

PS 379 R: Civil Wars and Ethnic Violence, Winter 2008
Department of Political Science, Brigham Young University

1 Instructor Information

Professor Michael Findley
Phone: 801.422.5317
Email: mike_findley@byu.edu

Office: 744 SWKT
Office Hours: M/W 2–3; Tu 10–10:45
Class Location: 346 MARB

2 Course Overview, Format, and Objectives

Ethnic conflicts and civil wars pose one of the greatest threats to international peace and security today. Recent conflicts in contexts as diverse as Rwanda, Russia, Colombia, and India demonstrate the devastating consequences of violent civil conflict. Indicative of this broader trend in the outbreak and continuation of civil violence is the fact that 90% of UN peacekeeping operations since 1989 have been deployed to disputes that have a significant internal conflict component. Despite the threat posed by such conflicts, recent advances toward peace in areas like Northern Ireland and the former Yugoslavia offer encouragement about the prospects for resolving long-standing civil conflicts.

This course is structured to consider various theoretical approaches in the study of civil wars and their management. Throughout, we will sample from numerous cases of civil war and violence paying close attention to the conflicts in Iraq, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia. The first segment of the course explores the basic dimensions of civil wars and ethnic violence. In particular, we examine the origins and development of ethnic and political identities and how they structure the parameters of conflict. Core questions include: What do we mean by “ethnicity”? Is a given identity inherent in individuals, or is it subject to change? If manipulable, do “instrumental” elites use ethnicity to their advantage? Is there an ethnic dimension to all civil violence?

The second phase of the course is devoted to the process by which conflict among individuals and groups turns violent. Key questions include: What political incentives do leaders have to drum up support through violence? How do economic factors such as natural resources affect a group’s opportunity or willingness to engage in violence? What causes internal violence to “spill over” into other countries or regions?

The third and final section addresses strategies of conflict management and resolution. We consider some of the following questions: Does a feasible set of preventive solutions to civil wars exist? What is successful conflict management? Which strategies employed by international actors are most successful, and why? What are the obstacles to implementing conflict resolution measures?

The course will enable students to develop an understanding of: the nature of various identities, how identity contributes (or not) to civil war, what other dimensions shape civil war, and how such resultant wars are resolved. In addition to considering various theoretical approaches, three detailed case studies as well as brief examinations of many other cases, by writing the research paper you should develop a solid understanding of a conflict of your choice. These activities and assignments address the learning outcomes of the political science major by encouraging you to (1) gain a knowledge of countries and wars, theoretically and factually, (2) write professional research papers, and (3) think critically, analytically, and synthetically. I

encourage you to take time to look at the full set of political science learning outcomes, which can be accessed at: <https://learningoutcomes.byu.edu/>.

I hope that our sessions will be engaging, informative, and participatory. I eschew a strict lecture format. Instead, we will engage in a variety of activities including lectures, personal writing exercises, partner and group work, class discussions, video clips, demonstrations, problem-solving activities, and other critical thinking exercises. I value and will solicit your input on class activities both at the beginning of the semester as well as around midterm. I will make every reasonable effort to incorporate these ideas in the classroom.

3 Requirements

3.1 Required Readings

Three books are required for purchase, but other articles will be placed on e-reserve at the library and you will also be responsible for them. They are accessible here (password = fin379): <http://docutek.lib.byu.edu/eres/default.aspx>. If you are unable to access e-reserve, please visit with me as soon as possible.

Wimmer, Andreas, Richard Goldstone, Donald Horowitz, Ulrike Joras, and Conrad Schetter. 2004. *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Toward a New Realism*. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

Walter, Barbara. 2002. *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gourevitch, Philip. 1999. *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories From Rwanda*. New York: Picador.

3.2 Attendance and Participation

Attendance and participation are worth 10% of your grade. I expect all students to attend class regularly. On many days, we will spend a few minutes writing about various topics from the text or lecture. Frequently, you will hand in these writings for credit. These writing activities will enable us to think critically and they will also guide some of our discussion. I also encourage you to ask questions and make germane comments *at any time* during class. Furthermore, please finish the assigned readings *by the date* they appear in the syllabus. Read critically and be prepared to comment on the readings in class. I will give reading quizzes at various times during the semester.

3.3 Assignments

Students are required to complete two writing assignments. Because we cannot cover all possible civil wars, and because many of you have specific interests in a certain country or region of the world, both assignments allow you to choose a country and spend more time studying its conflict history and propensity. The assignments build on each other and require extensive library research. Assignments 1 and 2 are worth 15% and 25% of your final grade respectively. Details are located at the end of the syllabus. I strongly encourage you to submit a draft of your paper at least one week prior to the due date. I am happy to provide initial feedback on

the direction of the paper if you get it to me far enough in advance. I will also post detailed guidelines as well as tips for doing the assignment well.

3.4 Exams

The midterm and final exams account for 50% of your final grade (20% for the midterm and 30% for the final). Both exams will consist of multiple choice, identifications, and essays. Closer to the exam dates, I will hand out more detailed information about preparing for, and taking, the exams.

3.5 Schedule of Important Dates

Date	Assignment	Time
Wed. Jan 16	Email about syllabus	
Wed. Jan 23	Choose Country / Civil War	
Wed. Feb 20	Assignment 1	
Fri. Feb 29	Midterm Exam	In Class
Mon. Apr 7	Assignment 2	
Fri. Apr 18	Final Exam	3:00–6:00 (346 MARB)

4 Course Policies

4.1 Make-up Exams and Assignments

No make-up exams or quizzes will be given unless either prior consent is obtained from the instructor or a valid excuse is obtained from the Dean of Students. I will consent to give makeup exams only in the case of a documented emergency or some other commensurate event.

Assignments are due *by the beginning of class* on the date indicated in the schedule. Papers arriving late will be subject to a 1/3 grade reduction (i.e., an *A* will be lowered to an *A-*, an *A-* to a *B+*, and so on). DO NOT turn in your papers (whether late or on time) by email OR by slipping them under my office door. If you turn in a paper late, you must take it to the Political Science Office (745 SWKT) and have one of the secretaries put a date/time stamp on it.

4.2 Assignment of Grades

Grades are assigned on the following scale: *A* = 94–100; *A-* = 90–93; *B+* = 87–89; *B* = 84–86; *B-* = 80–83;...*F* = 63 or lower. If you have a complaint about how your exam (or paper) was graded, I am happy to take a second look. You must type a formal appeal addressing the problem and explain clearly what you originally wrote, why you wrote it, and how you think your original response correctly answered the original question. Additionally, you must turn in the original exam (or paper) along with your typed appeal.

4.3 Online Resources

The syllabus, all grades, paper topics, lecture outlines, and more will be posted on blackboard, which is accessible through the BYU homepage. Although the lecture outlines will be posted

here, do not assume that this exempts you from taking notes in class. The outlines will facilitate your note taking, but will not provide sufficient detail from which to study for exams.

4.4 Academic Integrity

Plagiarism: While all students sign the honor code, there are still specific skills most students need to master over time in order to correctly cite sources, especially in this new age of the internet; as well as deal with the stress and strain of college life without resorting to cheating. Please know that as your professor I will notice instances of cheating on exams or plagiarizing on papers. See <http://www.byu.edu/honorcode> for specific examples of intentional, inadvertent plagiarism, and fabrication, falsification.

Writing submitted for credit at BYU must consist of the student's own ideas presented in sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material must support the student's own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person's work for the student's own or the inclusion of another person's work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should visit the Writing Lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who specializes in the subject discussed in the paper. Useful books to consult on the topic include the current Harbrace College Handbook, the MLA Handbook, and James D. Lester's Writing Research Papers.

4.5 Classroom Civility

Regrettably, a handful of students occasionally demonstrate insensitivity to other students and to instructors by disrupting classes unnecessarily. Arriving late for class, reading newspapers in class, packing up bags prior to the end of class, and cell phone use are all disruptive activities. Browsing the internet, checking email, and playing games on laptops are also inappropriate in class because you should be listening and participating. Certainly, taking notes on a laptop is appropriate, but do not waste your time or mine by getting distracted by other activities on the web. Moreover, I will not tolerate incivility of one opinion to another. It is exciting and healthy to exchange a diversity of opinions, but in no case should anyone demean another because of his or her viewpoint. If you have any questions about what classroom civility entails, please contact me.

4.6 Syllabus

Each of you needs to email me by Wednesday, January 16 to let me know that you have read through the syllabus and that you understand all that is required of you. Also, readings for this course may be changed on an ad hoc basis. For the most part this will not happen, but if so, I will give as much notice as possible. I will likely assign short conflict summaries on a regular basis so that we can discuss specific civil wars in class.

4.7 Other Policies

Discrimination: Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination against any participant in an educational program or activity that receives federal funds. The act is intended to eliminate sex discrimination in education. Title IX covers discrimination in programs, admissions, activities, and student-to-student sexual harassment. BYU's policy against sexual harassment extends not only to employees of the university but to students as well. If you encounter unlawful sexual harassment or gender based discrimination, please talk to your professor; contact the Equal Employment Office at 422-5895 or 367-5689 (24-hours); or contact the Honor Code Office at 422-2847.

Access: Brigham Young University is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere which reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. If you have any disability which may impair your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the Services for Students with Disabilities Office (422-2767). Reasonable academic accommodations are reviewed for all students who have qualified documented disabilities. Services are coordinated with the student and instructor by the SSD office. If you need assistance or if you feel you have been unlawfully discriminated against on the basis of disability, you may seek resolution through established grievance policy and procedures. You should contact the Equal Employment Office at 422-5895, D-282 ASB.

5 Tentative Course and Reading Schedule

5.1 Dimensions underlying Conflict (01/09 & 01/11)

- Wimmer, 2004 (1-16; Wimmer volume)
- Hewitt, 2008 (21-26; e-reserve)
- Hewitt, 2008 (107-118; e-reserve)

Identity Formation (01/14 – 01/18))

- Taras & Ganguly 2006, (11-13; e-reserve)
- Fearon and Laitin 2000, (845-877; e-reserve)
- Connor 2004, (23-33, Wimmer volume)
- Brubaker & Laitin 1998, (423-452; e-reserve)
- Brubaker 2004, (34-52; Wimmer volume)

What is Civil War? (01/23 & 01/25)

- Sambanis 2004, (814-858; e-reserve)
- Mueller 2000, (42-70; e-reserve)
- Kalyvas 2003, (475-494; e-reserve)

Case Study — Iraq (01/28)

- Uppsala Database *Iraq* Summary and Detailed Information, (web)
- O’Leary 2002, (web)
- Wimmer 2003, (111–134; e-reserve)
- Dawisha and Dawisha 2003, (e-reserve)

5.2 From Conflict to Violence**General Reading & Introduction (01/30 & 02/01)**

- Kaufman 2001, (1–48; e-reserve)
- Lake and Rothchild 1998, (3–23; e-reserve)

Political Dimensions of Civil War (02/08 & 02/11)

- Gagnon 1995, (130-166; e-reserve)
- Bakwesegha 2004, (53–60; Wimmer volume)
- Wilkinson 2004, (1–18, 236–242; e-reserve)

Economic Dimensions of Civil War (02/13 & 02/15)

- King 2001, (524–552; e-reserve)
- Ross 2004, (337–356; e-reserve)
- Sambanis 2001, (259–282; e-reserve)
- Fearon & Laitin 2003, (75–90; e-reserve)

International Dimensions of Civil War (02/19 – 02/20)

- Lake and Rothchild 1998, (23–32; e-reserve)
- Fearon 2007, (e-reserve)
- Kaufmann 2004, (5–48; e-reserve)

Problems of State Disintegration & Secession (02/22)

- Posner 1993, (27–47; e-reserve)
- Diamond, et al 2006, (e-reserve)
- Saideman 1998, (127–150; e-reserve)

Case Study: Rwanda (02/25 – 02/27)

- Uppsala Database *Rwanda* Summary and Detailed Information, (web)
- Gourevitch 1998, (all; Gourevitch book)

Midterm Exam, Friday, February 29, In Class**5.3 Conflict Management Approaches****General Reading & Introduction (03/03)**

- Walter 2002, (3–18; Walter book)
- Harff & Gurr 2004, (181–195; e-reserve)

Prevention, Mediation, & Peacekeeping (03/05 – 03/10)

- Zartman 2004, (141–159; Wimmer volume)
- Lund 2004, (120–141; Wimmer volume)
- Stedman 1995, (14–20; e-reserve)
- Esman 1995, (21–47; e-reserve)

Negotiated Settlements (03/12 – 03/14)

- Walter 2002, (19–43, 70–91, 113–159; Walter book)
- Downes 2006, (49–61; e-reserve)

Institutional Reform and Democracy (03/17 – 03/19)

- Rothchild 2004, (226–244; Wimmer volume)
- Hannum 2004, (274–282; Wimmer volume)
- Horowitz 2004, (245–257; Wimmer volume)

Challenges to Peace Processes (03/21 – 03/24)

- Stedman 1997, (5–53; e-reserve)
- Greenhill and Major 2007, (7–40; e-reserve)

Case Study: Yugoslavia (03/31 – 04/02)

- Uppsala Database *Bosnia-Serbia* Summary and Detailed Information, (web)
- Woodward 1999, (73–115; e-reserve)
- Cousens 2002, (531–566; e-reserve)

Societal Consequences of War (04/07 – 04/11)

- Salehyan and Gleditsch 2006, (335–366; e-reserve)
- Plümper Eric Neumayer 2006, (723–754; e-reserve)

5.4 Conclusions**Conclusions (04/14)**

- Gurr 2000, (52–64; e-reserve)
- Wimmer 2004, (333-359; Wimmer volume)

Final Exam, Friday, April 18, 3:00–6:00**References**

- [1] Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. "Ethnicity Without Groups." In Andreas Wimmer, et al, eds., *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Toward a New Realism*. Pp. 34–52. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- [2] Brubaker, Rogers, and David Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 423–452.
- [3] Cousens, Elizabeth. 2002. "From Missed Opportunities to Overcompensation: Implementing the Dayton Agreement on Bosnia." In Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild, & Elizabeth Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Pp. 531–566. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- [4] Dawisha, Adeed, and Karen Dawisha. 2003. "How to Build a Democratic Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*
- [5] Diamond, Larry, James Dobbins, Chaim Kaufmann, Leslie Gelb, and Stephen Biddle. 2006. "What to Do in Iraq: A Roundtable." *Foreign Affairs* July/August.
- [6] Downes, Alexander. 2006. "More Borders, Less Conflict? Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Civil Wars." *SAIS Review* 26(1): 49–61.
- [7] Esman, Milton. 1995. "Survey of Interventions." In Milton Esman and Shibley Telhami, eds., *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Pp. 21–47.
- [8] Fearon, James. 2007. "Iraq's Civil War." *Foreign Affairs* March/April.
- [9] Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54(4): 845–877.
- [10] Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 75-90.

- [11] Gagnon, V.P. 1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." *International Security* 19 (3): 130–166.
- [12] Gleditsch, Kristian. 2007. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(3): 293–309.
- [13] Gourevitch, Philip. 1998. *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories From Rwanda*. New York: Picador.
- [14] Greenhill, Kelly, and Solomon Major. 2007. "The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords." *International Security* 31(3): 7–40.
- [15] Gurr, Ted R. 2000. "Ethnic Warfare on the Wane." *Foreign Affairs* 79 (3): 52–64.
- [16] Harff, Barbara, and Ted R. Gurr. 2004. *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*. 2nd ed. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.
- [17] Hewitt, Joseph. 2008. "Trends in Global Conflict, 1946–2005." In Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.) *Peace and Conflict 2008*. Boulder, Co: Paradigm Publishers. Pp. 21–26.
- [18] Hewitt, Joseph. 2008. "Unpacking Global Trends in Violent Conflict, 1946–2005." In Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.) *Peace and Conflict 2008*. Boulder, Co: Paradigm Publishers. Pp. 107–118.
- [19] Kalyvas, Stathis. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475–494.
- [20] Kaufman, Stuart. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- [21] Kaufmann, Chaim. 2004. "Threat Inflation and the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War." *International Security* 29(1): 5–48.
- [22] King, Charles. 2001. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53 (4): 524–552.
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- [24] Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of Ethnic War." *International Security* 25(1): 42–70.
- [25] O'Leary, Carole. 2002. "The Kurds of Iraq: Recent History, Future Prospects." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 6(4): <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2002/issue4/jv6n4a5.html>
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- [27] Posen, Barry. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35(1): 27–47.

- [28] Ross, Michael. 2004. "What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 337–356.
- [29] Salehyan, Idean, and Kristian Gleditsch. 2006. "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization* 60: 335–366.
- [30] Sambanis, Nicholas. 2001. "Do Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (3): 259–282.
- [31] Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 814–858.
- [32] Saideman, Stephen. 1998. "Is Pandora's Box Half-Empty or Half-Full? The Limited Virulence of Secessionism and the Domestic Sources of Disintegration." In David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 127–150.
- [33] Stedman, Stephen. 1995. "Alchemy for a New World Order? Overselling Preventive Diplomacy?" *Foreign Affairs* 75: 14–20.
- [34] Stedman, Stephen. 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22 (2): 5–53.
- [35] Taras, Ray, and Rajat Ganguly. 2006. *Understanding Ethnic Conflict: The International Dimension*. New York: Longman.
- [36] Uppsala Conflict Database: <http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/index.php>
- [37] Walter, Barbara. 2002. *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- [38] Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chps 1 & 8 (1–18, 236–242)
- [39] Wimmer, Andreas. 2003. "Democracy and Ethno-Religious Conflict in Iraq." *Survival* 45(4): 111–134.
- [40] Wimmer, Andreas, Richard Goldstone, Donald Horowitz, Ulrike Joras, and Conrad Schetter (Eds.). 2004. *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Toward a New Realism*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- [41] Woodward, Susan. 1999. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: How Not to End Civil War." In Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*. Pp. 73–115. New York: Columbia University Press.

Paper Assignments

Choose one country from the list below or one approved by the instructor. Be sure that there has been enough conflict to write about the country (Talk with me if you have questions). Throughout the term, you will be reviewing, analyzing, and assessing the prospects for ethnic conflict and civil war in this state.

Please select a country by Wednesday, January 23 at the latest; I will have a sign-up sheet and countries will be given out on a first-come, first-serve basis. A list of suggested countries is given below. Any country not on this list requires my approval.

1. Afghanistan
2. Algeria
3. Angola
4. Armenia
5. Azerbaijan
6. Belize
7. Bosnia-Herzegovina
8. Burundi
9. Cambodia
10. Chad
11. People's Republic of China
12. Congo (Zaire)
13. Croatia
14. Cuba
15. Cyprus
16. Egypt
17. El Salvador
18. Eritrea
19. Ethiopia
20. Georgia
21. Greece
22. Guatemala
23. Haiti
24. India
25. Iran
26. Iraq
27. Indonesia
28. Kuwait
29. Lebanon
30. Liberia
31. Libya
32. Mexico
33. Mozambique
34. Nicaragua
35. Nigeria
36. Pakistan
37. Rwanda
38. Philippines
39. Russia
40. Saudi Arabia
41. Serbia/Yugoslavia
42. Slovenia
43. Somalia
44. South Africa
45. Sri Lanka
46. Sudan
47. Syria

48. Thailand

51. Ukraine

49. Turkey

50. Uganda

52. Vietnam

Assignment 1

The first writing assignment consists of two parts, each designed to provide background information about the country under study.

Part I: Provide a descriptive overview of the ethnic, religious, linguistic, and related cleavages or differences that exist in your country. To what extent have those differences been politicized? If serious disagreements exist between groups, identify and discuss what issues are involved as well as the competing positions of the groups on those issues.

Part II: Provide a brief history of the civil wars, revolutions, and domestic turmoil that your country has been involved in over the past fifty years. Although this part of the writing assignment is primarily descriptive, you should draw some conclusions about how conflict-prone this country has been in the past. If the country in question has not been prone to conflict, this too should be noted and some analysis given for why it has avoided internal strife.

- Approximate Length: 2,000 words or 8 pages (typed)
- Due: February 20
- Grading Criteria:
 - Historical accuracy
 - Quality of description
 - Completeness
 - Writing style and clarity
 - Supporting references/research

Assignment 2

Part I: Analyze the prospects for future internal conflict in the country you have chosen. You should look at a wide range of domestic turmoil including civil wars, revolutions, terrorist acts, and riots among others, but emphasize civil war. This is primarily an analytical assignment. You must offer your prognosis for internal conflict over the next decade or two. Whether you regard this probability as high or low, *your analysis must include the rationale for the assessment* as a central piece of the assignment.

Part II: Based on your analysis in the previous assignment and the first half of this assignment, offer a detailed set of suggestions to the government of your country on how to minimize the chances for internal conflict. These policy ideas should be plausible and described in some detail (that is, do not merely offer goals, but the policy means to achieve those goals).

- Approximate Length: 3,000 words or 12 pages (typed)
- Due: April 7

- Grading Criteria:
 - Reasonableness of assessment
 - Quality of rationale/justification
 - Plausibility & innovation of proposals
 - Level of specificity
 - Writing style and clarity
 - Supporting references/research