davies, "The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfaction as a Cause of some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion," in <i>Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives</i> , Ted Robert Gurr and Hugh Davis Graham, eds. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1969) Vol. 2, pp. 547-576. Donald Horowitz, "Conflict Theory and Conflict Motives," in <i>Ethnic Groups in Conflict</i> (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 95-140. Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" <i>Comparative Politics</i> , Vol. 5, No. 3, April 1973, pp. 425-447.
6	Oct 5 thur	Cases for discussion: Sierra Leone and Tajikistan Alfred B Zack-Williams, "Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War, 1991-98," <i>Third World Quarterly</i> , Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 143-162. Muriel Atkin, "Thwarted Democracy in Tajikistan," in <i>Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus</i> , Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 277-311.

- 7 Oct 10 tues ***Non-material explanations: nationalism and identity***
 Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States," in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (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, "Eco- or Ethno- Nationalism?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 7, October 1984, pp. 342-359.
 Chris Hedges, "In Bosnia's Schools, 3 Ways Never to Learn from History," *The New York Times*, Nov 25, 1997, p. A1.
 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.
- 8 Oct 12 thur ***Cases for discussion: Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, and Yugoslavia***
 Francis Mading Deng, "Negotiating a Hidden Agenda: Sudan's Conflict of Identities," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 77-102.
 Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts* (New York: Vintage Press, 1994), Part I.
 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.
- 9 Oct 17 tues ***Elite-driven explanations***
 Paul Brass, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia," in *Political Identity in South Asia*, David Taylor and Malcom Yapp, eds. (Curzon Press, London, 1979), pp. 35-77.
 Peter Gourevitch, "The Reemergence of Peripheral Nationalisms: Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial Distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 21, No. 3, July 1979, pp. 302-322.
 Russell Hardin, "Violent Conflicts," in *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 142-182.
- 10 Oct 19 thur ***Case for discussion: Yugoslavia***
 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.
 Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, chapters 2 and 4.
- 11 Oct 24 tues **III. Internal and external factors of civil wars**
Economics of civil wars: profiteers and victims
 David Keen, "The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars," Adelphi Paper.
 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.
- 12 Oct 26 thur ***Politics during civil wars***
 Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome," *World Politics*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 665-683.
 Myron Wiener, "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.
- 13 Oct 31 tues ***Obstacles to Resolution***
 Daniel Druckman and Justin Green, "Playing Two Games: Internal Negotiations in the Philippines," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 299-331.
 Mary Jane Deeb and Marius Deeb "Internal Negotiations in a Centralist Conflict: Lebanon," in *Elusive Peace*, pp. 125-146.
 Pierre Atlas and Roy Licklider, "Conflict among Former Allies after Civil War Settlement: Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Lebanon," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1999, pp. 35-54.
- 14 Nov 2 thur **IV. Resolution & management of civil wars**

- How civil wars end***
 Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3, September 1995, pp. 681-690.
 Roy Licklider, "How Civil Wars End: Questions and Methods," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 3-19.
 R.H. Wagner, "The Causes of Peace," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 235-268.
- 15 Nov 7 tues ***Negotiating an end***
 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.
 I. William Zartman, "The Unfinished Agenda: Negotiating Internal Conflicts," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 20-36.
- 16 Nov 9 thur ***Cases for discussion: Sudan and Zimbabwe***
 Donald Rothschild and Caroline Hartzell, "The Peace Process in the Sudan, 1971-1972," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 63-93.
 Stephen John Stedman, "The End of the Zimbabwean Civil War," in *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 125-163.
- 17 Nov 14 tues ***Intervention: normative, legal, and pragmatic issues***
 Amitai Etzioni, "The Evils of Self-Determination," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1992, No. 89, pp. 21-34.
 Stephen D. Goose and Frank Smyth, "Arming Genocide in Rwanda," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 5, Sep-Oct 1994, pp. 86-96.
 Richard Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6, Nov-Dec 1994, pp. 20-33.
 Graham E. Fuller, "Redrawing the World's Borders," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Spring 1997, pp. 11-21.
 Edward N. Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 4, Jul/Aug 1999, pp. 36-44.
- 18 Nov 16 thur ***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*, Michael Brown, ed. (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 Nov 21 tues ***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.
 David Hendrickson, "The Democratic Crusade: Intervention, Economic Sanctions and Engagement," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 4, Winter 1994/95, pp. 18-30.
 Jonathan Goodhand, "Sri Lanka: NGOS and Peace-building in Complex Political Emergencies," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Feb 1999, pp. 69-87.
- 20 Nov 28 tues ***Military intervention***
 Michael O'Hanlon, *Saving Lives with Force*.
 Catherine Guicherd, "International Law and the War in Kosovo," *Survival*, Vol. 41, No. 2, Summer 1999, pp. 19-33.
 Bogdan Denitch, "A Botched Just War," *Dissent*, Vol. 46, No. 3, Sum 1999, pp. 7-10.
- 21 Nov 30 thur ***Political reconsolidation after war***
 Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Conflict Management for Policymakers," in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, Joseph Montville, ed. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), pp. 115-132.
 Sammy Smooha and Theodor Hanf, "The Diverse Modes of Conflict-Regulation in Deeply Divided Societies," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 33, 1992, pp. 26-47.

- Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson, "Making Peace Settlements Work," *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1996, pp. 54-71.
- Barbara Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War," *International Security*, Fall 1999, pp. 127-155.
- 22 Dec 5 tues ***Political reconsolidation after war continued***
 Jeffrey Herbst, "Responding to State Failure in Africa," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Winter 1996/97, pp. 120-144.
 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*, David Wippman, ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 211-241.
 Caroline Hartzell, Matthew Hodie, and Donald Rothchild, "Stabilizing the Peace after Civil War," *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 1.
- 23 Dec 7 thur ***Cases for discussion: Lebanon and Rwanda***
 Aziz Abu-Hamad, "Communal strife in Lebanon: Ancient Animosities 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*, New York, Dec 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.
- 24 Dec 12 tues ***Partition***
 John Mearsheimer, Stephen Van Evera, and Michael Lind, "When Peace Means War," *The New Republic*, Dec 18, 1995, p. 16.
 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, Jan/Feb1997, pp. 22-34.
 Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to War," *World Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 4, July 2000, pp. 437-483.
- 25 Dec 14 ***Group presentations***
 26 Dec 19 ***Group presentations***