Civil war is a subject of scholarly study as old as the field of political science itself. The topic has taken on a new prominence, however, in the post-cold war international environment, and academic research has exploded in the past 23 years. Although the topic is by definition in the field of comparative politics – civil wars are wars that are internal to a particular country and its sovereign borders – this definition does not reflect the reality of contemporary civil wars, including structural causes located in globalization, their regional and transnational dynamics, and the new normative consensus internationally on both the right and the responsibility to intervene to stop the violence. Moreover, as war, students of international relations are also deeply engaged in its study, including current interest in the changing character of war.

So, in fact, the literature on civil wars does cross back and forth between comparative politics and international relations, and in its course, reveals their very different theoretical and research approaches to a subject and exposes both the fuzziness of the boundary between the two subfields and the immense differences of mind-set and difficulty of doing genuinely interdisciplinary work. Students in the seminar are free to choose which literatures of political science are most of interest to their study and research, even though the seminar itself is classified as a course in comparative politics.

This is a research seminar, which means that the readings and discussion will aim to make the student as knowledgeable about the literature, its debates, unanswered questions, and research frontiers on this topic as possible, while the goal is a research project and paper. Students should be warned that the best of this literature is based on case studies, wonderfully rich but detailed and lengthy.

**Grading** will be based on four responsibilities (**Assignments**):

- one page, or less, summary of the arguments in the readings for each seminar session, to be handed in at the time of that session (in class or by email)
- informed participation in the discussion of the readings for that session
• providing resident expertise for the seminar on one country case, contributing to the discussion with examples from that case or the literature on that case, as the discussion requires
• a final research paper, due May 24, 5:00 p.m. (and no later).

Writing assignment deadlines:

1. weekly, a brief summary of the arguments of the readings for that session (by brief, I mean even less than a page, though you can do more if you wish for your own records; but it’s a good opportunity to practice conciseness)
2. February 27: research topic due, preferably as a research question if you can; I wanted this by February 20 but we do not have a meeting then; if you can send it sooner, that would be excellent (so, in class hard copy or by email before)
3. March 6: your research question due, in class or by email beforehand
4. May 15: a 10-minute (maximum; good practice!) presentation of the argument of your research paper
5. May 24: research paper due by 5:00 p.m. (no exceptions except for emergencies)

Readings and the Books you may wish to purchase:

Most of the readings are journal articles and working papers; those that are not available on the Mina Rees journal access (look there first) are placed on Blackboard.

There are only two books that we will read in their entirety, and for those, I have not ordered them at a local bookstore because I prefer to give our library the benefit of orders on Amazon placed through the Mina Rees site (a link on the left column). You may wish to purchase them. You may also wish to purchase other books on the syllabus, and I am happy to offer advice.


Seminar Schedule

January 30  Introduction: An Overview of the Field

February 6  Definitions: What is Civil War, and does it matter?


Further Reading:
Annual *States in Armed Conflict*, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Annually, data reported in *Journal of Peace Research*; the most recent is:


February 13 “Causes” and Classifications: Part I


Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, chapter 3 (pp. 52-86).

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing* (London: Hurst 2006)/ *Violence in Developing Countries: War, Memory, Progress* (Indiana University Press 2007), chapters 2-3 (chapter 6 if you wish to read further): 49-138.
David Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (Currey and Palgrave 2005), chs. 1 and 4 (pp.1-7, 56-81).


Further Reading:


The UPPSALA/PRIO dataset: ([www.pcr.uu.se/database](http://www.pcr.uu.se/database))


Special Issue of *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:4 (August 2005) on “Primary Commodities and Civil War”


**NB: NO CLASS ON FEBRUARY 20**

**DUE February 27: Research Topic (better yet, Research Question), in class**

February 27 “Causes” and Classifications: Part II


Stephen M. Saideman and Marie-Joelle Zahar, eds., *Intra-State Conflict, Governments and Security: Dilemmas of deterrence and assurance* (Routledge: 2008), chs. 1, 2, and 11 (pp. 1-32, 205-221); recommended further: chs. 3, 4 (pp. 33-71).


Further Reading:

Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*

Russell Hardin, *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*


**DUE March 6: Research Paper’s research question, in class or by email by 5:00 pm**

March 6 Methodological debates

(quantitative vs. qualitative approaches; macrodynamics vs. microdynamics (and meso); intrastate vs. transnational; comparative politics vs. international relations)


Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Transnational Dynamics of Civil War,” mimeo (Simon Fraser University and Centre for the Study of Civil War, PRIO, May 2010).


Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, ch. 2 (pp. 32-51).


Further Reading:


Michael McGovern, Making War in Cote d’Ivoire (Chicago 2011), Preface.


March 13 Civil War Violence

Stathis Kalyvas, The Logic of Violence in Civil War, introduction, chapters 4, 5, 7, 11, and conclusion (pages 1-15, 87-145, 173-209, 364-392); take a look, at least, at chapters 6, 8, 9, 10 (pages 146-172, 210-363).


Further reading:


Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence, eds., Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict (MIT Press 2010).


March 20 The New Wars Debate
Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford University Press 2006/7), chs. 1, 2, and 5 (pp. 1-32, 95-118).

Further Reading:
- Follow the annual Uppsala reports, including *States in Armed Conflict*, on what they call “one-sided violence.”
- *Small Wars*, the journal

**NB: Spring Recess: no class on March 27**

April 3 Participation and the Collective Action Problem


For the maps in color, go to [http://www.cambridge.org/us/features/wood](http://www.cambridge.org/us/features/wood) (click on the links to figures on the left hand margin)


Jeannie Annan, Christopher Blattman, Dyan Mazurana, Khristopher Carlson,


Further Reading:


April 10 The organization of civil war/technologies of warfare

Jeremy Weinstein, Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence (Cambridge University Press 2007), introduction, chs 1 and 8 (pp. 1-60, 299-326); highly recommended that you also read at least chs. 4-5 (pp. 127-197).


Zachariah Cherian Mampilly, Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War (Cornell 2011), chs. 1, 2, and 7 (pp. 1-47, 209-230).

Fotini Christia, Alliance Formation in Civil Wars (Cambridge University Press 2012), introduction, chs. 1, 2, 8, and conclusion (pp. 1-54, 213-246); the two case studies are Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina for those of you who wish to read further.

Further Reading:


**April 17** Civil War Economies: Functions or Finance?

David Keen, “Incentives and Disincentives for Violence,” in Mats Berdal and David Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil War* (Lynne Rienner 2000), ch. 2 (pp. 19-41) (if you wish to read further, see his *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil War*, Adelphi Paper 320 [Oxford 1998].)


Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman, eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Lynne Rienner 2003), chs. 1, 3, and 10, pp. 1-18, 47-70, 259-282 (if you wish, read case study chapters: on Colombia, Nepal, Bougainville, Kosovo, Sri Lanka, and Burma).


Further Reading:


Special Issue of *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:4 (August 2005) on “Primary Commodities and Civil War.”

April 24  Duration and Process


Further Reading:
Sharon E. Hutchinson, Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State (California 1996), Prologue (pp. 1-20) and Ch. 3, “Guns, Warfare, and the State” (pp. 103-157).

May 1  What role outsiders? the IFIs, donors, US military, intervenors

(references and data are at www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/full/336/6083/805/DC1).

Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Kumarian: 1998), chs. 1, 7, and 11 (pp. 1-10, 141-169, 224-238); please read further (e.g., chs. 3, 5 and entire book if you can).


Further Reading:


Alex Veit, *Intervention as Indirect Rule: the politics of civil war and statebuilding in Ituri* (Campus-Verlag: 2011).

May 8  Gender and Civil War


Judith Large, “Disintegration conflicts and the restructuring of masculinity,”

Further Reading:

May 15 Discussion of Research Papers and Findings (individual reports)

May 24 *Final Research Paper Due*

Case Studies: Suggestions (slightly idiosyncratic) to get started

You may also want to subscribe to the research reports from the Human Security Project at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, where the Human Security Reports are based; it is a superb source (it used to be a daily source of information on ongoing violent conflict, but sadly is no longer): hsprsubs@sfu.ca or simply check their website regularly: www.humansecuritygateway.com

Afghanistan
Go onto the Chr. Michelsen Institute website and read their publications on Afghanistan (www.cmi.no), including everything by Astri Suhrke


Dipali Mukhopadhyay, Warlords, Strongmen Governors, and State Building in Afghanistan (Cambridge University Press forthcoming)

Algeria


Angola

Christopher Cramer, Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries (Hurst 2006), chapter 4.

Philippe Le Billon, “Resource Wealth and Angola’s Uncivil Wars,” in Aronson and Zartman, eds., Rethinking the Economics of War, ch. 5 (pp. 107-139).

Burma/Myanmar

Mary Callahan (2003), Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma (Cornell University Press).

Burundi


Peter Uvin, Life after Violence: A People’s Story of Burundi (Zed: 2009)

Colombia

Ana M. Arjona and Stathis N. Kalyvas, “Preliminary Results of a Survey of Demobilized Combatants in Colombia,” May 2006, on Kalyvas’ website at Yale.


Congo, Democratic Republic of (formerly Zaire)

El Salvador

Cote d’Ivoire
- Till Foster, “*Maintenant on sait qui est qui*: Statehood and Political Reconfiguration in Northern Cote d’Ivoire,” in Tobias Hagmann and Didier Picard, *Negotiating Statehood: Dynamics of Power and Domination in Africa* (Wiley 2011), but also published originally in *Development and Change* 41:4 (July 2010).

Georgia/Abkhazia/South Ossetia

Haiti (civil war?)
- Alex Dupuy, *The Prophet and Power: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti* (Rowman and Littlefield: 2007)

India (northeast and Kashmir)
- Namrata Goswami, on the website of the Institute for Defence and Security Analysis (New Delhi).

Korea

Lebanon
Elizabeth Picard, “Trafficking, Rents, and Diaspora in the Lebanese War,” in Arnson and Zartman, eds., *Rethinking the Economics of War*, ch. 2 (pp. 23-51).

Liberia

Mozambique

Nepal
Arjun Karki and David Seddon, eds., *The People’s War in Nepal: Left Perspectives* (Delhi: Adroit, 2003)
Russia (Northern Caucasus)
Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*
Valery Tishkov
Charles King and Rajan Menon, “Prisoners of the Caucasus,” *Foreign Affairs* 89:4 (July/August 2010), 20-34.

Rwanda
Bruce Jones, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure* (Rienner 2001)
Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell 2006)
Alison des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*

Senegal

Sierra Leone
David Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*
Paul Richards, *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth, and Resources in Sierra Leone* (The International African Institute in association with James Currey and Heineman)

Somalia

Spain
Sri Lanka
   Jayadeva Uyangoda, as assigned above (and everything else)
   Jonathan Spencer, “On Not Becoming a ‘Terrorist’: Problems of Memory, 
   and Subjectivity, pp.120-140.

Sudan
   Francis Deng, War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in Sudan (Brookings 1995) 
   Alex de Waal, “Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and 
   External Engagement,” SSRC paper 
   Sharon E. Hutchinson, Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State 
   (University of California Press 1996). 
   Gunnar Sorbo, www.cmi.no

Timor Leste (actually, an independence struggle; perhaps 2006?)
   Ben Moxham, State-Making and the Post-Conflict City: Integration in Dili, 
   Disintegration in Timor-Leste, Working Paper 32, Cities and Fragile States Series, Crisis 
   States Research Centre, Development Studies Institute (DESTIN), London School of 

Yugoslavia
   Steven L. Burg and Paul Shoup, The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict 
   and International Intervention (M.E.Sharpe: 1999) 
   Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War 
   (Brookings 1995)

Countries with armed conflict/civil war since 1990
Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Angola
Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)
Bangladesh
Burma/Myanmar
Burundi
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Cambodia
Central African Republic
Chad
Colombia
Congo-Brazzaville
D.R. Congo (Zaire)
Cote d’Ivoire
Croatia (Prevlaka; Krajina; Eastern Slavonia)
Djibouti
East Timor
Ethiopia
Ethiopia\Eritrea
El Salvador
Fiji
Georgia (Abkhazia; South Ossetia)
Guatemala
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Haiti
Indonesia (Papua; Aceh; Moluccas)
India (Kashmir; Assam)
Iran
Iraq (Kurds; Shiites; post-US invasion)
Israel\Palestine
Kenya
Lebanon
Liberia
Macedonia
Mali
Mexico (Chiapas)
Moldova (Transnistria)
Mozambique
Nepal

Nicaragua
Niger
Northern Ireland
Pakistan
Papua New Guinea
Peru
Philippines
Russia (Chechnya; north Caucasus)
Rwanda
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Solomon Islands
Somalia
South Africa
Spain (Basque country)
Sri Lanka
Sudan (North/South; Darfur; East)
Tajikistan
Turkey (Kurdish southeast)
Uganda (north)
United Kingdom (Northern Ireland)
Uzbekistan
Western Sahara
Yemen
Yugoslav succession (Slovenia; Croatia; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Kosovo)