

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 2190.80/POLITICAL SCIENCE 2994.81  
CIVIL WARS**

*The George Washington University*

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Fall 2018

Time: MW, 2:20 – 3:35PM

Room: Gov 104

Office Hours: Tues., 10:30AM – 12:00PM

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## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Civil war is by far the most common form of state-based armed conflict today. Depending on how one counts, between 171 and 285 civil wars have been fought since the end of World War II, compared to around 40 interstate wars. Civil wars are also extremely deadly, causing the deaths of millions of people, the majority of them noncombatants. The end of the Cold War focused the attention of scholars of comparative politics and international relations on civil conflict, leading to a growing literature on all facets of civil war, including civil war onset, duration, outcome, and termination; causes and effectiveness of targeting civilians in civil wars; why people join rebel groups; the effectiveness of various forms of intervention in civil wars; counterinsurgency; and more.

This course explores some of the new literature on civil war, and is divided into four parts. The first part is mainly definitional: what is a civil war? What kinds of civil wars are there? What are insurgency and counterinsurgency? What is terrorism? These class sessions outline working definitions for each of these phenomena that we will use during the remainder of the course.

The second section of the course looks at the causes of civil war. War is a costly and risky endeavor, and rebels face particularly steep odds going up against states that are typically far more powerful. Why then do civil wars occur? Which kinds of factors increase the odds that civil conflict will break out in a country? This section covers the greed versus grievance debate that has dominated the literature for the past two decades, but also examines the role of fear, opportunity, political leaders, institutions, and external actors in provoking or mediating the outbreak of violence.

The third part of the course turns to the conduct of civil wars with an emphasis on one particularly prevalent but unsavory practice: violence against civilians. Civil wars—the majority of which are waged as guerrilla insurgencies—place the civilian population directly in the middle of the contest: insurgents need civilian support to survive and thrive, while the government seeks to deny rebels access to the population. Both sides use violence as a resource to compel collaboration and deter defection. This type of “terrorism” is both very common and underappreciated. This part of the course will study the causes and effectiveness of this kind of violence. We will also look specifically at less violent strategies of counterinsurgency, including “hearts and minds” or “population-centric” approaches and “decapitation,” as well as the effect of ethnicity on violence, why individuals choose to join rebel groups, and why some rebel groups are more cohesive than others.

The final section of the course looks at what makes civil wars last so long and what eventually brings them to an end. Specific topics covered include civil war duration, civil war outcomes, and different ways of stopping civil wars. Of particular interest is the question of what (if anything) outsiders can do to facilitate the termination of civil wars and prevent their recurrence. To that end, we spend several class sessions on different types of settlements to civil wars and different methods of international engagement.

It is important to note that this class is not about any particular civil war(s). Rather, the course is devoted to explaining the causes, conduct, and termination of civil wars *in general*, or to explaining these phenomena in a handful of different types of civil wars. We will draw on examples from many different conflicts, including (but probably not limited to) civil wars in Afghanistan, Algeria, Chechnya, Colombia, DRC, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Iraq, India, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Mozambique, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Peru, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, United States, Vietnam, Yemen, and former Yugoslavia.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADE COMPUTATION

The course is organized into two meetings of one hour and fifteen minutes per week. Grades will be based on the following criteria.

- **Class Attendance and Participation (20%):** Students are expected to attend every class session (I take attendance), do all of the required reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. The instructor will not lecture for the entire period. You *will* be called on by the instructor at some point during the semester, so do keep up with the reading.
- **Midterm Examination (20%): Wednesday, October 3.** In-class, closed-book short-answer exam covering the first two sections of the course.
- **Final Examination (20%): Date and Time TBD.** Cumulative, closed-book short-answer exam, covering the entire course but emphasizing the last two sections.
- **Research Paper (40%):** due **Friday, December 7**, by 5:00PM in HARD COPY at instructor's office, circa 20-25 pages. See below for more details.

## GOALS OF THE COURSE

The most important goal of the course is to impart to students a solid understanding of theories and empirical evidence regarding the causes, conduct, and termination of civil wars. This will be achieved by reading the required material, discussing it in class, and responding to questions about the readings on the exams. The second major goal is for students to obtain detailed knowledge of at least one civil war by writing a research paper on some aspect of that conflict. Additional goals include the following:

- Educate students regarding the different types of civil wars that exist
- Unpack the different forms of violence that occur in civil wars
- Within the category of violence, evaluate the relative merits of selective versus indiscriminate violence
- Examine the different strategies that states use to combat insurgencies
- Evaluate the relative merits of strategies that use a lot of violence versus those that use minimal violence
- Understand why someone would join an insurgency, and why some insurgent groups are more cohesive than others
- Understand how civil wars end, and which endings prove more stable than others
- Help students learn how to read social science research and not only understand it, but criticize it

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Distinguish among different types of civil wars
- Identify risk factors that make states vulnerable to civil war, and which make social groups more likely to launch a rebellion
- Determine which civil wars are more prone to violence and terrorism against noncombatants, and what type of violence it will be
- Evaluate the relative efficacy of different forms of violence used by actors in civil wars, and the conditions under which these strategies may be more or less effective
- Evaluate the merits of low versus high violence counterinsurgency strategies
- Make informed conjectures about which civil wars will last longer, and which side will prevail
- Critically evaluate social science theories, not only those about civil wars, but theories in general

**BOOKS**

The following books are required reading and are available for purchase at The George Washington University Bookstore and many online outlets.

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

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

**ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS**

All of the journal articles and book chapters listed below in the required reading are available online through Blackboard on Electronic Reserves. To access them, click on “Blackboard” from the “My GW” page (<https://my.gwu.edu>), log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “Electronic Reserves.” There are folders for each lecture; inside the folders, readings are listed by the author’s last name and title of the article/chapter.

**CLASS POLICIES AND UNIVERSITY RESOURCES**

- **Attendance and Reading:** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all of the assigned reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday should notify the instructor *in writing* during the first week of the semester.
- **Papers:** All papers for this course are expected to be double-spaced, written in 12-point font, have margins of at least 1 inch on all sides, and be stapled.
- **Late Papers:** Late papers will be accepted up to 24 hours after the deadline, but one letter grade will be deducted. Papers that are more than 24 hours late will not be accepted and will be assigned a grade of zero. Exceptions will be made only in cases of incapacitating illness or extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor as soon as possible to discuss an extension. You may also wish to consult GW’s Counseling and Psychological Services (see below under “Mental Health”) or the CARE Network (<https://students.gwu.edu/care>).
- **Exams:** Students must take the final exam at the time and date assigned by the Academic Scheduling Office. Students who have three final exams on one day may petition for one of them to be rescheduled. See here: <https://provost.gwu.edu/administration-final-examinations-during-examination-period>.
- **Electronic Devices:** The use of laptops, tablets, cell phones, and other electronic devices in class is prohibited except in cases of documented medical need. Although these devices can enhance some aspects of learning, they can also prove distracting to you and to those around you. Scientific studies have also found that students who take notes by hand perform better on exams than those who use computers. Please mute all electronic devices and put them away. If your cell phone rings during lecture, I will answer it.
- **Grade Appeals:** Grades in this course are not negotiable, but if you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may appeal. Appeals must be made to the instructor *in writing* within one week of the date you receive your graded assignment. Appeals may result in a higher grade, no change, or a lower grade.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Integrity.** According to the university’s Code of Academic Integrity, “Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and

the fabrication of information.” The rest of the code is available at <https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/>. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. All work you submit for this course must be your own. **I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty.** Suspected cases will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor.

- **Disabilities.** Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at (202) 994-8250 in Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.
- **Mental Health.** The University’s Counseling and Psychological Services (202-994-5300) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students’ personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: <https://healthcenter.gwu.edu/counseling-and-psychological-services>.
- **Security.** In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building where the class is located is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. If we have to leave the classroom, we will meet in front of Tonic (SE corner of 21<sup>st</sup> and G Sts. NW) in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University’s operating status: <http://campusadvisories.gwu.edu/>.
- **Ideological Perspectives:** I do not care *what* you think, I care *that* you think. My mission is to get you to think critically about important issues in international relations, not convince you that my view is right. There are no right or wrong views, only better or worse arguments. Good arguments require sound logic, solid evidence, and a consideration of alternative explanations.

## RESEARCH PAPER

In consultation with the instructor, students will select a civil war about which they will write a research paper. The goal of the paper will not be to recount the entire conflict from start to finish—it is not a summary or a “report.” Rather, making use of the theories explored in Section II of the course (or others that may be relevant), students will write a paper that attempts to explain the cause(s) of their chosen civil war. Alternatively, students may choose to explain why a civil war did *not* happen in a given country.

Research papers in Political Science and International Studies start with questions. Examples of questions that could form the basis of this paper include:

- Why did civil war break out in Syria in 2011?
- Why did civil war not break out in Tunisia in 2011?
- [More ambitious]: Why did civil war break out in Libya in 2011 but not at some other time?
- [More ambitious]: Why did civil war break out in Syria but not Tunisia in 2011?
- Did natural resources contribute to the outbreak of civil war in Sierra Leone?
- What role did external intervention play in the outbreak of civil war in Sierra Leone?
- What was the principal cause of civil war in Sri Lanka—greed, grievance, fear, or opportunity?

Papers should include at least one theoretical hypothesis that purports to explain why civil war did or did not occur. Hypotheses posit relationships between two variables: an independent variable (the thing doing the explaining—e.g., greed, grievance, fear) and a dependent variable (the thing being explained—in this case, civil war). Hypotheses are often articulated as “if-then” statements, as in “If natural resources are present in a country, civil war is more likely.” They are also sometimes written as simple statements, like “Natural resources increase the likelihood of civil war.” The number of hypotheses in a paper is a function of the question: a paper that investigates whether or not natural resources caused a conflict has only one, whereas papers that ask questions like “why did civil war occur in country

X?” will typically have more than one, because the question is more open-ended. Students should then use historical evidence (books, articles, documents, interviews with participants, etc.) to adjudicate whether the evidence supports their hypothesis, or, in the event there are multiple hypotheses, which is/are more supported than the others.

The paper should include five sections:

- Section 1: Introduction
  - States the question, briefly reviews the contending explanations/hypotheses, summarizes the argument or key findings, and provides a road map for the rest of the paper.
- Section 2: Background of the Conflict
  - How and when did it start?
  - Who are the principal belligerents and (for the rebels) what are their objectives?
  - What type of war is it (i.e., insurgency, conventional, etc.)?
  - What were the key events (e.g., battles) in the war?
  - When/how did it end, or is it ongoing?
- Section 3: Hypotheses/Potential Explanations
  - Summarizes which theories you will test in the paper and spells out your hypotheses
  - You may also dismiss certain theories that are not relevant
- Section 4: Evidence
  - Deploys evidence to support or disconfirm the hypotheses
- Section 5: Conclusion
  - Recapitulates the hypotheses and findings, discusses any implications for theory or policy, points the way to future research

All students must turn in a one-page memo (hard copy) in class on **September 12** that performs two tasks:

- Specifies which war will be the focus of your paper and states what specific question you intend to investigate
- Lists 3-5 books or articles you have identified as potential sources of information

Students are encouraged to meet with the instructor at their earliest convenience to discuss their interests and get started on the paper. It is not mandatory to have a meeting before the memo is due, but the instructor will schedule conferences with each student after the memos are turned in. See the appendix at the end of the syllabus for some resources on civil wars to help you get started.

**COURSE CALENDAR****Part I. Introduction and Definitions**

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|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. August 27 (M)   | Course Introduction |
| 2. August 29 (W)   | Definitions I       |
| 3. September 3 (M) | No Class: Labor Day |
| 4. September 5 (W) | Definitions II      |

**Part II. Causes of Civil War**

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|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 5. September 10 (M)  | Fear                  |
| 6. September 12 (W)  | Greed                 |
| 7. September 17 (M)  | Grievances I          |
| 8. September 19 (W)  | Grievances II         |
| 9. September 24 (M)  | Opportunity           |
| 10. September 26 (W) | Within-Group Conflict |
| 11. October 1 (M)    | External Causes       |
| 12. October 3 (W)    | Midterm Exam          |

**Part III. Conduct of Civil War**

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|---------------------|--|
| 13. October 8 (M)   | No Class: Fall Break                   |
| 14. October 10 (W)  | Violence I                             |
| 15. October 15 (M)  | Violence II                            |
| 16. October 17 (W)  | Violence III                           |
| 17. October 22 (M)  | Effectiveness of Violence I            |
| 18. October 24 (W)  | Effectiveness of Violence II           |
| 19. October 29 (M)  | COIN: Population-Centric Strategy      |
| 20. October 31 (W)  | COIN and Development                   |
| 21. November 5 (M)  | COIN and Decapitation                  |
| 22. November 7 (W)  | Case Study: Iraq                       |
| 23. November 12 (M) | Rebel Recruitment/Participation        |
| 24. November 14 (W) | Rebel Group Cohesion and Fragmentation |
| 25. November 19 (M) | Ethnicity and Violence                 |
| 26. November 21 (W) | No Class: Thanksgiving                 |

**Part IV. Civil War Duration, Outcome and Termination**

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|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 27. November 26 (M)  | Civil War Duration          |                           |
| 28. November 28 (W)  | Civil War Outcomes          |                           |
| 29. December 3 (M)   | Solutions to Civil Wars I   |                           |
| 30. December 5 (W)   | Solutions to Civil Wars II  | Research Paper Due Dec. 7 |
| 31. December 10 (M)  | Solutions to Civil Wars III |                           |
| 32. December 11 (Tu) | Course Wrap-up and Review   |                           |
| 33. December ?       | Final Exam                  |                           |

**COURSE SCHEDULE****Part I. Introduction and Definitions**

1. Course Introduction August 27
  - Therese Pettersson and Kristine Eck, “Organized Violence, 1989-2017,” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 4 (July 2018): 535-547.
2. Definitions, Part I August 29
  - Nicholas Sambanis, “What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 814-858 (read 814-831 and 853-857; skim the remainder).
  - Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells, “International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 3 (August 2010): 415-429.
  - Stathis N. Kalyvas, “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (October 2001): 99-118.
3. No Class: Labor Day September 3
4. Definitions, Part II September 5
  - Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961), 7-37.
  - John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15-33.
  - Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 16-31.
  - Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 13-44.

**Part II. Causes of Civil War**

5. Fear September 10
  - Barry R. Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47.
  - James D. Fearon, “Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict,” in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, ed. David Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 107-126.
6. Greed September 12  
*Research Paper Topic Memo Due in Class*
  - Paul Collier, “Doing Well Out of War: An Economic Perspective,” in *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, ed. Mats Berdal and David M. Malone (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 91-111.
  - Michael L. Ross, “How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases,” *International Organization* 58 (Winter 2004): 35-67.
7. Grievances: Microfoundations September 17
  - Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 141-184.
  - Roger Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-61.
  - Cederman, Gleditsch, and Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*, 11-53.

8. Grievances: Evidence September 19
- Cederman, Gleditsch, and Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*, chapters 4-5 (55-118).
  - James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War," *World Development* 39, no. 2 (February 2011): 199-211.
9. Opportunity September 24
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.
  - Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner, "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, no. 1 (January 2009): 1-27.
10. Triggers of Violence: Leaders and within-Group Conflict September 26
- V. P. Gagnon, Jr., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 130-166.
  - Adria Lawrence, "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 88-122.
  - Philip Roessler, *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup-Civil War Trap* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 178-204.
11. Triggers of Violence: External Sources of Internal Conflict October 1
- Idean Salehyan, *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 26-60.
  - Alexander B. Downes, "Catastrophic Success: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Civil War," unpublished ms., George Washington University, 2018.
  - Alan J. Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (March 2008): 49-80.
12. Midterm Exam October 3
13. No Class: Fall Break October 8
- Part III. Conduct of Civil Wars**
14. Violence, Part I October 10
- Kaylvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 111-145, 173-209.
15. Violence, Part II October 15
- Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*, 1-24 and 198-259.
  - Dara Kay Cohen, "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (August 2013): 461-477.
16. Violence, Part III October 17
- Laia Balcells, "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June 2010): 291-313.
  - Jessica A. Stanton, *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 25-62.



17. Effectiveness of Violence, Part I October 22
- Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 146-172.
  - Jason M. Lyall, “Does Indiscriminate Repression Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (2009): 331-362.
  - Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War,” *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (March 2011): 201-218.
  - Alexander B. Downes, “Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy,” *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 420-444.
18. Effectiveness of Violence, Part II October 24
- Robert A. Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361.
  - Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 42-78.
  - Virginia Page Fortna, “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels’ Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes,” *International Organization* 69, no. 3 (June 2015): 519-556.
19. Counterinsurgency: The Population-Centric Strategy October 29
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964), 107-135.
  - *FM 3-24: Counterinsurgency* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, December 2006), Chapter 1, available online at <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf> (a.k.a., *The U.S. Army/Marine Counterinsurgency Field Manual*).
  - George Packer, “Letter from Iraq: The Lesson of Tal Afar,” *The New Yorker*, April 10, 2006, 48-65.
20. Counterinsurgency and Development October 31
- Eli Berman, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro, *Small Wars, Big Data: The Information Revolution in Modern Conflict* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018), 109-151.
21. Counterinsurgency and Decapitation November 5
- Jenna Jordan, “When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation,” *Security Studies* 18, no. 4 (December 2009): 719-755.
  - Patrick B. Johnston, “Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns,” *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 47-79.
22. Case Study: Iraq November 7
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro, “Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?” *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 7-40.
  - Douglas Ollivant, “Countering the New Orthodoxy: Reinterpreting Counterinsurgency in Iraq,” New America Foundation Policy Paper, June 28, 2011.
  - John Agnew, Thomas W. Gillespie, Jorge Gonzalez, and Brian Min, “Baghdad Nights: Evaluating the U.S. Military ‘Surge’ Using Nighttime Light Signatures,” *Environment and Planning* 40, no. 10 (2008): 2285-2295.
  - Austin Long, “The Anbar Awakening,” *Survival* 50, no. 2 (April/May 2008): 67-94.

23. Rebel Recruitment/Individual Participation November 12

- Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*, 96-126.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Matthew Adam Kocher, "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59, no. 2 (January 2007): 177-216.
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (April 2008): 436-455.

24. Rebel Group Cohesion and Fragmentation November 14

- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 142-177.
- Patrick Johnston, "The Geography of Insurgent Organization and its Consequences for Civil War: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone," *Security Studies* 17, no. 1 (March 2008): 107-137.

25. Ethnicity and Violence November 19

- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175 (read only pp. 136-151).
- Jason Lyall, "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War," *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (February 2010): 1-20.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Ethnic Defection in Civil War," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 8 (August 2008): 1043-1068.

26. NO CLASS: HAPPY THANKSGIVING November 21**Part IV. Civil War Duration, Outcome, Termination, and Aftermath**27. Civil War Duration November 26

- James D. Fearon, "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (May 2004): 275-302.
- David Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (October 2006): 875-892.
- Max Fisher, "Syria's Paradox: Why the War Only Ever Seems to Get Worse," *New York Times*, August 26, 2016.

28. Civil War Outcomes November 28

- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 93-128.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.
- Stephen E. Gent, "Going in When It Counts: Military Intervention and the Outcome of Civil Conflicts," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. (2008): 713-735.

29. Solutions to Civil Wars I December 3

- Edward N. Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78. No. 4 (July/August 1999): 36-44.
- Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 140-170.
- Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-364.

30. Solutions to Civil Wars II December 5
- Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 1-11, 21-42.
  - Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 76-104.
  - Aila M. Matanock, "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict," *International Security* 41, no. 4 (Spring 2017): 93-132.
31. Solutions to Civil Wars III December 10
- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic* (September 2001), 84-108.
  - Mateja Peter, "Between Doctrine and Practice: The UN Peacekeeping Dilemma," *Global Governance* 21 (2015): 351-370.
  - Denis M. Tull, "The Limits and Unintended Consequences of UN Peace Enforcement: The Force Intervention Brigade in the DR Congo," *International Peacekeeping* 25, no. 2 (2018): 167-190.
32. Make-Up Day: Course Wrap-Up and Review December 11
33. Final Exam December ?

### APPENDIX: LISTS OF CIVIL WARS

Good lists of civil wars may be found in the following articles, books, or locations on the web.

- Correlates of War Project Intrastate War Data, v. 4.1 (1816-2007)  
<http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/COW-war>
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "A Revised List of Wars between and within Independent States, 1816-2002," *International Interactions* 30, no. 3 (July-September 2004): 231-262.
- James Fearon and David Laitin's list of civil wars (1945-1999) used in their 2003 *APSR* article
  - <https://fearonresearch.stanford.edu/paperspublished/journal-articles-2/> (pp. 7-10)
- UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, v. 18.1 (1946-2017)
  - <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/>
  - These data contain four different conflict types: extrasystemic (1), interstate (2), internal (3), and internationalized internal (4). See the codebook for definitions. Only interstate wars (type = 2) are clearly not civil wars.
  - Note also the lower fatality threshold for a conflict to be included in the dataset
- Political Instability Task Force, State Failure Problem Set (1955-2016)
  - <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html>
  - See also the list of episodes of political instability in Jack A. Goldstone et al., "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 1 (January 2010): 190-208.

Broadly similar lists of civil wars for the post-World War II period may be found in several books and articles:

- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2000): 779-801.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Finally, for a good general reference on armed conflict, see:

- Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and other Figures, 1494-2007*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).