

PSCI 3193: INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR - CIVIL WAR

Fall 2010

Instructor: Curtis Bell

Office: Ketchum 124, Hours: MW 10:00-11:30 and By Appt.

Section 001:
Muenzinger E431
MWF 9:00-9:50

Section 002:
Ketchum 235
MWF 12:00-12:50

Course Description

Civil war is the most prevalent form of large-scale violent conflict in the international system. Relative to wars between states, civil wars involved three times as many states and claimed five times as many lives during the second half of the twentieth century.

Scholars continue to debate the causes of these deadly conflicts and we will take part in this important discussion this semester. Primordial ethnic differences, opportunistic elites, natural resources, poverty, authoritarianism, and even climate change are among the primary explanations proposed by the political scientists, anthropologists, and economists studying these wars. This intense and persisting debate makes civil war one of the more puzzling international behaviors witnessed in the contemporary international system.

This semester you will evaluate some of the major theories of civil war with intensive week-long case studies of ten civil wars spanning four continents. As you consider the merits of various explanations for civil war, you will contribute to this discussion by devising your own theory of civil war, which you will use to assess the future risk of civil war in the state of your choice.

Course Prerequisite

The prerequisite to this course is PSCI 2223, Introduction to International Relations. The instructor has the authority to drop any student who has not passed PSCI 2223 prior to the beginning of this semester.

Assessment

The main requirements of this course include one presentation, three exams, and one paper that you will submit in a few iterations. Each of the components of your grade is described in greater detail below.

Exam 1 (15%)

[Fri 17 Sep]

We will spend the first four weeks of the semester discussing the more important theories of civil war. At the end of this section of the course, you will take an in-class short-answer exam on these theories.

Exam 2 (15%)

[Mon 25 Oct]

On Monday 25 October you will take an in-class short-answer exam on the first five cases we cover. This exam will ask you to weigh theories of civil war in light of the cases discussed in class.

Exam 3 (15%)

[Mon 6 Dec]

On Monday 6 December you will take a similar in-class short-answer exam on the second five cases we cover.

Presentation (10%)

[Date TBD]

Following the first exam, we will spend ten weeks examining theories of civil war in light of ten case studies. On Wednesday and Friday of each of the weeks dedicated to case studies (see schedule below for greater detail), a panel of 2-3 experts will present and help lead discussion on an important aspect of the case. These experts will be required to do additional reading on the case, deliver a brief presentation on the case (10 minutes per person), and help facilitate discussion following the presentations. Note that you are not responsible for the entire class period. Your job is to provide the class with some of the background information and contending perspectives that are necessary for us to have a fruitful discussion.

You will be an expert for one session and presentation dates will be assigned on Monday 13 September. A “case file” of additional readings for each case is posted on CULearn to help you get started. Be creative in your presentations and get the class involved! I *strongly* encourage you to discuss your presentation with me before your presentation date. Your grade will be determined accordingly:

- **Research Grade (50%)** You will demonstrate the depth and breadth of your research by completing an *annotated bibliography* to be turned in at the beginning of class on your presentation date. An annotated bibliography is a list of references, but unlike a Works Cited page, each reference is followed by a short 2-3 sentence description of the source. A short document on how to prepare an annotated bibliography is posted on CULearn. I would expect no fewer than five reputable sources in your annotated bibliography.
- **Delivery and Preparation (50%)** To maximize this part of the grade, make sure to clearly delineate your role from the roles of other group members (reduce overlap

and repetition), do plenty of research, prepare your presentation, and be ready to answer questions from the class following the presentation. Be aware of the time constraints on your presentation.

Missed Presentation: The presentation is a major part of your grade. Should you miss your presentation due to illness, emergency, etc., you can make-up the presentation with a 6-8 page paper on the question to be covered by your presentation. These make-up assignments will be due on the Monday following your presentation date. This option is available to you only if I have advance notice that you must miss your presentation.

Civil War Risk Assessment (40%)

You will have one major writing assignment for this course. Taking the role of a State Department analyst, you will complete a 10-12 page assessment of the risk of civil war in the country of your choice. Your risk assessment should accurately evaluate the current status of your country, thoughtfully determine the likelihood that your country will fall into war in the next year, and propose some actions the government or international community might take to reduce the risk of war. Your argument should rest on a coherent theory of civil war onset, which may be wholly original or adapted from the theories we read early in the semester. I expect you to support your thesis and rebut against counterarguments by drawing parallels between your country and some of the cases we study in class. We will discuss this paper in greater detail after the first exam.

Country Backgrounder (10% - 4-6 pages)

[Fri 4 Oct]

The first part of this assignment is a Country Backgrounder. This short paper of 4-6 pages should briefly introduce the reader to the history and current status of the country you choose for your final paper. You will give special attention to important civil war risk factors, such as ethnic diversity, natural resource wealth, and a history of conflict. Be sure to submit a Works Cited page with this paper.

First Draft (10% - 7-9 pages)

[Fri 12 Nov]

Six weeks after the backgrounder is due, you will submit the first draft of your paper. This paper should integrate some of the revisions you make to your backgrounder, but you will also add your argument and some supporting evidence from the cases we cover in class. Your argument need not be completely settled and decided upon at this point. This is an opportunity for you to get feedback so you can have a polished and persuasive paper to submit at the end of the semester.

Final Draft (20% - 10-12 pages)

[Wed 15 Dec]

The final version of your paper will be due during finals week at the end of the semester. Papers must be submitted to me via CULearn by 8AM on Wednesday 15 December. No extensions will be granted and no late papers will be accepted. Because final grades are due to the registrar shortly after this date, there is no room for flexibility here. Remember to back-up your work frequently and email your papers to yourselves incessantly.

Late Papers: Papers are due at the beginning of class on the due date. Late papers are penalized 15% for every 24-hour period following the start of class. For example, if a paper is due at noon on Friday, it is penalized 15% if it is turned in by Saturday at noon, 30% if it is turned in before Sunday at noon, etc.

The final paper may not be submitted late.

Attendance and Participation (5%)

This is an upper-level seminar and you are expected to participate regularly. You should form strong opinions and develop interesting questions over the course of the semester, and the course will be better for all students involved if you share your thoughts often.

Course Policies

Course Conduct: Much of our class will consist of discussion and debate. Strong opinions are encouraged, but you are also expected to be professional and respectful at all times. Rude behavior will result in a verbal warning, and persisting rude behavior will result in a grade deduction.

Academic Honesty: **Plagiarism will not be tolerated in this course. Any plagiarism will result in course failure and referral to the Honor Council. If you have any questions regarding what constitutes plagiarism, please visit my office hours BEFORE submitting your paper.** Your first reference regarding what constitutes plagiarism should be the brief reading on plagiarism that is assigned for the second class session. I strongly encourage you to read the university's policies on plagiarism as well as your rights should you be accused of plagiarism. These documents are available online at <http://www.colorado.edu/honorcode/>

Special Considerations: In accordance with the Americans with Disabilities Act, faculty are required to make "reasonable and timely accommodations" for students with disabilities. By university policy, that obligation only extends to students who have registered with the Office of Disability Services, which makes the determination of whether, for example, students have real learning disorders. If you are a student with a disability, please notify the professor in writing within the first two weeks of semester what accommodations are needed. Please provide me documentation from Disability Services (303-492-8671, Willard 322, www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices). If you have religious obligations that may conflict with this course, please notify me in writing within the first two weeks of semester in order to seek a reasonable and fair arrangement. The campus policy regarding religious observance is available at www.colorado.edu/policies.fac_relig.html.

Course Outline

All readings are available on CULearn.

1. Mon 23 Aug - Fri 27 Aug [Ethnicity and Civil War]

- MON: Course Introduction (No Reading)
- WED: Gurr, Ted R. 2000. *Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press. Chapter 3.
- WED: Indiana University. 2004. "Plagiarism: What it is and How to Avoid it."
- FRI: Bowen, John R. 1996. "The Myth of Ethnic Conflict." *Journal of Democracy* 7(4): 3-14.

2. Mon 30 Aug - Fri 3 Sep [Greed and Feasibility]

- MON: Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563-595.
- WED: Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- FRI: Collier, Paul. 2000. "Rebellion as Quasi-Criminal Activity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44: (839-853).

3. Mon 6 Sep - Fri 10 Sep [Environmental Causes of Civil War]

- MON: No Class (Labor Day)
- WED: Ross, Michael L. 2004. "What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 337-356.
- FRI: Reuveny, Rafael. 2007. "Climate Change-Induced Migration and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography* 26(6): 656-673.

4. Mon 13 Sep - Fri 17 Sep [Domestic and International Politics, Exam 1]

- MON: Hegre, Håvard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2001. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *American Political Science Review* 95(1): 33-48.
- WED: Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede. 2007. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(3): 293-309.
- FRI: Exam 1

Cases (**Marks Required Reading)

5. Mon 20 Sep - Fri 24 Sep [Sudan]

- *WED Discussion*: Why was peace reached in the 1970s, and why did the war recommence in the 1980s?
- *FRI Discussion*: Will the Comprehensive Peace Agreement hold, or is the South destined to return to war?
- **Daly, M. W. 1993. "Broken Bridge and Empty Basket: The Political and Economic Background of the Sudanese Civil War." In: Daly, M.W. and Sikanga, Ahmad Alawad (eds.). *Civil War in the Sudan*. London: British Academic Press. pp. 1-26.
- **Deng, Francis M. 1995. *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. Chapter 1.
- Deng, Francis M. 1995. *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Chapter 4.
- Martin, Randolph. 2002. "Sudan's Perfect War." *Foreign Affairs*, 81(2): 111-127.

6. Mon 27 Sep - Fri 1 Oct [Darfur]

- *WED Discussion*: To what extent is this an ethnic conflict?
- *FRI Discussion*: To what extent is this an environmental conflict?
- **Prunier, Gerard. 2007. *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*. Revised and Updated Edition. New York: Ithaca University Press. Chapters 1-2.
- **Tubiana, Jerome. 2007. "Darfur: A Conflict for Land?" In: de Waal, Alex (ed.). *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*. Cambridge, MA: Global Equity Initiative, Harvard University. pp. 68-91.
- El-Din, Ahmed. 2007. "Islam and Islamism in Darfur." In: de Waal, Alex (ed.). *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*. Cambridge, MA: Global Equity Initiative, Harvard University. pp. 92-112.

7. Mon 4 Oct - Fri 8 Oct [Angola]

- *WED Discussion*: Could this war have occurred without the Cold War?
- *FRI Discussion*: What was the role of Angola's natural resource wealth in this war? Are Angola's natural resources cause for optimism about the future?
- **James III, W. Martin. 1992. *A Political History of the Civil War in Angola 1974-1990*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. Chapter 3: 41-78.
- **Le Billon, Philippe. 2001. "Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds, 1975-2000." *African Affairs* 100(1): 55-80.

- Marcum, John A. 1976. "Lessons of Angola." *Foreign Affairs* 54(3): 408-425.
- Pazzanita, Anthony G. 1991. "The Conflict Resolution Process in Angola." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29(1): 83-114.

8. Mon 11 Oct - Fri 15 Oct [Sierra Leone]

- *WED Discussion*: Are domestic or international politics more responsible for this war?
- *FRI Discussion*: Why wasn't the RUF a Mende movement?
- **Chege, Michael. 2002. "Sierra Leone: The State that Came Back from the Dead." *The Washington Quarterly* 25(3): 147-160.
- **Davies, Victor A. B. 2000. "Sierra Leone: Irony Tragedy." *Journal of African Economies* 9(3): 349-369.
- Hirsch, John L. 2001. *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 1.
- Kandeh, Jimmy D. 1992. "Politicization of Ethnic Identities in Sierra Leone." *African Studies Review* 35(1): 81-99.

9. Mon 18 Oct - Fri 22 Oct [Sri Lanka]

- *WED Discussion*: Why did this relatively wealthy state succumb to a long civil war?
- *FRI Discussion*: To what extent are Tamil/Sinhalese differences primordial, and to what extent are they constructed?
- **Imtiyaz, A.R.M. and Ben Stavis. 2008. "Ethno-Political Conflict in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Third World Studies* 25(2): 135-152.
- **Kearney, Robert N. 1987-1988. "Territorial Elements of Tamil Separatism in Sri Lanka." *Pacific Affairs* 60(4): 561-577.
- **Shastri, Amita. 1990. "The Material Basis for Separatism: The Tamil Eelam Movement in Sri Lanka." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49(1): 56-77.
- DeVotta, Neil. 2000. "Control Democracy, Institutional Decay, and the Quest for Eelam: Explaining Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka." *Pacific Affairs* 73(1): 55-76.
- Natali, Cristiana. 2008. "Building Cemeteries, Constructing Identities: Funerary Practices and Nationalist Discourse among the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka." *Contemporary South Asia* 16(3): 287-301.

10. Mon 25 Oct - Fri 29 Oct [Exam 2, Cambodia]

- *MON*: EXAM 2
- *FRI Discussion*: Did the war in Vietnam make the Cambodian Civil War inevitable?

- **Chandler, David P. 2005. *A History of Cambodia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Chapters 11-12.
- **Kiernan, Ben. 2008. *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khymer Rouge, 1975-1979*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter. pp 4-27.
- Chandler, David P. 2005. *A History of Cambodia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Chapter 10.
- Sihanouk, Prince Norodom. 1970. "The Future of Cambodia." *Foreign Affairs* 49(1): 1-10.

11. Mon 1 Nov - Fri 5 Nov [Chechnya]

- *WED Discussion*: Why did the war become more internationalized over time?
- *FRI Discussion*: Does atypical motivation or atypical opportunity better explain this war?
- **Lapidus, Gail W. 1998. "Contested Sovereignty: The Tragedy of Chechnya." *International Security* 23(1): 5-49.
- **Menon, Rajan and Graham E. Fuller. 2000. "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War." *Foreign Affairs* 79(2): 32-44.
- **Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2005. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 57(1): 35-59.
- Alexseev, Mikhail A. 2001. "Decentralization versus State Collapse: Explaining Russia's Endurance." *Journal of Peace Research* 38(1): 101-106.
- Arquilla, John and Karasik, Theodore. 1999. "Chechnya: A Glimpse of Future Conflict?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 22: 207-229.
- Kramer, Mark. 2004-2005. "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya." *International Security* 29(3): 5-63.
- Treisman, Daniel S. 1997. "Russia's 'Ethnic Revival': The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Postcommunist Order." *World Politics* 49(2): 212-249.

12. Mon 8 Nov - Fri 12 Nov [IRAQ]

- *WED Discussion*: Should we attribute Iraq's ethnic problems to the history of Islam or to Iraq's colonial experience?
- *FRI Discussion*: Does Iraq's current form of government increase or decrease the likelihood of civil war in the future?
- **Anderson, Liam D. and Gareth Stansfield. 2004. *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapters 1-3.

- **Fearon, James D. 2007. "Iraq's Civil War." *Foreign Affairs* 86(2): 2-15.
- Nakash, Yitzhak. 2003. "The Shi'ites and the Future of Iraq." *Foreign Affairs* 82(4): 17-26.

13. Mon 15 Nov - Fri 22 Nov [BALKANS]

- *WED Discussion*: Can we blame the breakup of Yugoslavia on federalism?
- *FRI Discussion*: Are the differences among Yugoslavians primordial or constructed?
- **Gagnon, Jr. V.P. 1991. "Yugoslavia: Prospects for Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 70(3): 17-35.
- **Hagen, William W. 1999. "The Balkans' Lethal Nationalisms." *Foreign Affairs* 78(4): 52-64.
- **Kaufman, Stuart J. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapter 6.
- Andelman, David A. 1980. "Yugoslavia: The Delicate Balance." *Foreign Affairs* 58(4): 835-851.
- Djilas, Aleksa. 1992-1993. "A Profile of Slobodan Milosevic." *Foreign Affairs* 72(1): 81-96.
- Taras, Ray. Rajat Ganguly. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Conflict: The International Dimension*. 2nd Edition. New York: Longman. Chapter 9.

THANKSGIVING BREAK (22-26 November)

14. Mon 29 Nov - Fri 3 Dec [COLOMBIA]

- *WED Discussion*: Is this the perfect case for the Fearon and Laitin (2004) argument?
- *FRI Discussion*: What is the relationship between the Colombian civil war and the United States' War on Drugs?
- **Bagley, Bruce M. 1988. "Colombia and the War on Drugs." *Foreign Affairs* 67(1): 70-92.
- **Sanchez, Fabio, Andres Solimano, and Michel Formisano. 2005. "Conflict, Violence, and Crime in Colombia." In: Collier, Paul and Nicholas Sambanis (eds.). *Understanding Civil War, Volume 2: Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Deshazo, Peter, Johanna Mendelson Forman and Phillip McLean. 2009. *Countering Threats to Security and Stability in a Failing State: Lessons from Colombia*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies

- Pardo, Rafael. 2000. "Colombia's Two-Front War." *Foreign Affairs* 79(4): 64-73.
- Sweig, Julia E. 2002. "What Kind of War for Colombia: History Repeating Itself?" *Foreign Affairs* 81(5): 122-141.

15. Mon 6 Dec - Fri 10 Dec [Exam 3, Resolving Civil Wars]

- **MON: Exam 3**
- **WED Reading:** Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20(4): 136-175.
- **WED Discussion:** Is Kaufmann right?
- **FRI:** Wrap-up (No Reading)

FINALS WEEK

- There is no final exam. You do not need to come to the final exam time found on the university's academic calendar.
- Final papers are due online via CULearn at 8:00AM MST Wednesday 15 December 2010. Late papers will receive no credit.