

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

Dartmouth College
WINTER 2013
DAVID A. REZVANI

TIME AND LOCATION

Tuesdays and Thursdays 10:00-11:50am
Location: 113 Silsby Hall

CONTACT DETAILS

Lecturer: David A. Rezvani, DPhil
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 3:50-5:20pm and by appointment, Silsby 304A
E-Mail: David.Rezvani@dartmouth.edu

SYNOPSIS

This course examines instances of political and legal cooperation in response to cases of large scale conflict in the international system. From classical to modern times political and legal thinkers have used various forms of government as a means to create non-violent, enduring, and ultimately, ever advancing civilizations. This course will examine the theories, patterns, and frameworks of governmental forms that have been intended as tools for stabilizing societies. After examining conflicts that arise from nationalism and international anarchy, the class will examine a range of cooperative solutions including federalism, partial independence, partition, as well as presidential, parliamentary, majoritarian, and consociational forms of democracy. Solutions that have been offered for a wide range of territories will also be explored including, the Palestinian Territories, the Kurdish Territories, Puerto Rico, Northern Ireland, and Bosnia.

COURSE WORK AND GRADING

The final grade for this course will be based on a research paper abstract (worth 5%), a midterm exam (worth 20%), a research paper (worth 30%), a final exam (worth 30%), and participation (worth 15%).

- The research paper abstract is due at the beginning of class on **(1/24)**.
- The midterm will take place on **(2/7)**.
- Research paper presentations will take place on **(2/20 and 2/27 [During the Wednesday X-Period] from 3:00-3:50pm)**
- A draft copy of the research paper is due on **(2/20)**.
- The final research paper is due on **(3/7)**.
- The final exam will take place on **(3/14) at 8:00am**

Late assignments will be marked down by one-third of a grade (i.e. from A- to B+) for every day they are late, with the exception of extraordinary reasons. Class attendance is obligatory for the course. Students are strongly encouraged to have studied the required readings beforehand and actively participate in the class. The participation grade will be a measure of the research presentations toward the end of the class and especially the readings-enriched quantity and quality of the comments made in class discussion.

The research paper. The paper should at the outset very clearly state a central argument (thesis) in reaction to material in the lecture or the readings and then draw on evidence to reinforce the thesis. Students will need to read materials that are of interest to them from both the required and suggested readings to gain ideas of possible paper topics. Students are also encouraged to obtain scholarly material outside of the required and suggested readings using sources such as Google Scholar. In response to the scholarly debates and arguments in the literature, you will agree or disagree with the information you encounter. The assignment then requires you to set forth your own ideas of how you believe policies and concepts should be formulated or reformulated. Ultimately you will need to take a position and make an argument that is clear, enriched by the readings, and backed up with evidence. Students will want to express all details, evidence, and facts only as they serve the purposes of their thesis and its supporting sub-arguments—unlike a news or book report that seeks merely to communicate facts and details. In other words, you are discouraged from providing extensive background information or summaries of other works. Instead, such details should be used as they reinforce the arguments as they are made throughout the paper. The quality of your argumentation will also be greatly strengthened

by thinking of the strongest counterarguments to your thesis and refuting them. You should begin work on your research paper as early as possible in the term. Papers should be between 10-11 pages in length. Helpful advice for creating excellent research papers is also clearly described in the Van Evera reading on Blackboard.

Before the research papers are due, you are expected to hand in a **research paper abstract** (for the due date see above). This assignment will allow you to receive feedback well before your research paper is due later in the term. This assignment needs to include the title of your research paper (which describes the topic). It will also need an abstract of 150 words or less (which articulates the central argument as well as at least one counterargument that will be refuted by your research paper). Lastly, it will need to provide a list of at least five scholarly sources that the research paper will draw on.

Research Paper Presentations. Toward the end of class, each student will need to have completed a preliminary draft of their research paper and present its key arguments and evidence in 5-7 minute presentations. As with the research papers, students are discouraged from providing background information and encouraged to instead focus on articulating the paper's key arguments as well as refuting counterarguments. Presentations can also be improved through the use of visual aids such as handouts, Power Point slides, or writing on the chalkboard. Students who use Power Point are also encouraged to come 5-10 minutes before the start of the class to set up their presentation slides on the class computer. Practicing your presentation beforehand will also assist with your delivery. All students within the class are encouraged to be an active audience and carefully assess the presenter's arguments, proffering their opinions and reactions after the talk for the presenter's response. Students can then use such feedback for further revisions before papers are due.

All assignments will be assessed according to the quality of critical analysis, creativity, clarity, and use of theoretical and empirical support from the literature. Although you are expected to draw on the scholarly literature to enrich the arguments in your papers, the sources that you use must be properly cited to avoid the dangers of plagiarism. Plagiarism occurs when an author uses the ideas of another source without proper citations and thereby falsely makes it seem as if it is their own work. Any established citation style will be sufficient as long as it is used consistently throughout the paper. For citation styles you can examine scholarly articles and use them as a model. All papers are expected to be in scholarly format, with a bibliography, title, and thesis statement. The research paper should also have an introduction, body, and conclusion. The papers should be stapled, double-spaced, and have 1.25" margins with 12-point script. Page numbers should also be clearly noted.

If you have questions regarding your exams, assignments, or other aspects of the course, please do not hesitate to ask and/or see me at my office hours. For additional peer tutorial assistance with writing, research, and multimedia projects, students may use RWIT, the Student Center for Research, Writing, and Information Technology. To make appointments go to RWIT's appointment scheduler at <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit>, or drop by the Center in 183 Baker-Berry Library, Level One (next to the Reference area) from 4 to 6 pm and 7 to 10 pm, Sundays through Thursdays.

COURSE TEXTS AND READINGS

Among the required material for the course are two books:

- Lijphart, Arend 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. Yale University Press.
- Sumantra Bose, 2002. *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. New York: Oxford University Press.

These books, which are marked on the syllabus with a star symbol (*), are available for purchase at the college bookstore, Barnes and Noble, or Amazon.com. The remainder of the required readings are available on Blackboard.

Students are also generally encouraged to keep up with current events, which can improve the quality of discussion and papers. Four publications are particularly good for current events information: *Foreign Affairs*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

I. SOVEREIGNTY, ANARCHY, AND CONFLICT

Introduction (1/8)

Required Readings:

No Assignment

Sovereignty and International Anarchy (1/10)

Required Readings:

Weber, Max, "Politics as a Vocation" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 20-28.
 Bunck, Julie Marie and Michael Ross Fowler. 1994. The Chunk and Basket Theories of Sovereignty. In Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., *Community, Diversity, and a New World Order: Essays in Honor of Inis L. Claude, Jr.*, Lanham: University Press of America, pp. 137-144.
 Krasner, Stephen D., "Sovereignty" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 51-57.

Suggested Readings (Sovereignty):

Andreas Osiander (2001), "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth," *International Organization*, 55(2): 251-288.
 Alan James, *Sovereign Statehood: The Basis of International Society* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986).
 R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
 Rodney Bruce Hall, *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
 Jens Bartleson, *A Genealogy of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
 F.H. Hinsley. *Sovereignty*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
 Barkin and Cronin (fn. 60); Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds., *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
 Robert O. Keohane, "Sovereignty, Interdependence, and International Institutions," in Linda B. Miller and Michael Joseph Smith eds., *Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honor of Stanley Hoffmann* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).
 Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
 Robert Jackson, ed. *Sovereignty at the Millennium* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).
 Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Nations and Ethnic Conflict (1/15)

Required Readings:

Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Ch. 1.
 Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 77-84.

Suggested Readings (Nationalism):

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), Ch. 10.
 Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). (Especially pp. 14-45, 80-100.)
 Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

- John Hall, ed., *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- David Miller, *On Nationality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

II. SYSTEMS OF DIVIDED POWER AND COOPERATION

What Causes Federations to Emerge? (1/17)

Required Readings:

- Rector, Chad. 2009. *Federations: The Political Dynamics of Cooperation*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1-62.

Suggested Readings:

- Wibbels, Erik. 2006. "Madison in Baghdad? Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics", *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol.9, pp.165-88
- Osaghae, Eghosa E.. 1990. "A Reassessment of Federalism as a Degree of Decentralization." *Publius*, vol.20 (Winter).
- Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 6: From Strong Regional Loyalties to a Federal System: National Unification by Negotiation and the Case of Germany.

Suggested Readings (Federalism and Markets):

- Daniel Rubinfeld. 1997. "On Federalism and Economic Development", *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 83, no.7, pp.1581-92
- Karen Mossberger. 1999. "State-Federal Diffusion and Policy Learning: From Enterprise Zones to Empowerment Zones". *Publius*, vol.29, no.3, pp. 31-50
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 1980. "Risk-Taking and Reelection: Does Federalism Promote Innovation?" *Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 9, pp. 593-616
- Strumpf, K Coleman. 2002. "Does Government Decentralization Increase Policy Innovation?" *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, vol.4, pp.207-41
- Yingyi Qian and Barry Weingast. 1997. "Federalism as a Commitment to Preserving Market Incentives", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol.11, no.4, pp.83-92
- Joseph E. Stiglitz, "The Theory of Local Public Goods Twenty-Five years after Tiebout: A Perspective," pp. 17-54
- George R. Zodrow, ed., *Local Provisions of Public Service: The Tiebout Model after Twenty-Five Years* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1983).
- James M. Buchanan, "Federalism as an Ideal Political Order and an Objective for Constitutional Reform," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter 1995), pp. 19-28

Suggested Readings (Fiscal Federalism):

- Daniel Treisman, 1996. "The Politics of Intergovernmental Transfers in Post-Soviet Russia", *British Journal of Political Science*, vol.26, no.3, pp.299-335
- Jonathan Rodden. 2002. "The Dilemma of Fiscal Federalism: Grants and Fiscal Performance around the World", *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, no.3, pp.670-687
- M. Govinda Rao and Nirvikar Singh. 2007. "The Political Economy of India's Fiscal Federal System and its Reform". *Publius*, vol.37, no.1, pp.26-44
- Oates, Wallace E. 1999. "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism". *Journal of Economic Literature*. vol 37, (September). pp.1120-1149
- Ronald Watts. 1999. *Comparing Federal Systems*, 2nd edition. (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press). Chapter 4: The Distribution of Finances.

Federations as Forces of Integration and Disintegration (1/22)**Required Readings:**

Roeder, Philip. 1991. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization", *World Politics* 43:196-232.
 Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Divided We Stand Institutional Sources of Ethofederal State Survival and Collapse," *World Politics* 56: 165-193.

Suggested Readings:

Same as Previous Class.

Nationalistic Compromise and Partially Independent Territories (1/24)

******Research Paper Abstract Due Today******

Required Readings:

Rezvani, David A. 2013. "The Advantages of Partial Independence." (Government Faculty Workshop, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH).
 Chapman, Thomas and Philip Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 677-690.

Ireland, War, and Dominion Status (1/29)**Required Readings:**

Morton, Grenfell. 1980/1995. *Home Rule and the Irish Question*. Essex: Longman, Ch.1-4, 6-7 and documents 1,16, and 40.

Federacy for the Israelis and Palestinians (1/31 and 2/5)**Required Readings:**

Watson, Geoffrey R. 2000. *The Oslo Accords*. Oxford University Press, Ch. 1 & 2.
 President Clinton's Parameters as Presented by Him to the Israeli and Palestinian Negotiators, December 23, 2000.
 Rezvani, David A. 2004. "Federacy for the Israelis and Palestinians" International Security Program Seminar Series, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, [Revised February 2006], 1-17.
 Bisharat, George. 2010. "Israel and Palestine: A true one-state solution" *Washington Post*. September 3.

Suggested Readings:

Menachem Mautner, "The West Bank and Gaza: The Case for Associate Statehood," *Yale Studies in World Public Order* 6 (1980): 297-360.
 Margaret Broderick, "Associated Statehood: A new form of Decolonisation," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 17 (1968): 368-403.
 George Abbott, "The Associated States and Independence," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 23 (1981): 69-94.
 Martin Indyk, "A Trusteeship for Palestine," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3, pp. 51-66.
 Quandt, William, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab Israeli Conflict since 1967*, revised edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).
 Maksoud, "Peace Process or Puppet Show?" *Foreign Policy* no. 100 (Fall 1995), pp. 117-124.

Midterm Exam Today (2/7)

Iraq, Ethnic Conflict, and the Kurdish Territories (2/12)**Required Readings:**

O'Leary, Brendan, John McGarry, and Khaled Salih, Editors. 2005. *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania, 3-91.

The Foundations of the Dayton Peace (2/14)**Required Readings:**

* Bose, Sumantra. 2002. *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*, C. Hurst & Co, Ch. 1 and 2.

Suggested Readings:

Stephen Burg, and Paul Shoup. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000.

James Dobbins et al. *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq* (Rand: 2003).

The Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Henry F. Carey, "Naturalism vs. Positivism: Debates over Coercive Protection of Human Rights in Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo," *Civil Wars* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 25-76.

Roland Paris, "Peace-Building and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security* 22, 2 (1997): 54-89.

Susan L. Woodward, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: How Not to End Civil War" in B.F. Walter and J. Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 73-115.

Charles Boyd, "Making Bosnia Work" *Foreign Affairs* 77, 1 (Spring 1998): 42-55.

Ben Reilly and Andrew Reynolds, *Electoral Systems and Conflict in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999.)

Partition and the Development of Bosnia's Institutional Architecture (2/19)

****Draft Copy of Research Paper Due Today***

Required Readings:

* Bose, Sumantra. 2002. *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*, C. Hurst & Co, Ch. 4 and 5.

Suggested Readings:

Same as Previous Class.

Research Paper Presentations (2/20, and 2/27 [During the X-Period] from 3:00-3:50pm)

****Draft Copy of Research Paper Due on 2/20***

III. CONFLICT REDUCTION THROUGH ELECTORAL ENGINEERING

Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism (2/21)

Required Readings:

O'Neil, pp.122-128.

Linz, Juan J. 1990. The Perils of Presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy* 1 (1), 51-69

Horowitz, Donald L. 1990. Comparing Democratic Systems. *Journal of Democracy* 1 (4), 73-79.

Consensus and Westminster Models in Divided Societies (2/26 and 2/28)

******Final Research Paper Due 2/28******

Required Readings:

* Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*, Yale University Press, Ch. 1-5, 7 & p. 255.

Suggested Readings:

Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly, *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1997).

Arend Lijphart, 'Unequal participation: democracies unresolved dilemma.' *American Political Science Review*. 91 (1997):1-14.

David Beetham, *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (Sage, 1994).

David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

Gary Cox, *Making Votes Count* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Giovanni Sartori, *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry Into Structures, Incentives, and Outcomes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

Jose Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, "Modes of Government Formation and the Survival of Democratic Regimes: Presidentialism and Parliamentarism Reconsidered," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2002).

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Consolidation*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996).

Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy* (1990).

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Alfred C. Stepan, "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model," *Journal of Democracy* 10.4 (1999).

Thomas Carothers. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment.

Democratic Violence Prevention through Consociational Democracy (3/5)

Required Readings:

* Bose, Sumantra. 2002. *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. C. Hurst & Co, pp. 215-217, 246-252.

Suggested Readings:

Arend Lijphart, "The Wave of Power-Sharing Democracy," in Andrew Reynolds (ed.) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 37-54.

- Alfred Stepan, "Modern Multinational Democracies: Transcending a Gellnerian Oxymoron," in John A. Hall, ed., *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989),
- Arend Lijphart, 'Definitions, evidence, and policy - A response to Matthijs Bogaards' critique.' *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12 (4) (2000): 425-431.
- Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," *World Politics* (XXI) (1969): 207-25.
- Brian Barry, 'Review Article: Political Accommodation and Consociational Democracy.' *British Journal of Political Science* 5 (1975).
- Ian S. Lustick, 'Lijphart, Lakatos, and consociationalism.' *World Politics*. 50 (1) 1997: 88.
- Donald Horowitz, *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) chapter 5.
- Matthijs Bogaards, 'The favourable factors for consociational democracy: A review.' *European Journal Of Political Research* 33 (4) 1998: 475-496.
- Matthijs Bogaards, 'The uneasy relationship between empirical and normative types in consociational theory.' *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12 (4) (2000): 395-423.
- P. Pennings, 'The evolution of Dutch consociationalism, 1917-1997.' *Netherlands Journal Of Social Sciences* 33 (1) (1997): 9.
- Paul R. Brass, "Ethnic Conflict in Multiethnic Societies: The Consociational Solution and its Critics," in *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), pp. 333-48.
- R.B. Andeweg, 'Consociational democracy.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 509-536.
- Sue Halpern, "The Disorderly Universe of Consociational Democracy," *West European Politics* 9, no. 2 (1986): 181-97.

Preferential Voting Systems (3/7)

Required Reading:

Reilly, Benjamin. 2002. Electoral Systems for Divided Societies. *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2), 156-170.

Suggested Readings:

Same as Previous Class.

Final Exam (The final exam will take place in the same classroom on **(3/14)** at 8:00am.)