

WAR TERMINATION AND THE STABILITY OF PEACE

SIPA INAFU 8561
Columbia University
Fall 2010
meets Mondays 4:10-6:00
IAB room 901

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office hours: Tuesdays 3:00-5:00

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 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.

3 credits

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, 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 September 20.

Research Paper (60% of grade in total):

A brief statement of your research question and hypotheses (1 page max), and a preliminary bibliography is due October 4. (Ungraded).

Full research paper (15-18 pages), is due November 5. (25% of final grade)

Presentations will be held November 22 - December 13. (20% of final grade)

“Revise and Resubmit” A revision of the research paper, based on feedback and comments is due December 17. Note: this is NOT a rewrite to change the grade of the original submission – the revision will be graded separately. (15% of final grade)

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.

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.

If you are not someone who feels comfortable talking in class, please come talk to me about this in office hours so that we can find strategies for helping you to succeed in classroom discussion.

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.

Academic Integrity

SIPA does not tolerate cheating and/or plagiarism in any form. Those students who violate the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct will be subject to the Dean's Disciplinary Procedures. The Code is available online at:

http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/deans_discipline_policy.html

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). SIPA provides some useful resources online:

http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/code_of_conduct.html

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 (25% for the first version of the paper, 20% for the presentation in class, and 15% 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, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Afghanistan; 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.

Reading

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

Cochrane, Feargal. 2008. *Ending Wars*. Polity Press. (weeks 2-5, 10).
ISBN: 9780745640334

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* Princeton: Princeton University Press. (week 7)
ISBN: 9780691136714

Iklé, Fred. 2005. *Every War Must End*. 2nd Rev. ed., New York: Columbia Univ. Press.
(week 2)
ISBN: 9780231136679

Raiffa, Howard. 1982. *The Art and Science of Negotiation*. Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press. (week 3)
ISBN: 9780674048133

Roeder, Philip G., and Donald Rothchild, eds. 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (week 9)
ISBN: 9780801489747

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 Lehman Library (many through electronic reserves).

Recommended readings:

I list recommended readings for each week of the course. I do not expect you to read all or even any of these for most weeks (although of course you are welcome to), but if the week's topic relates to your research paper, these readings are a good place to start.

WEEK 1. SEPTEMBER 13. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

WEEK 2. SEPTEMBER 20. INTERNATIONAL AND CIVIL WAR TERMINATION

Assignment: Short paper (3-4pp) due in class

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)

Cochrane, Feargal 2008. *Ending Wars*. Polity. Chapters 1 (esp. pp. 32-38) and 3. (BC)

Recommended:

Collier, Paul, Anke Hoefler, and Måns Söderbom. 2004. "On the Duration of Civil War" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):253-273

Cunningham, David E. and Douglas Lemke. 2010. Combining Civil and Interstate Wars. Unpublished Ms. Iowa State University and Pennsylvania State University. (e-reserves)

Dixon, Jeffrey. 2009. Emerging Consensus: Results from the Second Wave of Statistical Studies on Civil War Termination. *Civil Wars* 11(2): 121-136.

King, Charles. 1997. Ending Civil Wars. *Adelphi Papers* 308.

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 University Press.

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

Reiter, Dan. 2009. *How Wars End*. Princeton University Press.

Walter, Barbara. 2009. Bargaining Failures and Civil War. *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 243-61.

WEEKS 3-4 SEPTEMBER 27 AND OCTOBER 4. NEGOTIATION AND MEDIATION

In class: negotiation simulation (Sep 27); discussion of simulation (Oct 4)

Assignment: short statement of research question (1-3 paragraphs, 1 page max), and preliminary bibliography, due in class Oct. 4.

Required:

Negotiation Simulation Background Reader. (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. (e-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)

Cochrane, Feargal 2008. *Ending Wars*. Polity. Chapter 4. (BC)

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. OCTOBER 11. GENOCIDE AND INTERVENTION

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

Required:

Cochrane, Feargal 2008. *Ending Wars*. Polity. Chapter 2. (BC)

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)

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

Kuperman, Alan. 2009. Humanitarian Intervention. In *Human Rights: Politics and Practice*, edited by Michael Goodhart. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 335-353. (e-reserves)

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

De Waal, Alex. 2007. Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect. *International Affairs*, 83(6): 1039-1054. (e-reserves)

Recommended:

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

Jentleson, Bruce. 2007. Yet Again: Humanitarian Intervention and the Challenges of “Never Again.” In *Leashing the Dogs of War*, Crocker, Hampson and Aall, eds. USIPeace: 277-299.

de Waal, Alex. 2004. Tragedy in Darfur. In *Boston Review* October/November.

Lang, Anthony, ed. 2003. *Just Intervention*. Washington: Georgetown University Press

Seybolt, Trevor. 2008. *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuperman, Alan and Tim Crawford. 2006. *Gambling on Intervention*. Routledge

Terry, Fiona. 2002. *Condemned to Repeat: The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*. Cornell University Press.

WEEK 6. OCTOBER 18. WAR OUTCOMES, PARTITION, AND DURATION OF PEACE

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. The Causes of Peace (excerpt), in Licklider, Roy, ed. *Stopping the Killing*. NYU Press. pp. 257-264.(e-reserves)

Toft, Monica Duffy. 2010. Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory. *International Security* 34(4):7-36. (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. (e-reserves)

Sambanis, Nicholas and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. 2009. What's in a Line: Is Partition a Solution to Civil War. *International Security* 34 (2):82-118. (EJ)

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

Recommended:

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.

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.

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

Chapman, Thomas and Philip Roeder. 2007. Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 677-691.

WEEK 7. OCTOBER 25. PEACEKEEPING

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

Required:

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, esp. chapters 1, 4-7 (ok to skim 2-3). (BC)

Williams, Paul D. 2009. Peace Operations in Africa: Seven Challenges, Any Solutions? *Conflict Trends* Issue 3 Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding in Africa. pp.3-10. (e-reserves)

Tull, Dennis. 2009. Peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Waging Peace and Fighting War. *International Peacekeeping* 16(2): 215-230. (e-reserves)

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.

Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton University Press.

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

WEEK 8. NOVEMBER 1. NO CLASS: ELECTION DAY HOLIDAY

Assignment: Research Paper (15-18 pp) Due Friday November 5, by 5pm

(deliver to my mailbox in SIWPS, IAB 13th floor – note: Institute doors close by 5pm)

WEEK 9. NOVEMBER 8. POWER-SHARING AND DEMOCRACY

Required:

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)

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. (EJ)

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)

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.

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

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.

WEEK 10. NOVEMBER 15. 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. Ethical Advice: Conflict Management vs. Human Rights in Ending Civil Wars. *Journal of Human Rights* 7(4): 376-397. (EJ)
- Call, Charles, and Elizabeth Cousens. 2008. Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies. *International Studies Perspectives* 9(1):1-21. (EJ)

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.
- Biggar, Nigel, ed. *Burying the Past* Washington: Georgetown University Press, esp. chapter 11, pp.207-222 on South Africa's TRC.
- Olsen, Payne, Reiter, eds. 2010. *Transitional Justice in Balance*. Washington, USIP Press.

Week 11. November 22. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Week 12. November 29. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Week 13. December 6. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Week 14. December 13. Presentations and Discussions

Read papers to be presented this week.

Research Paper “Revise and Resubmit” (15-20pp.) Due Friday December 17 by 5pm
(to my mailbox in SIWPS – note: doors to the Institute close by 5pm)