

# Politics of Post-Conflict Societies

Government 84.26  
Winter 2013  
Mon 3:00–4:50pm & Thurs 4:00-5:50pm  
(x-hour Mon 5:00-5:50pm)  
Berry 371

Professor Jeremy Horowitz  
jeremy.horowitz@dartmouth.edu  
Office: Silsby 203  
Office hours: Tues. 3:00-4:30pm  
and by appointment

## DESCRIPTION:

Countries emerging from civil war face a unique set of challenges in creating the conditions for lasting peace and dealing with the trauma and devastation of war. This course examines three broad themes related to post-conflict societies: 1) the causes of conflict and the cessation of violence; 2) factors that affect the durability of peace; and 3) the longer-term prospects for reconciliation and justice in war-torn countries.

## ASSIGNMENTS:

### Discussion questions:

You are required to email me 3-4 questions for class discussion by 9:00am on the day of each class meeting. We will be meeting 18 times this term, and you will be responsible for submitting questions for 14 of these sessions, excepting the two sessions when we will be watching films in class (Feb. 21 & 28) and two sessions of your choosing. Your questions should raise issues that you find to be particularly interesting, unclear, or otherwise noteworthy.

### Reading and class participation:

This seminar is reading-intensive. You will be expected to read all assigned materials before class and to participate actively in class discussions. You should plan to arrive in class prepared with comments, critiques, and questions related to the assigned readings for each session. All readings will be available through blackboard. There are also three required films (two of which we will watch in class) that will be made available through blackboard.

### Response papers (three):

You will be responsible for producing a written response to the assigned readings for class three times during the quarter. Each response paper should be about five double-spaced pages. Response papers should be submitted via email to me by 9:00am on day of the class session for which you are writing. At the top of each paper, in addition to your name, please indicate the date of the class. Note that you may not produce more than one response paper in any given week.

Papers should engage key debates in the readings, provide your thoughts and reactions to them, and raise questions for further inquiry. There is no one correct format for response papers. They must be coherent, but otherwise, form and content are up to you. You may use the papers to raise questions about the readings that you think warrant discussion or further clarification;

identify and discuss claims advanced by the readings with which you disagree, or toward which you are skeptical; highlight points of agreement or disagreement across more than one of the readings assigned for that day, or across readings for that day and those earlier on the syllabus; and address other themes, as you see fit. While you should read all items for the class session before writing your papers, you should not feel compelled to try to summarize all readings or to be comprehensive in your coverage. You are encouraged to focus on key ideas and debates that strike you as particularly important and interesting.

#### Research paper:

You will produce a substantial paper on the topic of your choosing (15-20 pages double-spaced). A short research proposal (about 2 pages) describing your proposed topic will be due by midnight on January 28. All students will meet with me at some point in the term to discuss their topics.

#### Grading:

Class participation	17.5%
Discussion questions	10%
Response papers	30% (3 @ 10% each)
Research proposal	2.5%
Research paper	40%

### **CLASS POLICIES:**

The Honor Principle. All students are reminded of their obligation to conduct themselves in accordance with the Standards of Conduct in general and with the Academic Honor Principle in particular. The Academic Honor Principle is available at [www.dartmouth.edu/~uja/honor/](http://www.dartmouth.edu/~uja/honor/). Please review the section on plagiarism in particular and contact me if you have any questions.

X-Hours. While I have not scheduled any meetings during x-hours, I reserve the option to do so if we need extra time to cover the material on the syllabus. Students should therefore not schedule other obligations that conflict with the x-hour for this course.

Late papers will be penalized one-third grade per day. If you anticipate that you will have a problem meeting a deadline due to an excusable issue (e.g., family emergency, grave illness, etc.) contact me before the assignment is due to make appropriate arrangements.

Disabilities. Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact me before the end of the second week of the term to arrange appropriate accommodations.

Religious Observance. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please contact me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.

Office Hours. I will be available during the times noted on the first page for meetings with students. If you are unable to meet during these times, please email me to set up an appointment at an alternative time.

# SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS

## January 7: Introduction

- Edwards, Paul N. 2008. *How to Read a Book*, v4.0. University of Michigan.

## **PART I. CAUSES OF ETHNIC CONFLICT**

### January 10: Ethnicity

- Geertz, Clifford. 1963. *Old Societies and New States*. New York: Free Press. Excerpt reprinted in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Ethnicity*. Oxford.
- Posner, Daniel. 2003. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics* 35(2): 127-146
- Ted Miguel. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation-Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56(3).

### January 14: Theories of ethnic conflict I

- Bates, Robert. 1983. "Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics," in Rothchild and Olorunsola, eds., *State versus Ethnic Claims*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Ch. 4.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1993. *Minorities at Risk*. Washington DC: USIP. Pages 123-129.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 2000. *People Versus States*. Washington DC: USIP. Chapter 4.

### January 17: Theories of ethnic conflict II

- Collier, Paul. 2000. "Doing Well Out of War." In Berdal and Malone., eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil War*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, insurgency and Civil Wars." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2005. "Resources and Information in Rebel Recruitment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4): 598-624.

### January 22 (Tuesday, 4:00 – 5:50pm): Rwanda

- Prunier, Gerard. 1995. *The Rwanda Crisis*. New York: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1.
- Reed, William Cyrus. 1996. "Exile, Reform, and The Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front." *Journal of Modern African Affairs* 34(3): 479-501.
- Strauss, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chs. 4-5

### January 24: Yugoslavia

- Posen, Barry R. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35(1): 27-47.
- Gagnon, V.P. 1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." *International Security* 19(3): 130-166.
- Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of 'Ethnic War.'" *International Security* 25(1): 42-70.

## II. CONFLICT TERMINATION AND PEACE KEEPING

### January 28: Mediation

- Beardsley, Kyle. 2011. *The Mediation Dilemma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6.

### January 31: Intervening to stop the violence I

- Arguments in favor of intervention:
  - ICISS. 2001. *The Responsibility to Protect*. Report on the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. Pages 1-18.
  - Collier, Paul et al. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap*. Chapter 2.
  - Walter, Barbara. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.
- Arguments against intervention:
  - Kuperman, Alan. 2000. "Rwanda in Retrospect." *Foreign Affairs* 79(1): 94-118.
  - Luttwak, Edward N. 1999. "Give War a Chance." *Foreign Affairs* 78(4): 36-44.
  - Valentino, Benjamin. "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention." *Foreign Affairs* November/December 2011, 60-73.

### February 4: Intervening to stop the violence II

- Watch before class: *Ghosts of Rwanda*
- Wheeler, Nicolas. 2000. *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 7-8.
- Hildebrandt, Timothy et al. 2012. "The Domestic Politics of Humanitarian Intervention: Public Opinion, Partisanship, and Ideology." *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
- Pape, Robert. 2012. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention." *International Security* 37(1): 41-80.

### February 7: UN peacekeeping

- Fortna, Page. 2004. "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanism and Empirical Effects." *World Politics* 56 (4): 481-519.
- Gilligan, Michael and Stephen John Stedman. 2003. "Where Do the Peacekeepers Go?" *International Studies Review* 5(4): 37-54.
- Regan, Patrick M. 2002. "Third Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46.1 (February): 55-73.

## III. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

### February 11: The Democracy Debate

- Gurr, Ted Robert. 2000. *People Versus States*. Washington DC: USIP. Chapter 5.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2006. "Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone Societies." *Democratization* 13(5): 811-827.
- Longman, Timothy. 2011. "Limitations to Political Reform: The Undemocratic Nature of Transition in Rwanda." In Strauss and Waldorf, eds., *Remaking Rwanda*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Hulse, John W. 2010. "Why Did They Vote for Those Guys Again? Challenges and Contradictions in the Promotion of Political Moderation in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Democratization* 17(6): 1132-1152.

#### February 14: Power-sharing

- Lijphart, Arend. 1990. "The Power-Sharing Approach." In Montville, ed., *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. DC: Lexington Books.
- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management, *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 318-332.
- Rothchild, Donald and Philip G. Roeder. 2005. "Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*.
- Lemarchand, Rene. 2006. "Consociationalism and Power Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and The Democratic African Republic." *African Affairs* 106/422: 1-20.

#### February 18: Partition

- Downes, Alexander. 2004. "The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars." *Security Studies* 13(4): 230-279.
- Chapman, Thomas and Philip G. Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 677-691.

### **IV. TRUTH, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION**

#### February 21: The International Criminal Court I

- Watch in class: *The Reckoning*
- Bassiouni, Cherif. 1997. "From Versailles to Rwanda in Seventy-Five Years: The Need to Establish a Permanent international Criminal Court." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 10: 11-62.

#### February 25: The International Criminal Court II

- Goldsmith, Jack. 2003. "The Self-Defeating International Criminal Court." *University of Chicago Law Review* 70: 89-104.
- Snyder, Jack and Leslie Vinjamuri. 2003. "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice." *International Security* 28(3): 5-44.
- Allen, Tim. 2006. *Trial Justice: The International Criminal Court and the Lord's Resistance Army*. Chapters 4, 5.
- Horowitz, Jeremy. 2013. "Attitudes toward the ICC in Kenya." Research memo.

#### February 28: Truth and Reconciliation – South Africa

- Watch in class: *Long Night's Journey into Day*

#### March 4: Truth and Reconciliation – South Africa

- Minow, Martha. 2000. "The Hope for Healing: What Can Truth Commissions Do?" In *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, edited by R. Rotberg and D. Thompson.
- Kiss, Elizabeth. 2000. "Moral Ambition Within and Beyond Political Constraints: Reflections on Restorative Justice." In *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, edited by R. Rotberg and D. Thompson. Princeton.

- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603: 82-106.
- Theissen, Gunnar. 2008. "Object of Trust and Hatred: Public Attitudes toward the TRC." In *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Did the TRC Deliver?*, edited by A. R. Chapman and H. Van Der Merwe. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

#### March 7: Truth and Reconciliation – Rwanda

- Longman, Timothy and Theoneste Rutagengwa. 2004. "Memory, Identity, and Community in Rwanda." In *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, edited by E. Stover and H. Weinstein. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rettig, Max. 2008. "Gacaca: Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Postconflict Rwanda?" *African Studies Review* 51: 25-50.
- Brounéus, Karen. 2008. "Truth-Telling as Talking Cure? Insecurity and Retraumatization in the Rwandan Gacaca Courts." *Security Dialogue* 39(1): 55-76.
- Corey, Allison and Sandra F. Joireman. 2004. "Retributive Justice: The Gacaca Courts in Rwanda." *African Affairs* 103: 73-89.