

# Seminar: State Formation After Civil Wars

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## Course Description

**CAREERS:** Students often want information about jobs related to international affairs. *Careers in International Relations* is an essay about different kinds of positions in this area and appropriate ways to prepare for them; it may be purchased for fifty cents at the undergraduate Political Science Department office on the fifth floor of Hickman Hall, Douglass Campus.

**WHAT IS THIS COURSE ABOUT?** After the Cold War, interstate wars have suddenly become scarce. However, civil wars, wars within states, have become more prominent (although it's not clear they really are more numerous or more violent). Thus a central foreign policy question, for the U.S. and other developed states, is whether and how to intervene in such conflicts.

But this choice requires that we know something about how civil wars end, which means learning how people who have been killing one another with considerable skill and enthusiasm can come together to form a common political system. This seems obviously impossible, but in fact we know that almost all major states have done it at least once. (The U.S. has done it twice, after the Revolutionary War in which one historian asserts that as many people from New Jersey fought for the British as for the American side, and the Civil War.) So we know that it happens, but we do not really understand how.

This seminar will focus on the ways in which civil wars end and states are formed afterward in the post-World War II era. The central concern will be to develop and test general statements which can guide our actions in the future.

## GRADING:

**20% CLASS PARTICIPATION.** In a seminar, students are expected to actively participate in the learning process by contributing to class discussions. Grading will be based on quality rather than quantity of discussion. In particular, comments that show that you have read the material, have listened to your classmates, and are able to say things which move the discussion forward rather than repeating what has already been said will be valued.

**10% READING QUIZZES:** Nine reading quizzes will be given during the semester at the beginning of class; they will not be announced in advance, and no makeups, excuses, or rewrites will be accepted. Each quiz will require you to demonstrate that you have read a specified part of the reading assignment for that day; outlining the major points and noting a few things which are unique to the assignment are the obvious ways to do this. Written notes (but no books or xeroxes) may be used. Quizzes will be graded pass or fail. Students with six passing grades will get an A for the reading portion of their final grades; those with five will get a B, those with four will get a C, those with three will get a D, and those with fewer than three will get an F.

**20% FINAL EXAMINATION** at the regularly scheduled time and place

**40% RESEARCH PAPER--ONE OF TWO OPTIONS:**

(a) Select a civil war which ended for at least five years (lists may be found in *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics* and in my article "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars") and summarize its history in a page or two. You are encouraged but not required to select something after 1945. Explain (1)

why it ended as it did and (2) why it did not begin again for at least five years. For each of these questions, you should develop three different answers (for example, the American Revolution ended because of British French competition, British military incompetence, and internal divisions within Britain), make the strongest argument for each, then state which one you find most persuasive and explain why. You are expected to use appropriate material from books, journal articles, and the Internet. The length of the paper can vary, but it will probably be at least twenty pages. or (b) I am involved in a project studying twenty examples of post-World War II civil wars to determine whether the way they ended (by military victory or negotiated settlement) influenced whether they were likely to begin again. You may analyze one of the twenty cases, using the twenty-page list of questions developed for the project; you will receive appropriate credit in publications resulting from the project. You are expected to use appropriate material from books, journal articles, and the Internet. Your final report will probably be about fifty pages, but twenty will be the list of questions you will be answering.

Regardless of your option, students will present ten-page written summaries of their papers during three weeks in the middle of the semester on days noted in the syllabus. For each class, summaries of three projects will be required reading for the class, so you must bring sufficient copies for all members of the class and for me. Late excuses will not be accepted; if you have schedule conflicts, plan around them, and if you get sick, submit your paper. Each student is expected to critique every other paper in writing before class; these critiques will be graded and count as 10% of your grade and then be given to the author for use in revision. During the class we will discuss the three projects for that day. Papers are due on a rolling basis (those who present early hand in early, etc.) in the first three weeks of April. Students will be assigned time slots by me at random early in the course; you may trade slots with someone else until the initial draft is due but not afterward.

10%: CRITIQUE OF OTHER STUDENTS' PROJECTS, as noted above. The critiques should normally be at least two pages long and are expected to be written in standard English. Two copies should be submitted

### **Course Reading**

REQUIRED BOOKS (paperbacks at the Rutgers Bookstores at Ferren Mall Bookstore and New Jersey Books):

Ivo H. Daalder, *The Clinton Administration and Multilateral Peace Operations*  
Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*  
Daniel R. Kempton, *Reducing Political Violence in South Africa: The CODESA Decision*  
Paul Kubicek, *Turkey's Kurdish Troubles: An Intractable Conflict?*  
Krishna Kumar, *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical Roles for International Assistance* (this book may only be at the Rutgers Bookstore)  
Roy Licklider, *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*  
Ken Mankhaus with Louis Ortmayer, *Key Decisions in the Somalia Intervention*  
*In Search of Peace: Negotiations to End the Angolan Civil War*  
Tad Szulc, *Peacekeeping and Diplomacy in Cyprus: 1964-1993*

Following a precedent established by Professor Rhodes, I will donate any royalties received from my book assigned in this class to a department research fund.

In addition to these books, copies of all other materials on the syllabus will be on reserve at the Alexander Library. The same materials will be available as a xerox packet at New Jersey Books. Note that you are *not required to buy* this packet. However, whether you buy it or read the separate items on reserve, you are responsible for having *read all assigned materials* before the class when they are assigned.

### **Course Schedule**

1/20: INTRODUCTION TO CLASS

## I. WHY DO PEOPLE FIGHT CIVIL WARS?

1/22: *Stopping the Killing*, pp. 3-10

Michael E. Brown, "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview," pp. 3-25 in Michael E. Brown, et. al., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*  
*Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*, chapters 1-2

1/27: *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*, chapters 3-5

1/29: *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*, chapter 6

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review*, 90 (December, 1996), pp. 715-719 and 727-735.

2/3: *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*, chapters 7-9 (add something)

## II. FROM WAR TO NO WAR: STOPPING THE (LARGE-SCALE) KILLING

2/5: *Stopping the Killing*, chapters 1-2 and 7

### A. NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS

2/10: *Stopping the Killing*, chapters 3-4

2/12: *Stopping the Killing*, chapters 5-6

### B. MILITARY VICTORIES

2/17: *Stopping the Killing*, chapters 8-9

### C. SOMALIA AND BOSNIA

2/19: "Key Decisions in the Somalia Intervention"

"The Struggle for Peace in Bosnia: Considering U.S. Options"

"The Clinton Administration and Multilateral Peace Operations"

Mark Danner, "The US and the Yugoslav Catastrophe," *New York Review of Books* (November 20, 1997), pp. 56-64

Mark Danner, "America and the Bosnia Genocide," *New York Review of Books* (December 4, 1997), pp. 55-65

Mark Danner, "Clinton, the UN, and the Bosnian Disaster," *New York Review of Books* (December 18, 1997), pp. 65-81

For current developments, check [www.dtic.mil/vbosnia/index.html](http://www.dtic.mil/vbosnia/index.html) or

[www.library.nwu.edu/govpub/resource/internat/pkeeping.html](http://www.library.nwu.edu/govpub/resource/internat/pkeeping.html) (BosniaLINK will get you from the second to the first web-site)

### D. PATTERNS AND QUESTIONS

2/24: *Stopping the Killing*, chapters 11 and 13

## III. PUTTING HUMPTY DUMPTY BACK TOGETHER AGAIN: WHEN WILL IT EVER END?

## A. DOES IT MATTER HOW IT ENDS?

2/26: *Stopping the Killing*, chapter 10

*In Search of Peace: Negotiations to End the Angolan Civil War*

*Reducing Political Violence in South Africa: The CODESA Decision*

Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993," *American Political Science Review*, 89 (September, 1995), pp. 681-690.

## B. PARTITION AND SEPARATION

3/3: *Stopping the Killing*, chapter 12

Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, 76 (February, 1997), pp. 22-34

Chaim Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Separation as a Remedy for Ethnic Conflicts," forthcoming in

Jack Snyder and Barbara Walter, *The Security Dilemma and Intervention in Civil Wars*

*Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapter 6

Group 1 initial project summaries are due and handed out

## DISCUSSION OF CLASS PROJECTS

3/5: Class discussion of Group 1 initial project summaries

Group 2 initial project summaries are due and handed out

3/10: Class discussion of Group 2 initial project summaries

Group 3 initial project summaries are due and handed out

3/12: Class discussion of Group 3 initial project summaries

Group 4 initial project summaries are due and handed out

3/24: Critiques and class discussion of Group 4 initial project summaries

Group 5 initial project summaries are due and handed out

3/26: Class discussion of Group 5 initial project summaries

Group 6 initial project summaries are due and handed out

3/31: Class discussion of Group 6 initial project summaries

## C. ELECTIONS

4/2: *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapters 1-2

Group 1 papers due

## D. TRUTH COMMISSIONS AND WAR CRIMES TRIALS

4/7: "War Crimes," *Canada and the World Background*, 62, 6 (May, 1997), pp. 28-31

Beth Lyons, "Between Nuremberg and Amnesia: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South

Africa," *Monthly Review*, 49,4 (September, 1997), pp. 5-22

*Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapter 3

Leo DeSouza, "Assigning Blame in Rwanda," *Washington Monthly*, 29, 9 (September, 1997), pp. 40-43

Tina Rosenberg, "Overcoming the Legacies of Dictatorship," *Foreign Affairs*, 74, 3 (May, 1995), pp. 134-152

Group 2 papers due

## E. BUILDING NEW ARMIES AND POLICE FORCES

4/9: *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapters 4-5  
Group 3 papers due

## F. RETURNING REFUGEES

4/14: *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapter 7  
Philip Gourevitch, "Letter from Rwanda: The Return," *New Yorker* (January 20, 1997), pp. 44-54  
Group 4 papers due

## G. HEALTH AND HEALING

4/16: *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapters 8-10  
Group 5 papers due

## H. LAND MINES

4/21: *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapter 11  
Philip Morrison and Kosta Tsepis, "New Hope in the Minefields," *Technology Review* (October, 1997), pp. 38-47  
Group 6 papers due

## I. REBUILDING THE ECONOMY

4/23: *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War*, chapters 12-13

## J. MEMORY

4/28: Roy Licklider, "Memory and Reconciliation After Civil Wars: The U.S. and Nigerian Cases," February, 1995  
Rudolph Bell, "World War II in a Dalmatian Village: Atrocity and Memory," Center for Historical Analysis, Rutgers University, April, 1994  
Pieter Lagrou, "The Politics of memory: Resistance as a collective myth in post-war France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, 1945-1965,"  
Seth Mydans, "In the Killing Fields of Cambodia, the Tortured Bones Still Cry," *International Herald Tribune* (May 28, 1996), p. 2.  
Robert W. McChesney, "In Guatemala, A Time To Mourn," *America*, 172, 16 (May 6, 1995), pp. 18-21  
David Roth, "Haunting Hues of Silence," *Americas (English edition)*, 47, 4 (July, 1995), pp. 48-51

## IV. SOME CURRENT ISSUES AND FUTURE PROBLEMS

4/30: "Peacekeeping and Diplomacy in Cyprus: 1964-1993"  
"Turkey's Kurdish Troubles: An Intractable Conflict?"  
Other material to be assigned

## FINAL EXAMINATION