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Civil Wars and Negotiated Settlements

In this seminar, we will investigate why some civil wars are durably resolved through negotiated settlements and why others are long resistant to the efforts of international and domestic actors to end violence through negotiation. After learning about patterns of civil war emergence and dynamics, class members will analyze scholarly arguments purporting to explain this puzzle and study several cases of civil war and settlement. The class will explore in more detail the obstacles to the negotiated resolution of the Colombian and Israeli/Palestinian conflicts.

Wednesdays, 12:30 - 3:00, Silver 508

Pre-requisites: Comparative Politics or Collective Action: Social Movements and Revolutions

Office Hours: Wednesdays 4:30 - 6:30 (sign up on office door), Rm. 715, Politics Department, 726 Broadway, 998-8534

Requirements: Class members will be expected to participate actively in class. Over the course of the semester, each participant will write five one-page reviews reviewing the week's readings and raising questions for discussion. Reviews should briefly summarize the argument and evidence in one or more of the week's readings (1 paragraph), assess its/their strengths and weaknesses (1 or 2 paragraphs), and raise questions for discussion (1 or 2 paragraphs). Reviews should be one (or very occasionally two) single-spaced pages. The review should be sent by email to the instructor and other class members by 7:00 p.m. Tuesday evening.

The principal writing requirement is a 15-20 page research paper exploring some topic related to civil wars and their resolution in greater depth. Participants will submit ancillary materials throughout the term, including an initial statement of interest, a bibliography, an outline, and a first draft.

Course Materials:

Books available for purchase at the NYU Book Center:

- Philip Gourevitch. 1999. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*.
Elisabeth J. Wood. *Forging Democracy from Below*. Cambridge.
Barbara Walter. *Committing to Peace: Successful Settlements of Civil Wars*. Princeton.
Dan Smith. *Penguin Atlas of War and Peace*. Penguin

Two course readers will be available from New University Copy and Graphics, 11 Waverly Place.

1. September 3. Introduction.

Increasing incidence and duration since World War II. Patterns of resolution. The costs of civil war.

2. September 10. Civil war patterns: emergence and duration Challenges to social science analysis of civil wars: sources of bias, problems with data and measurement, motives vs. rationales.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2001. Greed and Grievance in Civil War. Unpublished paper; World Bank. [October 21, 2001 version].

James D. Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*. 97(1): 75-90

Nicolas Sambanis. 2002. What is a Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition. Yale University, unpublished paper.

Elisabeth J. Wood. 2003. Chapter 2: Ethnographic Research in the Shadow of Civil War, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press.

Recommended

Patrick Ball, Herbert F. Spirer, and Louise Spirer, eds. 2000. *Making the Case: Investigating Large Scale Human Rights Violations Using Information Systems and Data Analysis*. American Association for the Advancement of Science.
<http://shr.aaas.org/mtc/pdf/index.html>

Mats Berdal and David M. Malone, eds. 2000. *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Lynne Rienner.

3. September 17. Civil war violence: resources and patterns. War commodities; patterns of violence: selective, indiscriminate, sexual, etc.

Philippe Le Billon. The Political Economy of Resource Wars. In *Angola's war economy : the role of oil and diamonds*, Jakkie Cilliers and Christian Dietrich, eds., Pretoria : Institute for Security Studies, c2000.

Michael Ross. How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil War? Unpublished paper.

Stathis Kalyvas. 2001. 'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars. A Valid Distinction? *World Politics* 54: 99-118.

Alexandra Stiglmayer. The Rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In *Mass Rape. The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Alexandra Stiglmayer, ed. University of Nebraska Press.

Stathis Kalyvas. 1999. Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria. *Rationality and Society* 11(3): 243-85.

Recommended:

Daniel Byman, et. al. 2001. Diaspora Support for Insurgencies, Chapter 2 of *Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movements*. Santa Monica: RAND.

Michael Renner. 2002. *The Anatomy of Resource Wars*. Worldwatch Paper 162.

Anne Llewellyn Barstow, ed. *War's Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes Against Women*. Pilgrim

James Ron. 1997. Varying Methods of State Violence. *International Organization* 51(2): 275-3000.

Donna della Porta. 1995. *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State*. Cambridge.

Steve R. David. 1997. Internal War: Causes and Cures. *World Politics* 49(4): 552-76.

Timothy Wickham-Crowley. 1990. Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956-1970. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32(2): 201-37.

Donald Horowitz. 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. California.

Mary Kaldor. 1999. *New and Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Stanford.

4. September 24. Ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic mobilization. Security dilemmas. Elite manipulation. Focal points. Evolution of ethnic identities.

Rogers Brubaker and David D. Laitin. 1998. Ethnic and Nationalist Violence. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 423-52.

Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis. 1999. Civil War and the Security Dilemma. In Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*. Columbia.

James Fearon. Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict. In David Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear Diffusion, and Escalation*.

Kanchan Chandra, ed. 2001. Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic

Politics. *APSA-CP Newsletter Winter 2001*: 7-25. [Selections]

Recommended:

Daniel L. Byman. 2002. *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Elise Giuliano. 2000. Who Determines the Self in the Politics of Self-Determination? Identity and Preference Formation in Tatarstan's Nationalist Mobilization. *Comparative Politics* 32(3): 295-316.

David Lake and Donald Rothchild. 1996. Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict. *International Security* 21(2): 41-75.

Nicolas Sambanis. 2001. Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 45(4): 259-82.

Ashutosh Varshney. 2002. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale.

Russell Hardin. *One For All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton, 1995.

Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, eds. *The Myth of Ethnic Conflict: Politics, Economics and Cultural Violence*. Berkeley, 1999.

5. October 1. Civil war and genocide: Rwanda

Bruce D. Jones. 1999. Civil War, the Peace Process and Genocide in Rwanda. In *Civil Wars in Africa. Roots and Resolution*, Taisier M. Ali and Robert O Matthews, eds. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Philip Gourevitch. 1999. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. Picador.

Recommended:

Alexander Laban Hinton, ed. 2002. *Annihilating Difference. The Anthropology of Genocide*. Ed Alexander Laban Hinton. California.

Benjamin Valentino. 2000. Final solutions: the Causes of Mass Killings and Genocide. *Security Studies* 9(3): 1-59.

Norman M. Naimark. 2001. *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Harvard.

Jan Tomasz Gross. 2001. *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. Princeton.

Krain, Matthew. 1997. State-sponsored Mass Murder: the Onset and Severity of Genocides and Politicides. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 41(3): 331-60.

Gérard Prunier. 1995. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia.

Mahmood Mamdani. 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton

Alison Des Forges. 1999. *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch.

Patrick Ball, Paul Kobrak, and Herbert F. Spierer. 1999. *State Violence in Guatemala, 1960-1996: A Quantitative Reflection*. American Association for the Advancement of Science. <http://shr.aas.org/guatemala/ciidh/qr/english/index.html>

William Stanley. 1996. *The Protection Racket State*. Temple.

6. October 8. Negotiated settlements

Barbara Walter. 2002. *Committing to Peace: Successful Settlements of Civil Wars*. Princeton.

Recommended:

Sisk, Timothy D. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. New York: Carnegie Corporation.

Hirshleifer, Jack. 1995. Theorizing about Conflict, in K. Hartley and T. Sandler, eds., *Handbook of Defense Economics*, 166-189. Elsevier Science.

Hirshleifer, Jack. 1987. Conflict and Settlement, in John Eatwell, Murray Milgate, and Peter Newman, eds., *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*, Volume 1, pp. 56-570.

Licklider, Roy. 1995. The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993, *American Political Science Review* 89(3):681-690.

Mason, T. David and Patrick J. Fett, 1996. How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40 (4): 546-568.

Pillar, Paul R. 1983. *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ikle, Fred Charles. 1991. *Every War Must End*. New York: Columbia University Press.

7. October 15. Revolutionary civil wars and their settlements

Elisabeth J. Wood. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. Cambridge.

Recommended:

Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes. In *International Security* Vol. 22(2): 5-53.

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

Werner, Suzanne. 1998. Negotiating the Terms of Settlement: War Aims and Bargaining Leverage. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(3): 321-43.

Zartman, I. William. 1989. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa. Second Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zartman, I. William. 1995. *Elusive Peace: Negotiating An End to Civil Wars*. Washington D.C: Brookings Institution.

8. October 22. Negotiated settlements: a theoretical model

Elisabeth J. Wood. 2002. Ending Civil Wars: A Model of Robust Negotiated Settlements. Unpublished paper.

George Downs and Stephen John Stedman. 2002. Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation. In *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds. Lynne Rienner.

Due: Short statement of paper topic (1 page) and initial bibliography

Recommended:

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

Chaim Kaufman. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. *International Security* 20(4): 136-75.

Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis, *American Political Science Review* 44 (4).

Patrick M. Regan. 2002. Third-Party Intervention and the Duration of Interstate Conflicts. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1 February).

Hartzell, Caroline A. 1999. Explaining the Stability of Negotiated Settlements to Intrastate Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43(1): 3-22.

Kaufman, Chaim. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars, *International Security* 20(4): 136-175.

9. October 29. Civil war in Colombia.

Le Grand, Catherine C. 2003. The Colombian Crisis in Historical Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 28(55 and 56):165-210.

Leal, Claudia. 2003. Mapping the Colombian Conflict. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 28(55 and 56):211-222.

Richani, Nazih. 1997. The Political Economy of Violence: The War System in Colombia. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 39, 2.

Mauricio Romero. 2000. Changing Identities and Contested Settings: Regional Elites and the Paramilitaries in Colombia. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 14(1): 51-69.

López Restrepo, Andrés and Álvaro Camacho Guizado. 2003. From Smugglers to Warlords: Twentieth-Century Colombia Drug Traffickers. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 28(55 and 56):249-76.

Recommended:

Ricardo Rocha García. 2003. Drug Trafficking and its Impact on Colombia. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 28(55 and 56):277-304.

Ana María Bejarano. 2001. The Constitution of 1991: An Institutional Evaluation Seven Years Later. In Charles Bergquist, et. al., eds. *Violence in Colombia 1990-2000. Waging War and Negotiating Peace*. Scholarly Resources.

Charles Bergquist, et. al. 2001. *Violence in Colombia 1990-2000. Waging War and Negotiating Peace*. Scholarly Resources.

Rabasa, A. and Chack, P. 2001. *Colombian Labyrinth. The Synergy of Drugs and Insurgency, and its Implications of regional stability*. RAND.
<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1339/>

Diego Gambetta. 1993. *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Harvard.

Frank Safford and Marco Palacios. 2001. *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*. Oxford.

David Bushnell. 1993. *The Making of Modern Columbia: A Nation in Spite of Itself*. California.

10. November 5. Prospects for a negotiated settlement in Colombia.

Plan Colombia: A Plan for Peace, Prosperity, and the Strengthening of the State. 2001. From Charles Bergquist, et. al., *Violence in Colombia 1990-2000. Waging War and Negotiating Peace*, pps. 232-9. Scholarly Resources.

Marc W. Chernick. 1999. Negotiating Peace amid Multiple Forms of Violence: The Protracted Search for a Settlement to the Armed Conflicts in Colombia. In Cynthia J. Arnson, ed., *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America*. Stanford.

Mark Peceney and Michael Durnan. 2003. The FARC's Best Friend: United States Anti-Drug Policies and the Resurgence of Colombias Civil War in the 1990s. University of New Mexico: unpublished paper.

Bajarano, Ana María. 2003. Protracted Conflict, Multiple Protagonists, and Staggered Negotiations: Colombia, 1982-3003. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 28(55 and 56):223-49.

Recommended:

International Crisis Group. 2003. *Colombia's Humanitarian Crisis*. 9 July. Brussels: ICG Latin America Report N° 4.

Martin Hodgson. 2000. The Coca Leaf War. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 56(3): 36-46.

Marc W. Chernick. 1998. The Paramilitarization of the War in Colombia. *NACLA* 31(5): 28-32.

Nazih Richani. 2002. Colombia at the Crossroads: The Future of the Peace Accords. *NACLA* 35(4): 17-21.

11. November 12. The Israeli/Palestinian conflict as a civil war.

Simona Sharoni and Mohammed Abu-Nimer. 2000. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Deborah J. Gerner, ed., *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*.

Ziad Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza*, chapter 2, The Muslim Brotherhood and the Palestine Question, pp. 23-52.

Bassam Jarra, interview with Graham Usher. 1996. The Islamist Movement and the Palestinian Authority. Chapter 29 from Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, eds., *Political Islam:*

Essays from Middle East Report, pps 335-356. University of California.

Graham Usher, What Kind of Nation? The Rise of Hamas in the Occupied Territories, pp. 339-354. Chapter 30 from Stork and Beinlin, *Political Islam*

Ehud Sprinzak. 1998. Extremism and Violence in Israel: The Crisis of Messianic Politics. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 555: 14-26.

Recommended:

Sprinzak, Ehud. *The ascendance of Israel's radical right*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1991.

Charles Smith. 2001. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. (4th edition). Bedford/St. Martin's.

Beverley Milton-Edwards, *Islamic Politics in Palestine* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1996).

Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000).

Due: Outline of paper, statement of argument, bibliography

12. November 19. Prospects for a negotiated settlement to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.

The Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles. September 13, 1993. Washington, D.C. Reprinted as Document 11.1, pps. 506-10, in Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Fourth Edition. Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001

The Israel-Palestinian Interim Agreement (Oslo 2) on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. September 28, 1995. Reprinted as Document 11.2, pps. 510-6, in Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Fourth Edition. Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001.

"The Clinton Parameters." Clinton Proposal on Israeli-Palestinian Peace. White House, December 23, 2000.

M. Moratinos. 2001. Les minutes des négociations de Taba. *Le Monde diplomatique*. <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/proche-orient/tabaminutes>

A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. April 30, 2003. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/20062.htm>

The Geneva Accord. Yossi Beilin, Yasser Abed Rabbo, and others. Ha'aretz October 15, 2003.

film: *Shattered Dreams of Peace: The Road from Oslo*

Due: Draft of paper

Recommended:

Robert A. Pape. 2003. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 97(3):343-61.

Sharm El-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee *Final Report* [Mitchell Report].
<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/mitchell.htm>

Glenn E. Robinson. 1997. *Building a Palestinian State*. Indiana.

Amos Elon. 1997. Jerusalem Blues. *The New York Review of Books*. March 27, 1997

Amos Elon. 2002. Israelis and Palestinians: What Went Wrong? *The New York Review of Books*. December 19, 2002.

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley. 2001. Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors. *New York Review of Books*. August 9.

Benny Morris. 2002. Camp David and After: An Exchange (1. An Interview with Ehud Barak). *New York Review of Books*. June 13.

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley. 2002. Camp David and After: An Exchange (2. A Reply to Ehud Barak). *New York Review of Books*.

Ian Lustick. 2001. Camp David II: The Best Failure and Its Lessons. *Israel Studies Bulletin* (Spring): 1-7.

Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence. *International Organization* 56(2): 256-96.

November 26: no class meeting.

13 December 3. Conclusion.

Final paper due (no extensions without a medical excuse documented by a physician): December 10.