

ENDING WARS AND KEEPING PEACE

Political Science W3962
Columbia University
Spring 2008
meets Mondays 4:10-6:00
IAB room 1302

Prof. Page Fortna
Office: IAB1329
212 854-0021
vpf4@columbia.edu
office hours: Tues 3-5pm

The study of war in international relations has traditionally focused on its causes, but less attention has been paid to ending wars once they begin, and to keeping peace in their aftermath. This course will address: the process by which belligerents in international and civil wars reach cease-fires and negotiate peace; why peace sometimes lasts and sometimes falls apart and what can be done to make peace more stable; as well as the longer-term the prospects for reconciliation among adversaries and for rebuilding after war. We will examine both international and civil conflicts. Students write a research paper and present it to the class.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Class Participation (20% of grade): You are required to have completed the readings before class and to participate in discussion. The discussion assignment for week 9 (on peacekeeping) will be incorporated into the participation grade. You are also expected to contribute information from your own research project (see below) to class discussion, as appropriate, and to keep up on relevant world events by reading the *New York Times* or another reputable source of international news.

Short Essay (10% of grade): A 3-4 page paper is due in class on February 11.

Research Paper (30% of grade):

A brief (1-3 paragraph) statement of your research question and hypotheses, and a preliminary bibliography is due February 18.

A 2-3 page summary of the case(s) or issue you are researching, as well as a draft outline of your paper is due March 3.

The full research paper (12-15 pages), is due March 31.

Presentations (20% of grade) will be held April 14 - May 1.

Discussant (10% of grade): In addition to preparing your own presentation, you will be responsible for reading each other's papers, and for serving as discussant (writing and presenting comments) for one of your classmates' papers during the presentations at the end of term.

"Revise and Resubmit" (10% of grade): A revision of the longer paper, based on feedback and comments is due May 9. Note this is NOT a rewrite to change the grade of the original submission – the revision will be graded separately.

There will be no final exam.

COURSE POLICIES

Assignments

No late papers or incompletes. Except in cases of documented medical or family emergency, late papers will be penalized a third of a grade per day (i.e, an A paper turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.).

Class Discussion

Obviously, to participate in class discussion, you have to be present. You do not have to inform me if you will miss class, but absences will be reflected in your participation grade, except under extraordinary circumstances (documented medical or family emergency).

Participation will be graded on the frequency and especially the quality of your contributions to our class discussion. Ideally, everyone should say something every week we meet. I do not expect you to be brilliant every time you open your mouth; interesting and thought-provoking questions are as important as knowledgeable answers. In general, I am looking for you to show that you have done the reading thoughtfully, that is, that you have considered how the authors' arguments relate to each other (within a week's readings, and between weeks), have thought about how the readings relate to the topic or cases you are researching for your own paper, have formed your own opinion about the arguments, etc. Some of the assigned readings are difficult (often even for graduate students) – it's ok to say you didn't understand some of the reading, chances are others in the class didn't either. I take the difficulty of the material we are discussing into consideration when grading participation.

While I take the frequency of class contributions into consideration, dominating the conversation (e.g., lengthy speeches, failure to get to the point, interrupting your classmates, etc.) is frowned upon and will lower your participation grade.

Most important, I expect all of us in this class to treat each other with respect and courtesy. Discussion should be lively, not heated or barbed. Some of the topics we cover are difficult and even emotional, and some in the class may have a personal connection to some of the conflicts we are discussing. The classroom is a place for open minds and open debate. I expect all of us to adhere to principles of academic freedom in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

Research Project

As noted above, the research project has several elements. You will research and write the paper, then present it to class, then “revise and resubmit” the paper. All told, the project accounts for 60% of your grade (30% for the first version of the paper, 20% for the presentation in class, and 10% for the revise and resubmit).

Your research project should focus on a specific research question or hypothesis, should draw on concepts and themes of the course, and should employ empirical evidence from war termination or post-conflict cases. You may examine a number of cases drawing comparisons among them, or you may focus on a single case.

Either way, the best way to set up your research is to consider variation, either among cases or across time (or regions) within a single case. For example, why was peacekeeping successful in Mozambique but not in Angola? Why did a power sharing agreement emerge in Northern Ireland when it did and not earlier? Why did Israel and Egypt conclude a peace agreement while Israel and Syria only managed a cease-fire? Variation on the dependent variable – the outcome you wish to explain (success/failure, agreement/no agreement, etc.) gives you leverage to answer your question.

Cases you might consider for your research project include, but are not limited to: the civil wars in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Cyprus, Israel-Palestine, Rwanda, Sudan, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Iraq; and/or the following interstate wars: World War I or II, Honduras-El Salvador (Football War), Israel-Syria, Israel-Egypt, Korea, Vietnam, India-Pakistan, Iran-Iraq, the Gulf War, US-Afghanistan, US-Iraq.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Please familiarize yourself with the proper methods of citation and attribution. Provide citations for all ideas that are not your own, as well as for facts unless they are general knowledge (a good rule of thumb for citation of facts is that if you didn't know it before you started working on the paper, provide a citation).

Reading

The following books (marked BC in the syllabus below) are available for purchase at Book Culture (formerly Labyrinth Books), 536 W 112th Street:

Berdal, Mats, and Spyros Econimides. 2007. *United Nations Interventionism: 1991-2004*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (see assignment for week 9).

Iklé, Fred. 2005. *Every War Must End*. 2nd Rev. ed., New York: Columbia Univ. Press. (week 2)

Raiffa, Howard. 1982. *The Art and Science of Negotiation*. Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press. (week 3)

Roeder, Philip G., and Donald Rothchild, eds. 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (week 7)

We also read several chapters out of *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. Crocker, Chester, Fen O. Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds 2007. Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace, which you may want to purchase.

Most of the other required readings are available through Columbia's E-Journals (marked EJ). Login at www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/ejournals/ and search by journal title, or follow the links in the syllabus on CourseWorks. All readings (books, chapters, and articles) are also available on reserve at Butler Library (many through electronic reserves).

Week 1. January 28. Introduction and Overview

Part I. Stopping the Fighting

Week 2. February 4. International and Civil War Termination

Required:

Iklé, Fred. 2005. *Every War Must End*. 2nd Rev. Ed., New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 1, 3-5. (BC)

Wittman, Donald. 1979. How War Ends: A Rational Model Approach. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23 (4):743-763. (EJ)

Walter, Barbara. 1997. The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement. *International Organization* 51 (3):335-364. (EJ)

King, Charles. 1997. Ending Civil Wars. *Adelphi Papers* 308. (e-reserves)

Recommended:

Mason, T. David, and Patrick J. Fett. 1996. How Civil Wars End: a Rational Model Approach. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40 (4):546-68.

Goemans, H.E. 2000. Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44 (5): 555-579.

or the book-length version of Goeman's argument, including a case study of WWI:

Goemans, H. E. 2000. *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination & the First World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Weeks 3-4 February 11 and 18. Negotiation and Mediation

Assignments:

Short Paper: 3-4pp paper due in class February 11

Research Question: Short statement (1-3 paragraphs) of your research question and a preliminary bibliography, due in class February 18

In class: Arcadia-Bucolica negotiation simulation (Feb 11); discussion of simulation (Feb 18)

Required:

Arcadia-Bucolica Background Reader. (on CourseWorks)

Raiffa, Howard. 1982. *The Art and Science of Negotiation*. Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press. Chapters 1, 3, 4, 14 (pp.11-19, 35-65, 205-217). (BC)

Zartman, I. William, and Saadia Touval. 2007. International Mediation. In *Leashing the Dogs of War*, edited by C. A. Crocker, F. O. Hampson and P. Aall. Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace: 437-454. (BC & reserves)

Bercovitch, Jacob, and Scott Sigmund Gartner. 2006. Is There Method in the Madness of Mediation: Some Lessons for Mediators from Quantitative Studies of Mediation *International Interaction* 32 (4):329-354. (EJ)

Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence. *International Organization* 56 (2): 263-296. (EJ)

Recommended:

Kydd, Andrew H. 2006. When Can Mediators Build Trust. *American Political Science Review* 100 (3):449-462.

Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Jacob Bercovitch. 2006. Overcoming Obstacles to Peace: The Contribution of Mediation to Short-Lived Conflict Settlements. *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (4):819-840.

Svennson, Isak. 2007. Bargaining, Bias and Peace Brokers: How Rebels Commit to Peace. *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (2):177-194.

Week 5. February 25. Genocide and Intervention

In class: PBS Frontline: *Triumph of Evil* on Rwanda.

Required:

Jentleson, Bruce. 2007. Yet Again: Humanitarian Intervention and the Challenges of “Never Again.” In *Leashing the Dogs of War*, edited by C. A. Crocker, F. O. Hampson and P. Aall. Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace: 277-299. (BC & reserves)

Luttwak, Edward N. 1999. Give War a Chance *Foreign Affairs* 78 (4): 36-44. (EJ)

Power, Samantha. 2002. Raising the Cost of Genocide. *Dissent* 49 (2):85-95. (EJ)

Kuperman, Alan. 2000. Rwanda in Retrospect. *Foreign Affairs* 79 (1):94-118. (EJ)

Dallaire, Romeo. 2004. Looking at Darfur, Seeing Rwanda (Op-Ed). *The New York Times* October 4: A25 (EJ)

International Crisis Group 2007. *Darfur: Revitalising the Peace Process*. Africa Report #125, April 30. (online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/horn_of_africa/125_darfur__revitalising_the_peace_process.pdf>).

de Waal, Alex 2004. Tragedy in Darfur. In *Boston Review* October/November (online at <<http://www.bostonreview.net/BR29.5/dewaal.html>>).

Recommended:

Krain, Matthew. 2005. International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides. *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (3):363-387.

Part II. Making Peace Last

Week 6. March 3. War Outcomes and Duration of Peace

Assignment: 2-3 pp. summary of your case(s) or issue, as well as an outline, due in class

Required:

Kegley, Charles and Gregory Raymond. 1999. Approaches to Dealing with the Defeated, in *How Nations Make Peace*. New York: Worth. Chapter 2. (e-reserves)

Wagner, Robert Harrison. 1993. Excerpt from The Causes of Peace, in Licklider, Roy, ed. *Stopping the Killing*. NYU Press. pp. 257-264

Toft, Monica Duffy. 2007. Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory. Unpublished Ms. Harvard University. [on courseworks]

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1999. When All Else Fails: Evaluating Population Transfers and Partition as Solutions to Ethnic Conflict. in *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* edited by Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder. Columbia University Press. pp. 221-60.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000 Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature. *World Politics* 52 (4):437-83. (EJ)

Laitin, David D. 2004. Ethnic Unmixing and Civil War. *Security Studies* 13 (4):350-365. (EJ)

Recommended:

Licklider, Roy. 1995. The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993. *American Political Science Review* 89 (3): 681-687.

Tir, Jaroslav. 2005. Dividing Countries to Promote Peace: Prospects for Long-Term Success of Partitions. *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (5):545-562.

Tir, Jaroslav. 2005. Keeping the Peace After Secession: Territorial Conflicts between Rump and Secessionist States. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (5):713-741.

Quinn, J. Michael, T. David Mason, and Mehmet Gurses. 2007. Sustaining the Peace: Determinants of Civil War Recurrence. *International Interactions* 33 (2):167-193.

Hartzell, Caroline, Mathew Hoddie, and Donald Rothchild. 2001. Stabilizing the Peace After Civil War. *International Organization* 55 (1):183-208.

Week 7. March 10. Elections and Power-Sharing

Note: Extra office hours this week. Come talk to me about your papers [times TBA]

Required:

Roeder, Philip G., and Donald Rothchild, eds. 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 4. (BC)

Downes, Alexander B. 2004. The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars. *Security Studies* 13 (4):230-279. (EJ)

Harris, Peter and Ben Reilly. 1998. *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, IDEA Handbook Series: 144-5; 149-154; 155-167. (e-reserves)

Recommended:

Lijphart, Arend. The Power-Sharing Approach. In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, edited by J. V. Montville. Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1990: 491-509.

Horowitz, Donald L. Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management. In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, edited by J. V. Montville. Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1990: 451-475.

Sisk, Timothy D. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

Mukherjee, Bumba. 2006. Why Political Power-Sharing Agreements Lead to Enduring Peaceful Resolution of Some Civil Wars, But Not Others? *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2):479-504.

Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management. *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2):318-332.

Spring Break

Week 8. March 24. No class meeting

Use this week to work on your research paper, which is due next week.

Week 9. March 31. Peacekeeping

Assignments:

Research Paper (12-15 pp) Due in class

Class Discussion Assignment: Pick one of the following recent peacekeeping cases: Cambodia, Former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, East Timor, Kosovo, Sierra Leone. Read the relevant chapter in Berdal & Economides, and come to class prepared to discuss the case. If you prefer to focus on a case not listed here, please discuss it with me first.

Required:

Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. Introduction: War-Making Peacebuilding, and the United Nations, in *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton University Press: 1-26.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2):269-92. (EJ)

Berdal, Mats, and Spyros Economides. 2007. *United Nations Interventionism: 1991-2004*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pick one case chapter (see above). (BC)

Recommended:

For an overview of the peacekeeping literature see:

Fortna, Virginia Page, and Lise Morjé Howard. Forthcoming, 2008. Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11.

Krasno, Jean, Bradd C. Hayes, and Donald C. F. Daniel, eds. 2003. *Leveraging For Success in United Nations Peace Operations*. Westport: Praeger.

Paris, Roland. 2004. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Barnett, Michael. 2006. Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War *International Security* 30(4):87-112.

the rest of Doyle and Sambanis. 2006, *Making War and Building Peace*. Princeton UP.

Greig, J. Michael, and Paul F. Diehl. 2005. The Peacekeeping-Peacemaking Dilemma. *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (4):621-646.

Week 10. April 7. Reconciliation and Justice

Required:

Rosenberg, Tina 1995. From Nuremberg to Bosnia *The Nation*. May 15, 1995: 688, 690, 692. (e-reserves)

Tepperman, Jonathan. 2002. Truth and Consequences. *Foreign Affairs*. 81 (2): 128-145. (EJ)

Snyder, Jack, and Leslie Vinjamuri. 2003. Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice. *International Security* 28 (3):5-44. (EJ)

Sikkink, Kathryn, and Carrie Booth Walling. 2007. The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America. *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (4):427-445. (EJ)

Licklider, Roy. 2008. The Ethics of Advice: Conflict Management vs. Human Rights in Ending Civil Wars. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies Working Paper. (courseworks)

Recommended:

Akhavan, Payan. 2001. Beyond Impunity: Can International Criminal Justice Prevent Future Atrocities? *American Journal of International Law* 95 (1): 7-31.

Bass, Gary. 2000. *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals*. Princeton University Press.

Special Issue on Transitional Justice of *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(3) June 2006.

Week 11. April 14. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Week 12. April 21. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Week 13. April 28. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Week 14. May 1. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Friday May 9 by 5pm

Research Paper “Revise and Resubmit” (15pp. max) Due