Stephen Saideman Department of Political Science Leacock 324-C

Office Hours: M 10:00-11:00

and by appointment

(office) 398-2324 (dept) 398-4800

Email: steve.saideman@mcgill.ca

Pols 652: Ethnic Strife & World Politics

This research seminar focuses on the relationships between ethnic conflicts within states and relations between them, as this has become a focal point in the field of International Security. The 1990's has proven that the borders between states do not contain political dynamics within them, and that ethnic conflict in faraway places is still relevant despite the best efforts by countries to ignore them. This course will consider how ethnic conflicts affect countries beyond the host state, how outside states can affect ethnic conflicts, and the like.

This class builds on other courses on ethnic conflict and nationalism, so we will not be exploring much of the basic literature on identity, nationalism, ethnic groups and the like. The course will focus on assessing the current state of the art of research in the field and on doing research on puzzles of interest.

Course Requirements

The course requirements consist of reading, participation and writing. It is your responsibility to do the work. **Active, thoughtful participation reflecting preparation** is required, and will count for 30% of the grade. If I find that some students are not participating, I will begin the discussion of each piece (article or book) by randomly choosing someone to start the conversation.

Weekly reviews (20%). These are brief reviews of the current week's readings. Keep them to one page, single-spaced. They will be graded "check", check minus" or "check plus." To receive the full 20% credit, your reviews must average at least a "check" (i.e., one check plus will offset a check minus). Because they are meant to encourage you to think about the readings *before* you come to class, no late reviews will be accepted. In your review, you should:

- a) Sum up the most important arguments of each reading in one sentence per reading. What is the major point the author is trying to make?
- b) Give one important insight and/or fact that you gained from this reading, again in one sentence (or 3 if only one book for the week). What do you know understand or know that you didn't before doing this reading? What was most valuable to you about this reading?
- c) Give one major critique of the reading—one sentence per reading or 3 if a book. Consider methodology, logic, biases, omissions. Does the author prove his/her argument convincingly?
- d) If you heard the author present this work at a conference, what probing question would you ask him or her? (3 questions for a book)

The third portion of the grade, 35%, is a research paper. The research paper will be a draft of a dissertation proposal, master's thesis or research paper, conference paper or journal article. It will be in the 20-30 page range. It will address any issue of relevance to this course.

One presentation (15%). Each student will present their research at the end of the term. They will post a draft of their research paper 48 hours before their presentation. More explanation in class.

¹ The idea and the text below for weekly reviews is borrowed from Prof. Johnson. The text is a good example of plagiarism as it is a mix of paraphrasing and direct cutting and pasting. Do not try this at home.

Readings:

Most assigned readings are within the reading packet, which is available at the university bookstore. Some readings are available on online. There may be some changes in the syllabus as we go along.

Books:

David Lake and Donald Rothchild. eds. 1998. *Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*, Cambridge University Press.

Week 1: Relevance and Starting Points

Jan 9

Required

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California, selected chapters Lake and Rothchild, chapter 1

Fearon and Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War, APSR 2003.

Gagnon, Jr., V.P. 1994/95. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." International Security 19, 3: 130-166.

Recommended:

Davies, John L. and Ted Robert Gurr, eds. 1998. Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs 72,3: 22-49.

Posen, Barry. 1993a. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." Survival 35, 1: 27-47.

Snyder, Jack. 1999. When Voting Leads To Violence: Democratization And Nationalist Conflict. New York: Norton Books.

Carment, David and Patrick James. 1997. "Secession and Irredenta in World Politics: The Neglected Interstate Dimension." In David Carment and Patrick James, eds., *Wars in the Midst of Peace: The International Politics of Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 194-231. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Week 2: More on Causes of Ethnic Conflict:

Jan 16

Mueller, "Banality of Ethnic War," IS 25, 1, 42-70

Paul Collier, "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44 (December) Ross, Marc. 2005. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War" *International Organization*, 58, 1 2000), 839-853.

Saideman and Zahar, "Causing Security, Reducing Fear"

Week 3: Spillover Jan 23

David Lake and Donald Rothchild. eds. 1998. *Ethnic conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 2-7

Brubaker, Rogers. 1998. "Migrations of Ethnic Unmixing in the 'New Europe." *International Migration Review* 1047-1065.

Ayres, R. William and Stephen M. Saideman. 2000. "Is Separatism as Contagious as the Common Cold or as Cancer? Testing the International and Domestic Determinants of Secessionism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 6, 3.

Week 4: Diaspora Jan 30

King and Melvin "Disapora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy and Security in Euraisa." IS 24, 3, winter 1999-2000

Shain and Barth, Diasporas and IR Theory," IO 57,3 Summer 2003

Yossi Shain and Martin Sherman, "Dynamics of Disintegration: Diaspora, Secession and the Paradox of Nation States," *Nations and Nationalism* 4(3) (July 1998): 321-346.

Graham Smith, "Transnational Politics and the Politics of the Russian Diaspora," Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22, 3, May 1999

Hockenos, Homeland Calling, chapter 1, reader

Week 5: Involvement/Intervention

Feb 6

Herbst, Jeffrey. 1989. "The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa." *InternationalOrganization* 43, 4: 673-692.

Jackson, Robert H. and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood." *World Politics* 35, 1: 1-24.

Stephen Saideman. 1997. "Vulnerability vs. Ethnic Ties," IO Fall.

Regan, Patrick M. 1998. "Choosing to Intervene." Journal of Politics 60, 3: 754-79.

Heraclides, "Secessionist Minorities and External Involvement" IO 1990

Week 6: Getting Support: What do Ethnic Groups Do to Get Support Feb 13

Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism* Saideman, Dougherty, Jenne, Dilemmas of Divorce, *Security Studies* 2005.

Recommended:

Carment, David, Patrick James and Dane Rowlands. 1997. "Ethnic Conflict and Third Party Intervention: Riskiness, Rationality and Commitment." In Gerarld Schneider and Patricia A. Weitsman, eds., *Enforcing Cooperation: Risky States and Intergovernmental Management of Conflict*, pp. 104-131. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Spring Break: Feb 20

Week 7: Conditionality?

Feb 27

Linden, Ronald H. 2000. "Putting on Their Sunday Best: Romania, Hungary, and the Puzzle of Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 44, 1:121-146.

Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by Intl Institutions," IO 58, 3, summer 2004, 425-458.

Cronin, Bruce 2002. "Creating Stability in the New Europe: The OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Socialization of Risky States" *Security Studies* 12, 1: 132-63.

Saideman and Ayres, "Pie Crust Promises vs. Silence Procedures," online

Vachudova, Europe Undivided, selections

Week 7: Irredentism March 6

Required:

Saideman and Ayres, For Kin or Country, selected chapters, online

Recommended:

Ambrosio, Thomas. 2001. *Irredentism: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*. Westport, CN: Praeger. Saideman, Stephen M. and R. William Ayres. 2000. "Determining the Sources of Irredentism: Logit Analyses of Minorities At Risk Data," *Journal of Politics*, 62, 4: 1126-1144.

- Carment, David and Patrick James. 1995. "Internal Constraints and Interstate Ethnic Conflict: Toward a Crisis-Based Assessment of Irredentism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39(1): 82-109.
- Gagnon, Jr., V.P. 1994/95. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." International Security 19, 3: 130-166.
- Suhrke, Astri. 1975. "Irredentism Contained: The Thai-Muslim Case." *Comparative Politics* 7, 2 (Jan) 187-203.
- Weiner, Myron. 1971. "The Macedonian Syndrome," World Politics 23(1): 665-683.
- Kaufman, Stuart. 2001. Modern Hatreds *The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Ethnic Violence in Post-Communist Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Week 8: Solutions: Partition, Force, Etc.

March 13

Required:

- Byman and Seybolt, "Humanitarian Intervention and Communal Civil Wars," *Security Studies* 13, 1 Autumn 2003
- Kaufmann, Chaim D. 1996b. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20, 4: 136-175.
- Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic war" WP 52, 4, july 2000
- Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." International Security 22, 2: 5-53.
- Walter, Barbara F. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51, 3: 335-364.

Recommended:

Licklider, "Consequences of Negotiated Settlements," *American Political Science Review* 89, 3, 1995 Byman and Waxman, "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate," IS 24, 4, spring 2000

- Kaufmann, Chaim D.. 1996a. "Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars." *Security Studies* 6, 1: 62-104.
- Kaufmann, Chaim D. 1998. "Where All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century." *International Security* 23, 2: 120-156.
- Byman, Daniel. 1997. "Rethinking Partition: Lessons from Iraq and Lebanon." *Security Studies* 7, 1: 1-32.
- Harvey, Frank. 1997. "Deterrence and Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1993-1994." *Security Studies* 6, 3: 180-210.
- Posen, Barry. 1996. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters." International Security 21,1: 72-111.
- Greenhill, "Mission Impossible? Preventing Deadly Conflict in the African Great Lakes Region," *Security Studies* 11, 1 Autumn 2001, 77-126.
- Stigler, "A clear victory for airpower: Kosovo" IS 27, 3, 2002/03

Week 9: Ethnic Conflict Upon IR and IR's Impact on Ethnic Conflict Mar 20

- Davis, David R. and Will H. Moore. 1997. "Ethnicity matters: Transnational ethnic alliances and foreign behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, 1: 171-184.
- Trumbore, Peter. 2003. "Victims or Aggressors," Ethno-Political Rebellion and Use of Force" ISQ 47,2 June 2003
- Woodwell D, Unwelcome neighbors: Shared ethnicity and international conflict during the Cold War," ISQ, 48, 1 197-223 MAR 2004
- Cetinyan, Rupen, "Ethnic Bargaining in the Shadow of Third-Party Intervention," IO 56, 3 (Summer 2002) 645-678
- Jenne, Erin, "A Bargaining Theory of Minority Demands," ISQ 48, 4, Dec 04: 729-754
- Posen, Barry. 1993. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." *International Security* 18, 2: 80-124.

Weeks 10-13: Student Presentations of Research

Mar 27, Apr 3, 10