

Dr. Chester Crocker
MSFS 638
Spring 2010
Wednesday 9:30-12:00
ICC 202

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Syllabus and Readings

Required Text: 1) Leashing the Dogs of War (Crocker/Hampson/Aall)

ISBN: 978-1-929223-96-1

2) Grasping the Nettle (edited Crocker/Hampson/Aall)

ISBN: 978-1-929223-60-2

3) MSFS 638 Course Packet—**REQUIRED TO PURCHASE** from the Georgetown University Bookstore (Leavey Center)

Readings: The readings listed below are either from the course texts, the course packet, posted on Blackboard, or online.

Office Hours: Tues. 4:30-6:00 or by appointment.

ICC 801

Office tel: 687-5074.

Scope and Purpose:

The seminar's central focus is the challenge of creating security and building peace in the 21st-century. It will introduce students to the "intellectual map" of the peace-maker by exploring a wide range of literatures and cases in order to identify the roots and sources of conflict, and illustrate the varieties of third party intervention for conflict management. Drawing upon readings and discussion, students will examine changing patterns of conflict and explore a range of institutions, techniques and strategies for responding to the challenge of disorder.

Course Requirements:

There will be several short, written assignments accounting for 40% of the grade. Students will also prepare a research paper (40%) analyzing a specific conflict management issue and what can be done to address it. Students are expected to be prepared to participate in class discussion, and will present oral briefings to the seminar (20%).

I. CONFLICT ANALYSIS: Sources & Changing Global Context of International Conflict

(January 20 - February 10)

- overview of course; sources of conflict and “causes” of war; theory-practice nexus
- patterns, types, costs, results of regional conflict since 1945 and since 1989 and 2001
- global systemic change and democratization as “sources” of conflict; security dilemmas; state failure
- the triggers of ethnic mobilization and violent conflict
- debates about economic sources and drivers; needs, creeds, and greed
- obstacles, conflict intractability and solutions

January 20: overview of course; sources of conflict and “causes” of war; theory-practice nexus patterns, types, costs, results of regional conflict since 1945 and since 1989 and 2001

Readings: *READ AHEAD in preparation for first class meeting!*

- Leashing the Dogs: Introduction and Chapters 2 (Levy) (Required Text)
- Vasquez, John A., (ed), What do we Know About War?, Chapters 2 (Bremer) and 16 (Midlarsky) (Course Pack)
- Andrew Mack, “Global Political Violence: Explaining the Post-Cold War Decline” Coping with Crisis Working Paper Series, *International Peace Academy*, March 2007:
http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/146/CWC_Working_Paper_POLITICAL_Violence_AM.pdf
- Peace and Conflict 2010 Executive Summary:
http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/pc/executive_summary/exec_sum_2010.pdf

Further Readings:

- *miniAtlas of Human Security*, Human Security Report Project, October 2008
<http://www.miniatlasofhumansecurity.info/en/access.html>
- Andrew Mack, Power Point Presentation from Human Security Report, (Blackboard)

January 27: global systemic change and democratization as “sources” of conflict; security dilemmas; changes in war outcomes as cause of war or peace; state failure; the triggers of ethnic or religious mobilization and violent conflict

Readings:

- Brown, Michael et al, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, Chapter by van Evera (Blackboard)
- Leashing the Dogs: Chapters 6-7 (Rotberg, Ayoob), 9 (Gurr) and 10 (Mansfield and Snyder) (Required Text)
- Carothers, Thomas, “How Democracies Emerge: the ‘Sequencing Fallacy,’”

Journal of Democracy, Vol. 18, No 1, January 2007:

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Carotherssequencingarticle1.pdf>

- Patrick, Stewart, “Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006, at http://www.twq.com/06spring/docs/06spring_patrick.pdf
- Sasha Lezhnev, Crafting Peace: Strategies to Deal with Warlords in Collapsing States, Chapter 1, p. 1-19 (Course Pack)

Further Readings:

- Fortna, Virginia Page, “Where have all the Victories Gone? War Outcomes in Historical Perspective”, *APSA*, Sept 3, 2004, available at: <http://www.columbia.edu/~vpf4/apsa04.pap.pdf>
- Link to *Journal of Democracy* July 2007, Volume 18, Number 3 Exchange among:
 - **The Sequencing "Fallacy"**
Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder
Premature, out-of-sequence attempts to democratize may make later efforts to democratize more difficult and violent than they would otherwise be.
 - **Liberalism versus State-Building**
Francis Fukuyama
In certain circumstances, both liberalism and popular rule can obstruct rather than promote state-building.
 - **The Vain Hope for "Correct" Timing**
Sheri Berman
The history of many of today's established democracies shows that "out-of-sequence" democratization can lead to eventual success.
 - **Misunderstanding Gradualism**
Thomas Carothers
Unlike pessimistic scholars and recalcitrant autocrats, most ordinary citizens are inclined to take the risks of choosing democracy when they can.

February 3: Economic sources and drivers; needs, creeds, and greed; environment and conflict; gender and conflict; and pulling the ‘sources’ and theories together

Readings:

- Hampson and Malone, From Reaction to Conflict Prevention, Chapter 2 (Anne-Marie Gardner) (Course Pack)
- Bruno Tertrais, “On War and Peace,” Survival, June-July 2009 (Blackboard)
- Arnson and Zartman, Rethinking the Economics of War, Chapters 1 and 10 (Blackboard)

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapter 13 (Stewart/Brown) (Required Text)
- <http://bostonreview.net/BR34.4/easterly.php>
- <http://bostonreview.net/BR34.4/krasner.php>
- <http://bostonreview.net/BR34.4/collier.php>
- <http://bostonreview.net/BR34.4/diamond.php>
- Dabelko, Geoffrey D. “Environment and Energy” (Ch 5) in Neyla Arnas, (ed) Fighting Chance, (National Defense University, 2009), (Blackboard)

Further Readings:

- Fearon, James D. “Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 49 #4, August 2005 (Course Pack)
- Gareth Evans, “Conflict Potential in a World of Climate Change” Address by the President of the International Crisis Group, to Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance, Berlin, August 29, 2008
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5648&l=1>
- Leashing the Dogs, Chapter 11 (Gleditsch), Chapter 12 (Collier) (Required Text)
- David G. Victor, “What Resource Wars?”, *The National Interest*, November 2007 (Blackboard)
- Thomas Homer-Dixon, “Straw Man in the Wind”, *The National Interest*, January 2008 (Blackboard)
- Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett, “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States,” *International Security*, Vol. 33 No. 3 (Winter 2008-9):
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3303_pp007-045.pdf

February 10: the challenge of intractability; options for coping with civil wars

- obstacles to peace and conflict intractability;
- the issue of spoiler management; party fragmentation; information and commitment problems; struggle politics; sequencing problems
- options for “solving” internal conflicts: power sharing, federalism, partition/separation, autonomy, assimilation, constitutional engineering
- economic governance initiatives
- civil society and peacebuilding

**First take-home assignment: due February 17 (Origins + Sources: Kashmir, Colombia, Russia-Georgia, and Yemen)*

Readings:

- Andreas Wimmer, Facing Ethnic Conflicts, Chapters 13 (Esman) and 18 (Hannum) (Course Pack)
- Brown et al, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, Chapter by Kaufmann (Blackboard)

- Bloom, Mia and Roy Licklider, “What’s All the Shouting About?” *Security Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Summer 2004 (Blackboard)
- Kelly Greenhill and Solomon Major “The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords”, *International Security* Vol. 31 #3 (Winter 06-07) (Blackboard)
- Walter, Barbara F., “Bargaining Failures and Civil War”:
<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.101405.135301?cookieSet=1>
- Grasping the Nettle, Chapter 1 (Required Text)
- Leashing the Dogs, Chapter 35 (Malone/Sherman), (Required Text)

Further Readings:

- Grasping the Nettle, Chapters 2-3 and case Chapters (Colombia, Kashmir, Georgia [Eurasia]) (Required Text)
- Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer "What's in a Line: Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?" *International Security* Fall 09:
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3402_pp082-118.pdf.
- Yemen readings:
 - http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east_north_africa/iraq_iran_gulf/86_yemen_defusing_the_saada_time_bomb.pdf
 - Jeremy Sharp, “Yemen: Background and US Relations”, (Congressional Research Service, July 7, 2009, pp. 5-11:
<http://ftp.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL34170.pdf>
 - http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/yemen_Policy_Brief_0.pdf
- Carter Johnson, “Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography and Ethnic Civil Wars”. *International Security*, Spring 2008 Vol. 32 #4 (Blackboard)
- Oksana Antonenko, “A War with No Winners,” *Survival*, vol. 50 no. 5, (October November 2008) (Blackboard)
- Longo, Matthew and Rust, Ellen, “The Case for Peace Before Disarmament”, Survival, Vol. 51# 4, August-September 2009. (Blackboard)
- FT articles on devolution (Blackboard)

II. The Spectrum of Third Party Conflict Management

A. Conflict Management: Debates, Tools, Strategies, and Interveners

February 17:

- evolution of the "field" of CR; debates and paradigms
- conflict management: actors, roles, and the techniques they use conflict stages, life cycles, intervention points
- **First take-home paper due*

Readings:

- Turbulent Peace, Introduction and Chapter 24 (Hampson) (Course Pack)
- Leashing the Dogs, Chapter 26 (Kriesberg) (Required Text)
- Kagan, Donald, "The Pseudo-science of 'Peace'", *The Public Interest*, No.78 (Winter 1985), pp. 43-61 (Blackboard)

B. Political and Diplomatic Approaches to Conflict Management

(February 24-March 3)

February 24:

- soft power, brain power, and horsepower ingredients of strategy
- non-governmental approaches
- rule of law in conflict management
- the relationship of strategy and diplomacy to conflict management

Readings:

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapters , 22 (Nye), 23 (Kritz), 24 (Stares/Yacoubian), and 27 (Aall), and 31 (Chigas) (Required Text)
- Bruce W. Dayton, "Useful but Insufficient: Intermediaries in Peacebuilding" in Dayton and Kriesberg, *Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding: Moving from Violence to Sustainable Peace* (Blackboard)
- Chester A. Crocker, "The Art of Peace", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August, 2007 (Blackboard)

March 3:

- mediators and their qualifications, techniques, tools
- the role of formulas, timing-ripeness;
- conflict prevention;
- seizing and missing opportunities

Readings:

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapters 25 (Zartman/Touval) (Required Text)
- Crocker, Chester, "Peacemaking and Mediation: Dynamics of a Changing Field" International Peace Academy website:
http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/153/CWC_Working_Paper_PEACEMAKING_CC.pdf
- Zartman, I. William, Cowardly Lions, Chapters 1 and 8 (Course Pack)
- Herding Cats, Chapter 4 (van der Stoel) (Blackboard)
- Michael Lund, "Operationalizing the Lessons from Recent Experience in Field-

Level Conflict Prevention Strategies” in Andreas Wimmer (ed.) , Facing Ethnic Conflicts, Chapter 8 (Course Pack)

Further Readings:

- Grasping the Nettle, Chapter 5 (Bercovitch) (Required Text)
- Lawrence Woocher, “Preventing Violent Conflict,” USIP Special Report 231, September 2009 - http://www.usip.org/files/preventing_violent_conflict.pdf
- Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, Conflict Resolution in the 21st Century, Chapter 7 “Preventive Diplomacy” (Blackboard)

C. Coercive Doctrines, Debates and Strategies

(March 17-24)

March 17:

- new threats and ‘new’ doctrines: prevention, pre-emption, containment, deterrence
- military and non-military instruments in the ‘war on terrorism’
- coercive diplomacy: uses and limits of threat of force as tool of CM
- non-violent strategies of coercion

Readings:

- A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the Secretary General’s High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (NY, UN, 2004) at www.un.org/secureworld
- Leashing the Dogs, Chapters 14 (Freedman), 17 (Art/Cronin), 20 (Crocker) (Required Text)
- Sofaer, Abraham, “The Best Defense? Preventive Force and International Security,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2010 (Blackboard)
- Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Non-violent Conflict”, International Security, Vol. 33 #1 Summer 2008 (Blackboard)
- Jessica Stern and Jonathan Wiener "Precaution Against Terrorism" Ch 5 in Managing Strategic Surprise , (Cambridge UP 2008) ed by Paul Bracken, Ian Bremmer and David Gordon (Blackboard)

Further Readings:

- Sasha Lezhnev, Crafting Peace: Strategies to Deal with Warlords in Collapsing States, Chapter 4 pp. 73-91 (Course Pack)
- Steinberg, James, “Preventive Force in US National Security Strategy” *Survival*, Vol. 47 #4 (Winter 2005-06) (Blackboard)

- Byman, Daniel, “US Counterterrorism Options: A Taxonomy,” *Survival*, Vol. 49 No. 3, Autumn 2007 (Blackboard)

March 24:

- humanitarian intervention and sovereignty; the legitimacy debate: who authorizes the use of force
- the R2P: emergence of a norm
- can humanitarian military intervention actually work? Is it a good idea? When can it succeed?
- economic sanctions: what works when and why

Readings:

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapters 16 (Jentleson) and 19 (de Jonge Oudraat) (Required Text)
- Turbulent Peace, Chapters 16 (Luttwak) and 18 (Betts) (Course Pack)
- Alex J. Bellamy, “The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention”, *International Affairs (London)*, vol. 84 #4 July 2008 (Blackboard)
- Jeremy M. Weinstein “Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective” Center for Global Development Working Paper #57 April 2005: <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2731>

Further Readings:

- Nye, Joseph, “Redefining the National Interest”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.78, No.4 (July/August 1999), pp. 22-35 (Blackboard)
- Crocker, Chester, “A Poor Case for Quitting”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.79, No.1 (Jan/Feb) 2000), pp. 178-183 (Blackboard)
- Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, “The Responsibility to Protect,” *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 2002 (March 15) (Blackboard); or see the full report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty at www.iciss.gc.ca
- Hufbauer et al, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered 3rd* edition, Chapter 6 pp. 155-178 (Blackboard)
- Morton Abramowitz and Thomas Pickering, “Making Intervention Work”, *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2008 (Blackboard)
- Seybolt, Taylor, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure*, Ch 1-2 and 8 (Blackboard)
- Leashing the Dogs, Ch 32 (Wedgwood) (Required Text)
- “Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, Report of the UN SG to UNGA” January 12, 2009: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/topic,4565c2251a,4565c25f239,4989924d2,0.html>

****Take-home Assignment Background Readings***

(due April 7 & located in folder under “April 7” heading on Bb Course Documents)

- Covey, Jock, Dziedzic, Michael and Hawley, Leonard (eds) The Quest for Viable Peace, Chaps. 2, 4, 5, and 9 on Macedonia and Kosovo (Blackboard)
- Arnson and Zartman, Rethinking the Economics of War, Chapters 6 (DRC), and 8 (Afghanistan). (Blackboard)
- Durch, William J., Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations, Chaps. 4 (DRC) and 7 (Afghanistan) (Blackboard)
- Chivvis, Christopher, “Preserving Hope in the DRC”, *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 2, Summer 2007, (Blackboard)
- Hayner, Priscilla, “Negotiating Peace in Liberia: Preserving the Possibility for Justice,” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and International Center for Transitional Justice, November 2007,
<http://www.hdcentre.org/publications/negotiating-peace-liberia-preserving-possibility-justice>
- Sriram, Chandra Lekha and Karin Wermester (Ed), From Promise to Practice, Chap. 11 (Liberia) (Blackboard)
- “Conflict in Sri Lanka: A Change of Gear?”, International Institute for Strategic Studies Strategic Comments, Volume 13, Issue 2, March 2007 (Blackboard)

D. Collective Security and Collective Defense: Roles and Capabilities of Selected Institutions

(March 31-April 7)

March 31:

- collective defense and collective security: the role of alliances and coalitions of the willing
- the case of NATO
- whither UN peace keeping and non-UN peace enforcement?
- which regional/international bodies are good at what?
- ****Second take-home exercise due April 7: interaction of political and coercive tools in CM; select a case from among Macedonia, Kosovo, Liberia, DRC, Afghanistan (post-9/11), Sri Lanka*

Readings:

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapters 28 (Mingst and Karns), 29 (Mack) and 30 (Diehl) (Required Text)
- Bond, Richard, “The PSI: Three Years On,” BASIC, August 2006 (Blackboard)
- Durch, William J., ed., Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations, Chapters 1 and 8.

- (USIP and Stimson Center, 2006) (Blackboard)
- Fortna, Virginia Page and Howard, Lise Morje, “Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature”:
<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.041205.103022>.
- Adam Roberts and Dominik Zaum, “Selective Security” Adelphi Papers #395 Chapter 1 pp. 11-30 and Conclusion pp. 67-77. (Course Pack)
- Richard Betts, “The Three Faces of NATO”, The National Interest, # 100 March-April, 2009 at: <http://www.nationalinterest.org/PrinterFriendly.aspx?id=20944>
- Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, Conflict Resolution in the 21st Century, Chapter 9 “Regional Task-Sharing” (Blackboard)

Further Readings:

- Cortright, David and George A. Lopez, United Against Terror: Cooperative Nonmilitary Responses to the Global Terrorist Threat, Chap. 5 “Cutting the Deadly Nexus: Preventing the Spread of WMD to Terrorists” (Millar and Ipe) (Blackboard)
- Donald Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta, Peace Operations: Trends, Progress and Prospects, Chapter 1 (Birger Heldt) (Blackboard)
- Stephen John Stedman, “UN Transformation in an Era of Soft Balancing,” International Affairs (London) Vol 83 #5 (2007):
<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/117960068/PDFSTART>.

April 7:

- the capability crisis in peacekeeping: where are the troops?
- coordination, commitment and leadership in complex operations
- **2nd take-home assignment due

Readings:

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapters 18 (O’Hanlon) (Required Text)
- Stedman, Rothchild and Cousens (eds), Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements, Chapter 4 (Jones) (Course Pack)
- Richard Kugler and Hans Binnendijk, “Toward a New Trans-Atlantic Compact” Defense & Technology Paper 52, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, August 2008
http://www.ndu.edu/CTNSP/Def_Tech/DTP%2052%20NATO%20Concept%20and%20Compact.pdf
- Bastian Giegerich, “European Crisis Management” Adelphi Paper 397 (2008) Chapters 1 and Conclusion (Course Pack)
- James Dobbins, “Europe’s Role in Nation Building”, Survival, June-July 2008 (Blackboard)

Further Readings:

- David C. Gompert, “For a Capability to Protect: Mass Killing, the African Union and NATO”, *Survival* Vol. 48 #1 (Spring 2006) (Blackboard)
- Donald Daniel, Patricia Taft and Sharon Wiharta, Peace Operations: Trends, Progress and Prospects, Chapter 4-5 (Gary Anderson and Patricia Taft) (Blackboard)
- “Europe’s Rapid Response Forces”, IISS Strategic Comments, Vol. 15 #7 September 2009. (Blackboard)
- Richard Gowan, “The Strategic Context: Peacekeeping in Crisis, 2006–08”: <http://www.cic.nyu.edu/internationalsecurity/docs/strategiccontext.pdf>

E. *Shaping the Conflict Management Environment: Regimes, Norms, and State-Building and Democratization*

(April 14-28)

April 14:

- weapons regimes and conflict management

Readings:

- Husbands, Jo L., “The Proliferation of Conventional Weapons and Technologies” in Michael E. Brown (ed), Grave New World (Course Pack)
- Ivo Daalder and Jan Lodal, “The Logic of Zero,” *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 2008 (Blackboard)
- Report of the Third Biennial Meeting of States to Consider the Implementation of the Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, UN General Assembly, A/CONF.192/BMS/2008/3, Pages 8-20 <http://www.poa-iss.org/DocsUpcomingEvents/ENN0846796.pdf>

Further Readings:

- “Africa’s Missing Billions: International Arms Flows and the Cost of Conflict,” An IANSA, Oxfam International, and SaferWorld Briefing Paper, October 2007 http://www.iansa.org/documents/missing_billions_Afr.pdf
- Weapons of Terror (Report of the WMD Commission, 2006) at http://www.wmdcommission.org/files/Weapons_of_Terror.pdf pp. 31-56 and 87-109

April 21:

- norm development and transmission
- democratization
- the accountability/justice debate

Readings:

- Leashing the Dogs, Chapter 33 (Ottaway) (Required Text)
- Wimmer, Chapter 12 (Goldstone) (Course Pack)
- Vasquez et al, Chapters 13 (Raymond) (Course Pack)
- Vinjamuri and Boesenecker, “Report: Accountability and Peace Agreements: Mapping Trends from 1980-2006,” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, September 2007:
<http://www.hdcentre.org/search/node/Accountability+and+Peace+Agreements%3A+A+Mapping+Trends+from+1980-2006>

April 28:

- state failure, state building
- post-conflict complex operations: PCR, Peacebuilding

Readings:

- Crocker, Chester, “Engaging Failed States”, Foreign Affairs, Sept-October, 2003 (Blackboard)
- Rotberg, When States Fail, 14 (Herbst) (Course Pack)
- Leashing the Dogs, Chapter 36 (Krasner) and 37 (Hampson/Mendeloff) (Required Text)
- Charles Call, “Beyond the ‘Failed State’: Some Conceptual Alternatives”, (ISA November 2008) (Blackboard)
- Volker Boege, Anne Brown, Kevin Clements and Anna Nolan, “On Hybrid Political Orders and Emerging States” at http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/dialogue8_boegeetal_lead.pdf (23 pages) and a response from Susanne Schmeidl (with Masood Karokhail): “*Prêt-a-Porter States*”: *How the McDonaldization of State-Building Misses the Mark in Afghanistan* at http://www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/dialogue8_schmeidl_karokhail_comm.pdf (13 pages)
- USIP/US Army Peacekeeping Institute, Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction (2009) pp. 1-33:
http://www.usip.org/files/resources/guiding_principles_full.pdf.