

**Civil Wars**  
**POL 340/INS 310**  
Spring 2020

Thursday 5:05PM – 7:50PM, Dooly Memorial 101

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Office Hours: Wed/Thur 2pm-3pm, 1300 Campo Sano, Room 240 C

**Description**

The course surveys the main theories and empirical findings on the causes of civil wars, their termination, and dynamics that occur in between. Questions addressed in the course include: What factors affect the risk of civil wars? Are ethnic civil wars different from wars fought for political ideology or material gains? What role do natural resources play in civil wars? How are civil wars fought? What determines which side wins? Why are civilians especially likely to be victimized in some civil wars but not in others? Why do warring parties resort to terrorism? Does targeting civilians help warring parties achieve their goals? What factors drive the behavior of rebel groups towards one another? What factors are more conducive to long-lasting peace? How do civil wars end?

**Learning Outcomes**

Students will

- become knowledgeable about the main theoretical debates on civil wars;
- become familiar with the main empirical patterns on the causes, dynamics and termination of civil wars;
- refine their critical skills in assessing the logical consistency and empirical backing of social scientific arguments about civil wars;
- learn how to apply theories and findings on civil wars to today's civil wars;
- learn how to apply theories and findings on civil wars to ongoing policy debates about counterinsurgency and external intervention in ongoing civil wars.

**Course Requirements**

This course will be run as a seminar, requiring thoughtful and informed student participation.

To maximize reading time, there is no research paper assignment. Instead, assignments will consist of:

- two very short response papers (2 pages), presenting the student's reaction to/thoughts about weekly readings. Students will choose the two class meetings before Spring break for

which to write their response papers, each of which counts for 10% of the final grade (so 20% total).

- take-home midterm consisting of a 5-7 page essay (prompt handed out on March 19, due via email on March 26 at midnight) and a take-home final exam also consisting of a short essay. The midterm counts for 30% of the final grade.

- take-home final consisting of a 5-7 page essay (prompt handed out on the last day of class, due via email on May 7 at midnight). The final counts for 30% of the grade.

Class participation counts for the remaining 20%. Students will obtain an A in class participation only if they regularly take part in class discussion and contribute to it thoughtfully, clearly displaying familiarity with the assigned readings. Mere class presence without any sign of involvement (e.g., spending all class-time staring at a laptop screen) and without contribution to discussion will result in a poor class participation score. I am happy to provide feedback to students about their ongoing class participation and how to improve it. Students must do all the required readings in advance of the corresponding class meeting.

Readings: The course requires reading and pondering 100/120 pages of political science materials per week. All required readings are listed numerically. All required readings can be found on Blackboard under “Course Documents” or through the UM library website when specified in the syllabus.

Recommended readings are included in the syllabus only as suggestions for students especially interested in a given topic and are available upon request.

Students are strongly encouraged to read the world news section of a major daily—e.g. *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times*, etc.—or their online equivalents.

### **Prerequisites**

None, but having taken POL 203 or INS 101 would be useful.

### **Rules and procedures**

Email correspondence. I am happy to address any issue via email, but I prefer to meet in person during office hours or by appointment to discuss substantive course-related topics. Please allow 24/48 hours for me to respond.

Read your emails. From time to time, I will make announcements related to the course via email (in particular related to scheduling issues) and will assume you have read those emails.

Don't cheat. The standard caveats about academic honesty obtain. Any violation will result in the matter being turned over immediately to the Dean's office, with a high risk of failing the class.

Please consult the UM's honor code at:

[http://www.miami.edu/sa/index.php/policies\\_and\\_procedures/honor\\_code](http://www.miami.edu/sa/index.php/policies_and_procedures/honor_code)

Phone and laptops. I strongly encourage you not to use laptops and phones while in class, so as to achieve the best possible learning experience for you and your classmates.

There is quite a bit of evidence indicating that taking notes with pen and paper, rather than typing, facilitates student learning; moreover, laptops and cellphones are a source of distraction for both the students using them and their peers sitting nearby when inappropriately employed to navigate the internet, watch videos etc. (see, for example, Pam A. Mueller and Daniel M. Oppenheimer, “The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking,” *Psychological Science*, 2014; Faria Sana et al., “Laptop Multitasking Hinders Classroom Learning for Both Users and Nearby Peers,” *Computer & Education*, 2013; “Attention Students: Put Your Laptops Away,” NPR, <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/17/474525392/attention-students-put-your-laptops-away>).

Don't miss deadlines. Prompt (i.e., within one business day) written justification from doctors, deans, and coaches may excuse late submissions (and class absences). Once a make-up deadline is scheduled, students will have to respect it.

Appeals. I am happy to provide feedback on assignments during office hours. If you wish to appeal a grade, at least two days after you received it, please write a petition (2 pages maximum) outlining your reasoning, and resubmit your work. It will then be marked with fresh eyes and receive a final grade, which may go up, go down, or remain unaltered.

Disabilities. Students with disabilities should contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS, <http://umarc.miami.edu/arc/ODS.html>) to obtain appropriate academic accommodations and support.

**Lecture 1: Introduction and Definitions** (January 16) [53 pp.]

- 1) Nicholas Sambanis, “What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2004. [19 pp., [stop reading at page 831](#)]
- 2) Stathis N. Kalyvas, “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics*, 2001. [20 pp.]
- 3) Therese Pettersson and Kristine Eck, “Organized violence, 1989-2017,” *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (4), 2018. [13 pp.]

Recommended:

Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel, “Civil War,” *Journal of Economic Literature*, 2010.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (Basic Books, 1977).

Michael L. Gross, *The Ethics of Insurgency: A Critical Guide to Just Guerrilla Warfare* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Hazem Adam Ghobarah, Paul Huth, and Paul Russett, “Civil Wars Kill and Maim People—Long After the Shooting Stops,” *American Political Science Review*, 2003.

Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (Penguin Books, 2011).

Tanisha M. Fazal, “Dead Wrong? Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise,” *International Security*, 2014.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, “How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime—and How They Do Not,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.

Paul Staniland, “Armed Politics and the Study of Intrastate Conflict,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2017.

Romain Malejacq, “Warlords, Intervention, and State Consolidation: A Typology of Political Orders in Weak and Failed States,” *Security Studies*, 2016.

Barbara F. Walter, “The New New Civil Wars,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2017.

## **Lecture 2: Causes – Military Opportunity and Economic Incentives**

(January 23) [92 pp.]

- 1) James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 2003. [16 pp.]
- 2) Michael L. Ross, *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations* (Princeton University Press, 2012), chapter 5 (electronic copy available <http://library.miami.edu>). [43 pp.]
- 3) James Raymond Vreeland, "The Effect of Political Regime on Civil War: Unpacking Anocracy," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2008. [25 pp.]
- 4) Mini case study #1, Ethiopia in 1975: Gebru Tareke, *The Ethiopian Revolution* (Yale University Press, 2009) pp. 83-89. [7 pp.]
- 5) Mini case study #2, Iraq in 1964: Gavin Young, "No bombs were dropped today," *The Observer*, 29 December, 1963. [1 p.]

### Recommended:

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars," *Oxford Economic Papers*, 2004.

Cullen S. Hendrix, "Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for the Study of Civil Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research*, 2010.

Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath and Ernest Sergenti, "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict" *Journal of Political Economy*, 2004.

Stefano Costalli, Luigi Moretti, and Costantino Pischedda, "The Economic Costs of Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research*, 2017.

Michael L. Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization*, 2004.

James D. Fearon, "Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2005.

Michael L. Ross, "A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2006.

**Lecture 3: Causes: Grievances, Ethno-Nationalism and Strategic Interactions between States and Minorities** (January 30) [101 pp.]

- 1) Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min, "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis," *World Politics*, 2010. [33 pp.]
- 2) Philip Roessler, "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa," *World Politics*, 2011. [47 pp.]
- 3) Philip Roessler, "Why South Sudan Has Exploded in Violence," *The Monkey Cage, Washington Post*, 2013. [3 pp.]
- 4) Barbara Walter, "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but Not Others," *American Journal of Political Science*, 2006. [18 pp.]

Recommended:

Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, 1993.

Nicholas Sambanis, "Do Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2001.

Alan J. Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly*, 2008.

Barbara F. Walter, "Information, Uncertainty and the Decision to Secede," *International Organization*, 2006.

Arman Grigoryan "Concessions or Coercion? How Governments Respond to Restive Ethnic Minorities," *International Security*, 2015.

Arman Grigoryan, "Third Party Intervention and the Escalation of State-Minority Conflicts," *International Studies Quarterly*, 2010.

Ryan Griffiths, "Between Dissolution and Blood: How Administrative Lines and Categories Shape Secessionist Outcomes," *International Organization*, 2015.

Manuel Vogt, "Ethnic Stratification and the Equilibrium of Inequality: Ethnic Conflict in Post-colonial States," *International Organization*, 2018.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian S. Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Roger Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Valerie M. Hudson and Hilary Matfess, "In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict," *International Security*, 2017

**Lecture 4: Warfare Type and Insurgency** (February 6) [78 pp.]

- 1) Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. and trans. (Princeton University Press, 1976), book VI, chap. 26. [5 pp.]
- 2) Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, Samuel B. Griffith trans. (Fredrick A. Praeger: 1962), chapters 1, 2, and 6. [11 pp.]
- 3) Seth G. Jones, *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State* (Oxford University Press, 2017), ch. 4. [26 pp.]
- 4) Andrew Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars," *World Politics*, 1975. [22 pp., stop reading at p. 196]
- 5) Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells, "International System and Technologies of Rebellion" *American Political Science Review*, 2010. [15 pp.]

Recommended:

Carl von Clausewitz, *On Small War*, Christopher Daase and James W. Davis eds. and trans. (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Mao Tse-tung, "On the Protracted War" (excerpts), in *Selected Works*, vol. 2 (International Publishers: 1954) [in particular pp. 180-193].

Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

Harry Summers Jr., *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War* (Presidio, 1982).

Adam Lockyer, "The Dynamics of Warfare in Civil War," *Civil Wars*, 2010.

Ivan Arreguín-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security*, 2001.

Joseph Felter, and Patrick Johnston, "Aid Under Fire: Development Projects and Civil Conflict," *The American Economic Review*, 2014.

Eli Berman, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *Journal of Political Economy*, 2011.

Patrick Johnston, "Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns," *International Security*, 2012.

Peter Krause, "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence," *Security Studies*, 2013.

**Lecture 5: Counterinsurgency I** (Feb 13) [103 pp.]

- 1) Andrew F. Krepinevich Jr., *The Army and Vietnam* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1986), pp. 164-168, 177-181, 194-214. [31 pp.]
- 2) Karl Hack, "The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2009. [32 pp.]
- 3) Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in COIN Wars," *International Organization*, 2009. [40 pp.]

Recommended:

D. Michael Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of US Counterinsurgency Policy* (Princeton University Press, 1988).

US Army/Marine Corps, *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Eli Berman, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro, *Small Wars, Big Data* (Princeton University Press, 2018).

Douglas Porch, *Counterinsurgency: Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Gian Gentile, *Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counter-insurgency* (New York Press, 2013).

Austin Long, *The Soul of Armies: Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Military Culture in the US and UK* (Cornell University Press, 2016).

Kelly M. Greenhill and Paul Staniland. "Ten Ways to Lose at Counterinsurgency," *Civil Wars*, 2007.

Ben Connable and Martin C. Libicki, *How Insurgencies End* (Rand Corporation, 2010).

Jeffrey A. Friedman, "Manpower and Counterinsurgency" *Security Studies*, 2011.

Jason Lyall, "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War," *American Political Science Review*, 2010.

Stephen Biddle, "Afghanistan's Legacy: Emerging Lessons of an Ongoing War," *The Washington Quarterly*, 2014.



**Lecture 6: Counterinsurgency II** (Feb 20) [125 pp.]

- 1) Asfandyar Mir, “What Explains Counterterrorism Effectiveness? Evidence from the U.S. Drone War in Pakistan,” *International Security*, 2018. [39]
- 2) Austin Long, “Whack-a-Mole or Coup de Grace? Institutionalization and Leadership Targeting in Iraq and Afghanistan,” *Security Studies*, 2014. [42 pp.]
- 3) Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro, “Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007? *International Security*, 2012. [34 pp.]

**Lecture 7: Treatment of Civilians I** (February 27) [96 pp.]

- 1) Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapters 6-8 and pp. 278-90 (available at <http://library.miami.edu>). [79 pp.]
- 2) Dara Kay Cohen, “Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009),” *American Political Science Review*, 2013. [17 pp.]

Recommended:

Paul Staniland, “Myanmar: Understanding the Rohingya Insurgency,” IAPS Dialogue, 2017.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew A. Kocher, “The Dynamics of Violence in the Vietnam War: An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES),” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2009.

Laia Balcells, *Rivalry and Revenge* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Benjamin Lessing, “Logics of Violence in Criminal War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.

Jessica A. Stanton, *Violence and Restraint in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Cornell University Press, 2004)

Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2006).

Lars-Erik Cederman and Manuel Vogt, “Dynamics and Logics of Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2017.

Paul K. MacDonald, “‘Retribution Must Succeed Rebellion’: The Colonial Origins of Counterinsurgency Failure,” *International Organizations*, 2013.

**Lecture 8: Treatment of Civilians II** (March 6) [123 pp.]

- 1) Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions* (Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 9-15, ch. 3, ch. 5 (section on Rwanda only) and ch. 6 (section on Guatemala only). [54 pp.]
- 2) Scott Straus, "What Is the Relationship between Hate Radio and Violence? Rethinking Rwanda's 'Radio Machete'," *Politics & Society*, 2007. [29 pp.]
- 3) Colin Khal, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *International Security*, 2007. [40 pp.]

Recommended:

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Cornell University Press, 2008).

Benjamin A. Valentino, "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2014.

Benjamin A. Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization*, 2004.

Zeyneb Bulutgil, *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Evgeny Finke, *Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival During the Holocaust* (Princeton University Press, 2017).

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Insurgency* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Zachariah Mampilly, *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly (eds.), *Rebel Governance in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 2006.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science*, 2008.

Lee Ann Fujii, "The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2013.

**March 7-15 Spring Recess – No class on March 12**

**Lecture 9: Is Civilian Targeting “Effective”?** (March 19) [132 pp.]

**Take-home midterm exam handed out, due via email March 26, at midnight**

- 1) Max Abrahms, *Rules for Rebels* (Oxford, 2018), chs. 4-5. [24 pp.]
- 2) Page V. Fortna, “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes,” *International Organization*, 2015. [38 pp.]
- 3) Emil Aslan Souleimanov and David S. Siroky, “Random or Retributive? Indiscriminate Violence in the Chechen Wars,” *World Politics*, 2016. [36 pp.]
- 4) Jacqueline L. Hazelton, “The “Hearts and Minds” Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare,” *International Security* 42, no. 1, 2017. [34 pp.]

Recommended:

Jason Lyall, “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2009.

Matthew A. Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 2009.

Alexander B. Downes, “Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy,” *Civil Wars*, 2007.

Luke N. Condra and Jacob N. Shapiro, “Who Takes the Blame? The Strategic Effects of Collateral Damage.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 2012.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew A. Kocher, “How Free is ‘Free Riding’ in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem,” *World Politics*, 2007.

Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Imai, Kosuke, “Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan,” *American Political Science Review*, 2013.

Sebastian Schutte, “Violence and Civilian Loyalties: Evidence from Afghanistan,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2017.

Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security*, 2008.

Costantino Pischedda, “Ethnic Conflict and the Limits of Nonviolent Resistance,” working paper, 2019.

**No class on March 26th (I am attending the International Studies Association annual conference). Midterm due at midnight**

**Lecture 10: Inter-rebel Relations** (April 3) [111 pp.]

- 1) Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 2 (electronic copy available at the <http://library.miami.edu>). [23 pp.]
- 2) Peter Krause, “The Structure of Success: How the Internal Distribution of Power Drives Armed Group Behavior and National Movement Effectiveness,” *International Security*, 2014. [49 pp.]
- 3) Costantino Pischedda, “Wars Within Wars: How Windows of Opportunity and Vulnerability Cause Inter-rebel Fighting,” *International Security*. [39 pp.]

Recommended:

Austin Long, “The Anbar Awakening,” *Survival*, 2008.

Paul Staniland, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Insurgent Fratricide, Ethnic Defection, and the Rise of Pro-State Paramilitaries,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2012.

Lee Seymour, “Alignment in Civil Wars” *International Security*, 2014.

Reed M. Wood and Jacob D. Kathman, “Competing for the Crown: Inter-rebel Competition and Civilian Targeting in Civil War,” *Political Research Quarterly*, 2015.

Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Kristin M. Bakke, and Lee J. M. Seymour, “Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2012.

Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen G. Cunningham, and Lee J. M. Seymour, “A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion and Infighting in Civil Wars,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 2012.

Håvard Mogleiv Nygård and Michael Weintraub, “Bargaining Between Rebel Groups and the Outside Option of Violence,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2015.

Morgan Kaplan, “How Civilian Perceptions Affect Patterns of Violence and Competition in Multi-Party Insurgencies,” working paper 2015.

Eric S. Mosinger, “Brothers or Others in Arms? Civilian Constituencies and Rebel Fragmentation in Civil War,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2018.

Mohammed M. Hafez, “Fratricidal Rebels: Ideological Extremity and Warring Factionalism in Civil Wars,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2017.

Theodore McLaughlin and Wendy Pearlman, “OutGroup Conflict, In-Group Unity? Exploring the Effect of Repression on Intramovement Cooperation,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2012.

### **Lecture 11: Social Networks, Ideology and Religion** (April 10) [120 pp.]

- Paul Staniland, “Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia,” *International Security*, 2012. [36 pp.]
- Stefano Costalli and Andrea Ruggeri, “Indignation, Ideologies, and Armed Mobilization: Civil War in Italy, 1943–45,” *International Security*, 2015. [39 pp.]
- Barbara Walter, “The Extremist’s Advantage in Civil Wars,” *International Security*, 2017. [33 pp.]
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, “Jihadi Rebels in Civil War,” *Daedalus*, 2018. [12 pp.]

#### Recommended:

Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Sarah E. Parkinson, “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War,” *American Political Science Review*, 2013.

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín and Elisabeth Jean Wood, “Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adoption and Beyond,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2014.

Laija Balcells and Costantino Pischetta, “Do Opposites Attract? Marxism, Ethno-nationalism, Islamism and Rebel Alliances,” working paper, 2018.

Navin A. Bapat and Kanisha D. Bond, “Alliances between Militant Groups,” *British Journal of Political Science*, 2012.

Paul Staniland, “Militias, Ideology, and the State,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.

Aisha Ahmad, “Going Global: Islamist Competition in Contemporary Civil Wars,” *Security Studies*, 2016.

Costantino Pischetta and Manuel Vogt, “The Ambivalence of Religion: Religious Organizational Agendas, Self-determination, and Civil War,” working paper, 2020.

### **Lecture 12: Termination – Negotiated Settlements and Power-sharing**

(April 17) [120 pp.]

- 1) William Zartman, “The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments,” *Ethnopolitics*, 2001. [11 pp.]
- 2) Stephen John Stedman, “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes,” *International Security*,

1997. [49 pp.]

- 3) Barbara F. Walter, “Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace,” *International Security*, 1999. [29 pp.]
- 4) Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (Pennsylvania State University, 2007), ch. 5. [31 pp.]

Recommended:

Daniel L. Byman, *Keeping the Peace* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Donald Rothchild and Philip Roeder, “Power-sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy,” in Roeder and Rothchild, *Sustainable Peace* (Cornell University Press, 2005).

Kelly M. Greenhill, and Solomon Major, “The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords,” *International Security*, 2007.

Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, “Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 2003.

Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, “The Art of the Possible: Power Sharing and Post—Civil War Democracy,” *World Politics*, 2015.

Barbara Walter, “Why Bad Governance Leads to Repeat Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015.

Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Stephen Long, “Civil War Intervention and the Problem of Iraq,” *International Studies Quarterly*, 2012.

Lise Morjé Howard and Alexandra Stark, “How Civil Wars End: The International System, Norms, and the Role of External Actors,” *International Security*, 2017/18.

David E. Cunningham, “Veto Players and Civil War Duration,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 2006.

David M. Edelstein, “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail,” *International Security*, 2004.

David Cunningham, “Veto Players and Civil War Duration,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 2006.

**Lecture 13: Termination – Military Victory, Peacekeeping, and Partition** (April 24) [95 pp.]

- 1) Edward Luttwak, “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs*, 1999. [9 pp.]
- 2) Page V. Fortna, “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace?” *International Studies Quarterly*, 2004. [24 pp.]
- 3) Chaim Kaufmann, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic War,” in Richard Betts, ed., *Conflict after the Cold War* (Pearson Longman, 2013). [18 pp.]
- 4) Lise Morjé Howard and Alexandra Stark, “How Civil Wars End: The International System, Norms, and the Role of External Actors,” *International Security* 42, no. 3, 2017-2018. [44 pp.]

Recommended:

Radha Kumar, “The Troubled History of Partition,” *Foreign Affairs*, 1997.

Chaim Kaufmann, “When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century,” *International Security*, 1998.

Julian Wucherpfennig et al., “Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil Wars,” *World Politics*, 2012.

Alexander Downes, “The Holy Land Divided,” *Security Studies*, 2001.

Costantino Pischedda, “Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Conflict,” *International Spectator*, 2008.

Carter Johnson, “Partitioning to Peace” *International Security*, 2008.

Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, “What’s in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?” *International Security*, 2009.

Ronald R. Krebs and Roy Licklider, “United They Fall: Why the International Community Should Not Promote Military Integration after Civil War,” *International Security*, 2015-16.

Cyrus Samii, “Perils or Promise of Ethnic Integration? Evidence from a Hard Case in Burundi,” *American Political Science Review*, 2013.

David E. Cunningham, “Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2010.

Page V. Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work?* (Princeton University Press, 2008).

Aila M. Matanock, "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict," *International Security*, 2017.

Andrea Ruggeri, Han Dorussen, and Ismene Gizelis, "Winning the Peace Locally: UN Peacekeeping and Local Conflict," *International Organization*, 2017.

**Final take-home exam due at midnight on May 7 via email**