

ENDING WARS AND KEEPING PEACE

Political Science W3961
Columbia University
Fall 2003
meets Wednesdays 2:10-4:00

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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 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 their research 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. You are also expected to contribute information from your own research project (see below) to class discussion, 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 September 17.

Research Paper.

A brief (1-3 paragraphs) statement of your research question and hypotheses, and a preliminary bibliography is due September 24.

A 3-4 page summary of the case(s) or issue you are researching, as well as an outline of your paper is due October 1.

The full research paper (25% of grade), 12-15 pages long, is due October 22.

Presentations (20% of grade) will be held November 5, 12, 19 and December 3.

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.

"Revise and Resubmit" (15% of grade): A revision of the longer paper, based on feedback and comments is due Friday, December 12. Note this is NOT a rewrite to change the grade of the original submission – the revision will be graded separately.

No late papers or incompletes. Except in cases of medical or family emergency late papers will be penalized a grade per day. There will be no exam.

Research Paper

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 cases of war termination. 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 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:

Civil Wars:

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.

Interstate Wars:

World War I or II, Honduras-El Salvador (Football War), Israel-Syria, Israel-Egypt, Korea, Vietnam, India-Pakistan, Iran-Iraq, the first or second Gulf War, US-Afghanistan.

Readings

The following books (marked LB in the syllabus below) are available for purchase at Labyrinth Bookstore (536 W 112th Street):

- Iklé, Fred. 1991. *Every War Must End*. New York: Columbia University Press.
King, Charles. 1997. *Ending Civil Wars*. Adelphi Papers 308.
Sisk, Timothy D. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington DC: USIP Press.
Rigby, Andrew. 2001 *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence*. Lynne Reiner.
Raiffa, Howard. 1982. *The Art and Science of Negotiation*. Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press.

Many 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. Those not available on-line are available for xeroxing at the Institute of War and Peace Studies (marked IWPS), IAB 13th floor (bring an ID to check them out.) All readings (books and articles) are also available on reserve at Butler Library (many through electronic reserves).

Week 1. September 3. Introduction and Overview

Drakulic, Slavenka. 1993. Introduction: The Other Side of War. *The Balkan Express: Fragments from the Other Side of War*. HarperPerennial: 1-4. (IWPS)

Part I. Reaching a Cease-Fire

Week 2. September 10. International and Civil War Termination

Iklé, Fred. 1971. *Every War Must End*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 1, 3-5. (LB)

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. (LB)

Weeks 3-4. September 17 and 24. Negotiation and Mediation

Short (3-4pp.) Essay Due September 17

Research Question and Preliminary Bibliography Due September 24

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). (LB & IWPS)

Zartman, I. William, and Saadia Touval. 1996. International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era. In *Managing Global Chaos*, edited by C. A. Crocker, F. O. Hampson and P. Aall. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press. pp. 445-62. (IWPS)

Greig, J. Michael. 2001. Moments of Opportunity: Recognizing Conditions of Ripeness for International Mediation between Enduring Rivals. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (6): 691-718. (EJ)

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

in class: negotiation simulation

Week 5. October 1. Intervention

Summaries (3-4pp) and Outline Due

Hoffmann, Stanley. 1995-96. The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention. *Survival* 37 (4):29-51. (IWPS)

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

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

Part II. Making Peace Last

Week 6. October 8. War Outcomes and Duration of Peace

Kegley, Charles and Gregory Raymond. 1999. *How Nations Make Peace*. New York: Worth. Chapter 2. (IWPS)

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

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. (IWPS)

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

Week 7. October 15. Elections and Power-Sharing

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

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. (IWPS)

Hoddie, Matthew and Caroline Hartzell. 2003. Civil War Settlements and the Implementation of Military Power-Sharing Arrangements *Journal of Peace Research* 40 (3): 303-320. (EJ)

(continued)

recommended:

Lijphart, Arend. The Power-Sharing Approach,

and 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: 491-509 and 451-475. (IWPS)

Week 8. October 22. Peacekeeping

Research Paper (12-15pp.) Due

Doyle, Michael W. 2001. War Making and Peace Making: The United Nations' Post-Cold War Record. In *Turbulent Peace: the Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by C. A. Crocker, F. O. Hampson and P. Aall. Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace: 529-560. (IWPS)

Fortna, Page. 2003. Forever Hold Your Peace? An Assessment of Peacekeeping In Civil Wars. Unpublished manuscript, presented at Emory University. (IWPS)

Week 9. October 29. Reconciliation and Justice

Bolton, John 1999. The Global Prosecutors: Hunting War Criminals in the Name of Utopia. *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1999):157-164; and Richard Falk's letter to the editor in response (May/June 1999): 159-60. (EJ)

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

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

Rigby, Andrew 2001. *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence* Lynne Reinner. Chapters 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9. (LB)

Weeks 10-13. November 5, 12, 19 and December 3. In-Class Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented for each week.

Note: No Class November 26, Thanksgiving eve.

“Revise and Resubmit” Due Friday, December 12.