

# Peace Paradigms

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**SIS 607.001, Spring 2010**  
**Mondays, 5:30-8:00**

**Asbury 226**

*International Peace and Conflict Resolution*  
*School of International Service*  
*American University*

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## *Catalogue description of course:*

The history and development of approaches to peace, with particular emphasis upon the following: peace through coercive power, peace through world order, peace through nonviolence, peace through communication (i.e., negotiation and dialogue), and peace through personal and community transformation.

## *Course description:*

This course is a graduate seminar designed to give master's and doctoral students an overview of the range of approaches and salient issues involved in thinking about peacemaking in today's world. It will be conducted primarily as a seminar, with students taking responsibility in turns to chair discussion sessions on the readings. Readings, lectures, guest speakers, movies and assignments will provide a rigorous investigation of basic assumptions and ways of thinking about peacemaking, key events and cases that have affected international politics, and current case studies that represent the challenges we face in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Peacemaking will be examined through the lens of five paradigms:

- 1) peace through power and coercion, with attention to the use of military force, collective security, and other forms of "benign hegemony"
- 2) peace through world order, including international law and organizations and human rights

- 3) peace through nonviolence, which involves understanding Gandhian strategic non-violence, pacifism, and advocacy in relation to the larger endeavor of peacemaking
- 4) peace through communication, which includes understanding negotiation, mediation, dialogue, problem solving and other conflict resolution processes
- 5) peace through individual and community transformation, focusing on grassroots initiatives and civil society building, other forms of reconciliation activities, and spiritual growth.

***Course goals:***

- To identify and examine critically a variety of approaches to peace
- To develop each class member's own awareness of how the endeavor to bring about peace is understood in today's world by a variety of actors
- To identify individual actors and institutions that are involved in the struggle for peace, and to recognize their assumptions, goals, and interlinkages.
- To be aware of the arguments of the main thinkers on peace and conflict, and the critiques of their philosophies
- To understand how our ideas about peacemaking have changed over time, and are heavily related to the context in which we live. Specifically, to understand evolution of thinking and policy making with regard to
  - Collective security
  - Use of humanitarian intervention and peacekeeping
  - Responding to terrorism
  - Nonviolence
  - Capacity of conflict resolution techniques to assist peacemaking
  - Democracy's relationship with peacemaking
  - The international legal system and its mechanisms
  - Capacity of religious groups to assist peacemaking
  - Education as a tool of peacemaking
  - Reconciliation
- To provide tools for analyzing conflicts
- To develop an awareness of organizations in Washington engaged in peace and related endeavors

***Learning outcomes***

Students will be able to

- Articulate and distinguish conceptions of power in the five paradigms studied
- Articulate and distinguish theories of change in the five paradigms studied
- Demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of the five paradigms
- Recognize in what situation(s) each of the paradigms offers the greatest value and utility
- Explain the roles of the most significant international institutions in addressing war and preventing war
- Evaluate the importance of the principal thinkers on international politics
- Critically examine one conflict in the international arena and evaluate peacemaking approaches for that conflict within several of the paradigms studied in the course

*Course requirements:*

**1. Community and class participation [10% of grade]**

We depend on everyone in order to have lively discussions and to integrate knowledge that is gathered during the course. When you speak in class, you and I can both better assess your level of understanding of the material, so if you want to be sure you grasp the concepts, speak up!

**2. Attending and reporting on an off campus lecture [5%] of grade**

You are expected to attend at least one lecture on peace related issues off campus in the Greater DC area. Regular workshops and seminars are offered, for example, at the United States Institute for Peace, the Woodrow Wilson Center, Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Brookings Institution, Search for Common Ground. Write a 2 to 3 page summary of the lecture you choose to report on, saying something about the sponsoring organization and venue, your reactions, and how the themes relate to class. Be prepared to speak in class about what you got from the lecture. We will try to apprise each other of interesting lectures upcoming.

**3. Discussion of readings [Discussion leaders - 10% of grade]**

Forty-five to sixty minutes of class time will be devoted to discussion of the readings. These discussions will be led by you – the students. Students will sign up on the first day of class to lead at least one class discussion session. You may do this in pairs.

Leading a discussion involves, first, presenting a **very** brief overview of the various assigned readings, highlighting key points made by authors, areas of debate that emerge, elements of your own learning, and/or ongoing questions. **Please note that this part of the task does not need to be exhaustive, or turn into a presentation in its own right – simply pick out SOME points that you would like to highlight in order to draw people’s minds into the subject matter.** Then you must offer at least three provocative questions that will get the class started in a discussion. It is your job to mediate the discussion by calling on those who want to speak, making sure everyone gets a chance to speak, and helping the group to move from one topic to the next so that we adequately cover the main matters for discussion.

**Please remember to bring assigned readings to class, to aid your recall in discussion! This means you must have a printed out version, and have read, marked and inwardly digested the main points of the reading before class.**

**4. Summaries of readings [5 points each; 10% of grade] (two pages, double spaced)**

Each student must hand in summaries of **two** of the assigned readings for the semester. The readings must be selected from two different weeks’ assignments. I urge you to complete this assignment early in the semester, as pressure always builds in the later weeks of the semester.

The summary should highlight

- a) To what school of thinking, or paradigm, does this author belong?
- b) Who or what is the negative “other” to which this author is responding?
- c) What is her or his principal argument?
- d) What implications does the argument have for the endeavor of peacemaking?
- e) What other notable or intriguing points does the author make?

**3. Conflict paper [15% of grade] (8-10 pages; 2,800-3500 words) Due February 15.**

Each student will write a paper focusing on a recent (possibly ongoing) conflict in the world, discussing the trajectory of the conflict. The purpose of the paper, apart from helping you to develop your knowledge of one conflict region, is to give you the background you need to subsequently examine this conflict in relation to the approaches to peacemaking that we will be studying in class. However, this particular paper does not require you to do more than examine the conflict itself.

Please choose a conflict that has had some prominence in the news in the past thirty years. It is a good idea to investigate a conflict you don't know a lot about, in order to widen your knowledge; at the same time, choose a conflict that has enough dimensions that you will be able later to write about two or more approaches to addressing it.

If you are not sure of your various options for conflict topics, please see Gene Sharp's *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*, one of the books assigned for this course, to see an array of possible conflicts, though by no means a complete list. Alternatively, come and see me to discuss possible topics.

Readings assigned for February 8 should be helpful to you in reflecting on the way your conflict played out, possible causes, and its likelihood of recurrence. Due February 15.

**4. Peace paradigm paper [20% of grade] (10-12 pages; 3,500-4,200 words) Due March 15.**

The purpose of the paper is to examine one approach to peacemaking, taking note of the actors involved, the degree to which the conflict lent itself to this approach, and the extent to which the approach could be deemed a success or failure or something in between. You are expected to use the case study addressed in the previous assignment as the conflict in which the examined approach to peacemaking took place.

**5. Final paper [30 % of grade] (25-30 pages; 9,000-10,500 words) Due April 26.**

The paper should grow out of the two previous papers. It should focus on one conflict, and compare at least two approaches to peacemaking, thereby demonstrating that peacemaking never comes from only one direction. It is up to you to find a thesis for the paper, but the paper should be an exploration that highlights the various ways people approach peacemaking. You are permitted to lift entire sections from your previous papers, but your paper must be well integrated and have a thought-through thesis in its own right.

**In Summary**

**Participation 10%; Downtown report 5%; Leading discussion 10%; Reading summaries 10%; Conflict paper 15%; Peace paradigm paper 20%; Final paper 30%.**

***Study Groups***

The reading assignments are heavy in this class, and are designed with the expectation that you will find a study partner or study group with whom you divvy up reading assignments and discuss them before class. The best way to do this would be to meet briefly during the break

time of our class meeting to decide who will read what for the following week. During the week you can give each other summaries, and the summaries of others can help you more quickly absorb the assigned material.

### ***Laptops***

Laptops may be used in the classroom. However, if you find yourself checking email or facebook, or in other ways using your laptop for a diversion from class discussion, please close your laptop immediately. You are here to participate in an endeavor of group learning, and you owe it to the others in the class as well as yourself to maximize your focus of attention on the matter at hand.

### ***Grading***

Papers must be handed in on the due date. Late papers will lose two percentage points for each day late. If you realize you are getting behind and might not complete a paper by the due date, please contact me so that we can negotiate an extension.

Papers will be graded on presentation as well as content. All papers should have a title, an introductory paragraph that poses the question or the thesis that the paper is developing, and a concluding paragraph or section. Please use subheadings to guide me, the primary reader, through the train of thought of the text. Please note the most common spelling and grammatical errors and try not to make them: using an apostrophe when the word is not a contraction or possessive, confusing the meanings and spellings of led and lead, affect and effect, lay and lie. Rather than “in regards to” please use “with regard to.”

### ***Required Reading***

Required books can be purchased at the American University Campus Bookstore.

- Art, Robert and Robert Jervis. 2007. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, Eighth Edition. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Crocker, Chester, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, Eds. 2007. *Leashing the Dogs of War*. Washington, D.C.: Unites States Institute of Peace.
- Cortwright, David. 2009. *Gandhi and Beyond: Nonviolence for a new Political Age*. Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers.
- Sharp, Gene. 2005. *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20<sup>th</sup> Century Practice and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Potential*. Boston: Extending Horizons Books.

“Recommended,” and ordered in the bookstore:

- Fisher, Roger and William Ury. 1981. *Getting to Yes*. Penguin.
- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Please note that other books listed as “recommended” have not been ordered in the bookstore.

**Assigned articles and book chapters not included in the above list can be found online at e-reserves on the class Blackboard site.**

**ALL STUDENTS MUST ADHERE TO THE ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE**

<http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>

As the code states, "By enrolling at American University and then each semester when registering for classes, students acknowledge their commitment to the Code. As members of the academic community, students must become familiar with their rights and their responsibilities.

In each course, they are responsible for knowing the requirements and restrictions regarding research and writing, examinations of whatever kind, collaborative work, the use of study aids, the appropriateness of assistance, and other issues. Students are responsible for learning the conventions of documentation and acknowledgment of sources. American University expects students to complete all examinations, tests, papers, creative projects, and assignments of any kind according to the highest ethical standards, as set forth either explicitly or implicitly in this Code or by the direction of instructors."

**EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS**

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

## *Syllabus*

### INTRODUCTION TO COURSE

#### 1. January 11 - Ways of thinking about war and peace

##### **Required Reading:**

- Selections from the literature of peace.
- Fussell, Paul. 1975. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.
- Carr, Edward Hallett. 1939. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 6.
- Annan, Kofi and others. 2002. "Problems without Passports." *Foreign Policy* September/October 2002.
- Jacques, Martin. 2006. "What the hell is the international community?" Guardian online. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/aug/24/whatthellistheinternati>

##### **Recommended Reading:**

- Carr, Edward Hallett. 1939. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Fussell, Paul. 1975. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. N Y: Oxford University Press.
- Galtung, Johan. 1969. "Violence, peace and peace research," *Journal of Peace Research* 7, 3: 167-191.

##### **Some questions:**

- What does the word "peace" mean to you? Does it have negative or positive connotations? What factors would have to be present for peace to be present?
- What images does the concept of "war" raise for you? What beliefs did you inherit from your family about war?
- Who is in charge of the world we live in? Who is the International Community? Does this so-called community really exist, or do we simply want to believe it exists? If the latter, why do we want to believe in it, and what can we say about its nature and characteristics?
- What is a paradigm? Why is it useful?

## PARADIGM 1 PEACE THROUGH COERCION – REALISM

### 2. January 25 – Realism and Neo realism

#### **Required Reading:**

- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1513. *The Prince*, Chapters XV-XVIII. Penguin, 2004.
- Morgenthau, Hans. 1953. *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. Columbus OH; McGraw-Hill, 2005. Part 1 (Chapter 1 and 2); Part 2 (Chapter 2); Part 4 (Chapter 11); Part 5 (Chapter 14)
- Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. “The Anarchic Structure of World Politics,” originally published in *Theory of International Politics*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill; Art and Jervis, 29-49.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold. 1940. “The War and American Churches.” Chapter 2 of *Christianity and Power Politics*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 33-47.
- Mearsheimer, John. 2001. “Anarchy and the Struggle for Power.” Excerpts from *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. Art and Jervis, 50-60.
- Niall Ferguson, “A World Without Power,” *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2004.
- Luttwak, Edward N. “Give War a Chance,” *Foreign Affairs* 78, 4 (July/August 1999); [http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fa/fa\\_99lue01.html](http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fa/fa_99lue01.html)

#### **Recommended Reading:**

- Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. VT: Everyman’s Library.
- Morgenthau, Hans. 1953. *Politics Among Nations: the struggle for power and Peace*. NY: McGraw-Hill. Copyright 1985 by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc.
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*. NY: McGraw Hill, 1979.
- Keohane, Robert, ed. – *Neorealism and its Critics*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1986.

#### **Some questions:**

- What are the “givens” that are assumed by those who see the world through the realist lens?
- To what degree has history proved them right or wrong?
- What nuances set these various realist thinkers apart from each other?

### 3. February 1 – Responses to and Critiques of Realism

#### **Required reading:**

- President Obama’s Nobel Acceptance Speech  
[http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/34360743/ns/politics-white\\_house/](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/34360743/ns/politics-white_house/)
- Jervis, Robert. 1978. “Offense, Defense, and the Security Dilemma.” First published in *World Politics*, 30, 2 (January 1978): 186-214; Art and Jervis, 153-173.
- Williams, Michael C. 2005. *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 5.

- Falk, Richard. 1997. "The critical realist tradition and the demystification of interstate power: E.H. Carr, Hedley Bull, Robert W. Cox," in *Innovation and transformation in International Studies*, edited by Stephen Gill and James H. Mittelman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Onuf, Nicholas. 1988. "Constructivism: A User's Manual," in *International Relations in a Constructed World*, edited by V. Kabalkova, Nicholas Onuf, Paul Kowert. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization* 46, 2. Art and Jervis, 61-68.
- Tickner, J. Ann. 1991. "A Critique of Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism." First published in *Gender and International Relations*, edited by Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland; Art and Jervis, 15-27.

### **Recommended reading:**

- Pettman, Ralph. 2000. *Commonsense constructivism, or The Making of World Affairs*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

### **Some questions:**

- To what degree do you think President Obama is a realist?
- What is the security dilemma and how does it affect the realist argument?
- What are the main critiques of realism as presented in these readings?
- What is your understanding of constructivism after reading Onuf's article?
- How does constructivism change traditional understandings of realism?
- What other critiques would you wish to add?

## **4. February 8 - a) Security Challenges in the Twenty-first Century; b) Analyzing conflict, take one**

### **Required Reading:**

#### ***Communal and ethnic wars***

- Gurr, Ted Robert. "Minorities, Nationalists and Islamists: Managing Communal Conflict in the Twenty-first Century." *Crocker, Hampson and Aall*, 131-160.
- Rotberg, Robert. 1999. "Sri Lanka's Civil War: From Mayhem Towards Diplomatic Resolution. Chapter 1 of *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka*. Washington DC: Brookings. Pp 1-16.
- The International Institute for Strategic Studies. "Sri Lanka's Civil War." *Strategic Comments*, Volume 14, Issue 03, April 2008.
- Guardian online. May 18, 2009. "Sri Lanka Declares End to War with Tamil Tigers." <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/may/18/tamil-tigers-killed-sri-lanka>
- Time Magazine. December 2009. "The End of Sri Lanka's Cataclysmic Civil War." [http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1945379\\_1944421\\_1944388,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1945379_1944421_1944388,00.html)

**Terrorism**

- Crenshaw, Martha. 2007. "Terrorism and Global Security." Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 67-82.
- Stares, Paul B. and Mona Yacoubian. 2007. "Rethinking the 'War on Terror.'" Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 425-436.
- Gordon, Philip H. 2007. "Can the War on Terror be Won?" *Foreign Affairs*, 86,6; Art and Jervis 419-426.

**Nuclear weapons proliferation**

- Posen, Barry. 2007. "A Nuclear-Armed Iran: A Difficult but Not Impossible Policy Problem." *A Century Foundation Report*. Art and Jervis, 239-254.
- Bahgat, Gawdat. 2006. "Nuclear Proliferation: The Islamic Republic of Iran." *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol 7, 2, 124 – 136.

**Analyzing conflict**

- Lund, Michael. 1996. *Preventing Violent Conflict: A Strategy for Conflict Prevention*. Washington, DC: The United States Institute of Peace. 38.
- Hampson, Fen Osler. 1996. "What makes a peace settlement stick?" from *Nurturing Peace: Why peace settlements succeed or fail*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Richardson, Louise. 2006. *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*. New York: Random House.
- Kaufman, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic War." *International Security* 20, 4: 136-175.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2004. "The problem with negotiated settlements to ethnic civil wars." *Security Studies* 13, 4: 230-279.
- Byman, Daniel. 2002. *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Some questions:**

- Does the realist paradigm offer us means to respond to the security threats of the twenty-first century? Why or why not?

**PARADIGM 2****PEACE THROUGH LAW AND INSTITUTIONS - LIBERALISM****5. February 15 – The Liberal Paradigm****\*\*Conflict papers due!\*\*****Required Reading:**

- Kant, Immanuel. 1795. *Perpetual Peace: A philosophical sketch*. Available online at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>
- Doyle, Michael. 1983. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs." First published in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12, 3 (Summer 1983); Art and Jervis, 83-95.

- Wedgwood, Ruth. 2007. "War and Law: The dilemmas of international law and coercive enforcement." Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 583-599.
- Hoffman, Stanley. 1968. "The Uses and Limits of International Law." First published in *International Law and Political Crisis*; Art and Jervis, 114-118.
- Keohane, Robert. 1998. "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" First published in *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998; Art and Jervis, 119- 126.
- Paris, Roland. 1997. "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism." *International Security* 22, 2 (1997): 54-89.
- Howard, Rhoda and Jack Donnelly. 1987. "Human Rights in World Politics." From *International Handbook on Human Rights*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group. Art and Jervis, 504-516.

### Recommended Reading:

- Grotius, Hugo. Prolegomena to *The Law of War and Peace*.
- Nye, Joseph. 2007 "The Place of Soft Power in State-based Conflict Management."
- Ray, James Lee. 1998. "Does Democracy Cause Peace?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 1998, 1, 27-46.  
<http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/g/gDf5Ty/ray%20does%20democracy%20cause%20peace.pdf>
- Falk, Richard. 2005. Humane governance for the world: reviving the quest. In R. Wilkinson, ed., *The Global Governance Reader*, 105-119.

### Some questions:

How does this paradigm challenge the assumptions of the realist paradigm?

What are the challenges or pitfalls to the formation of a "global community"?

Do you believe universal values exist? How do we discover them?

What makes international law effective or ineffective?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of an international human rights regime?

## **6. February 22 - The UN and Humanitarian Intervention**

### Required Reading:

#### *UN*

- The Charter of the United Nations.  
[http://www.mun.uni-jena.de/typo3/fileadmin/Dokumente\\_Allgemein/UN%20Charter.pdf](http://www.mun.uni-jena.de/typo3/fileadmin/Dokumente_Allgemein/UN%20Charter.pdf)
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*.  
<http://www.un.org/docs/SG/agpeace.html>
- Mingst, Karen and Margaret P. Karns. 2007. "The United Nations and Conflict Management: Relevant or Irrelevant?" Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 497-520.

#### ***Humanitarian Intervention***

- Jentleson, Bruce. W. 2007. "Yet Again: Humanitarian Intervention and the Challenges of 'Never Again.'" Crocker, Hampson and Aall, Chapter 16, 277-298.
- Clarke, Walter and Jeffrey Herbst, 1996. "Somalia and the Future of Intervention." *Foreign Affairs*, 75, 2 (March/April 1996).
- Holly Burkhalter, "Humanitarian Intervention: A Forum," *The Nation*, May 8, 2000.  
<http://www.thenation.com/docprint.mhtml?i=20000508&s=forum>

- Richard Falk, “Kosovo Revisited”, *The Nation*, April 10, 2000.  
<http://www.thenation.com/docprint.mhtml?i=20000410&s=falk>
- 2001. *Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. <http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>  
Read the Synopsis, and skim the Foreword and Chapters 1 and 2.

### **Recommended Reading:**

- Mills, Kurt. 2009. “Vacillating on Darfur: Responsibility to Protect, to Prosecute, or to Feed?” *Global Responsibility to Protect* Vol. 1, 4: 532-559.
- Rieff, David. 2002. *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

### **Some questions:**

- Does the UN have a future? What are its most valuable aspects?
- What characteristics of the UN most strongly call for change?
- How did the events of the 1990s affect interventions mounted in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?
- What difference would adoption of the “responsibility to protect” norm make in world politics?

## **7. March 1 – Peacekeeping, nation building, and human security**

### **Required reading:**

#### ***Peacekeeping***

- Christine Gray, “Peacekeeping After the Brahimi Report: Is There a Crisis of Credibility for the UN?” *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, December 2001.
- Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul Williams. 2004. “Introduction: Thinking Anew about Peace Operations.” *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.11, No.1, Spring 2004, pp.1–15.

#### ***The nation building debate***

- Hampson, Fen Osler and David Mendeloff. “Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate.” Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 679-700.
- Rathmell, Andrew. 2005. Planning post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq: what can we learn?
- Rubin, Barnett R. 2007. “Saving Afghanistan.” *Foreign Affairs* 86,
- Dobbins, James. “Nation-building: UN Surpasses U.S. on Learning Curve.” *Art and Jervis*, 435-456.
- Payne, James L. “Deconstructing Nation Building.” *Art and Jervis*, 457-469.

#### ***Human security***

- Newman, Edward. 2001. “Human Security and Constructivism.” *International Studies Perspectives* 2: 239-251.
- Hunter, Alan, Nicky Black, and Mathis Goujon. 2008. “New Human Security Agendas.” Coventry, UK: Coventry University Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Shawcross, William. 2001. *Deliver Us from Evil: Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict*.
- Rashid, Ahmed. *Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*.

**Some questions:**

- What are the core elements of the debate about UN peacekeeping efforts?
- Is the establishment of democratic governments essential to nation building?
- What is the meaning of the term “human security”? What impact is this “reconstruction” of the terms of discussion about security likely to have in the international security environment?

**March 8 – No class – Spring Break**

**8. March 15 – Some angles on the economics of peacemaking**

**\*\*Papers due!\*\***

**Required Reading:**

- Gilpin, Robert. 1975. “The Nature of Political Economy.” From *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation*. NY: Basic Books; Art and Jervis 263-279.
- Malone, David M. and Jake Sherman. 2007. “Economic Factors in Civil Wars.” Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 637-651.
- Atwood, Brian J. 2002. “The Development Imperative: Creating the Preconditions for Peace.” *Journal of International Affairs* 55, 2 (Spring 2002).
- Kahl, Colin. 2002. “Demographic Change, Natural Resources and Violence: The Current Debate.” *Journal of International Affairs* 55, 2 (Spring 2002).
- Elbe, Stefan. 2002. “HIV/AIDS and the Changing Landscape of War in Africa.” *International Security* 27, 2 (Fall 2002).
- Bennett, Juliette. 2002. “Multinational Corporations, Social Responsibility and Conflict.” *Journal of International Affairs* 55, 2 (Spring 2002).
- Collier, Paul. 2007. “Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy.” Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 197-218.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Some questions:**

- Which of Gilpin’s scenarios seems most convincing to you? Why?
- Are less developed countries intrinsically less peaceful?
- What kinds of economic policies are most likely to promote peace?
- What is Paul Collier’s argument about the cause of armed violence? Do you agree with it?

## PARADIGM 3 PEACE THROUGH NON-VIOLENCE

### 9. March 22 - Gandhi and nonviolence

#### **Required Reading:**

- Cortwright, David. 2009. *Gandhi and Beyond: Nonviolence for a new Political Age*. Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers. Chapters 1-5.
- Mohandas Gandhi, “Ahimsa, or the Way of Nonviolence,” in David Barash, *Approaches to Peace*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Martin Luther King *Letter from Birmingham Jail*  
[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Letter\\_Birmingham.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html)

#### **Recommended Reading:**

- Alberto L’Abate, “Nonviolent Interposition in Armed Conflicts  
<http://www.gmu.edu/academic/pcs/labate.htm>

#### **Some questions:**

- If you were strategizing to overthrow a government you considered illegitimate, what would be the pros and cons of choosing violent, “terrorist” tactics, versus strategic nonviolence?
- Is nonviolence the “soft” option?
- Are there situations where nonviolence would not work? What would those be?
- What is the difference between pacifism and nonviolence?

### 10. March 29 – Nonviolence in the Twenty-first Century

#### **Required Reading:**

- Cortwright, David. 2009. *Gandhi and Beyond: Nonviolence for a new Political Age*. Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers. Chapters 6-10.
- Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*  
Read carefully Parts One and Three. Choose two of the examples in Part Two and consider how they demonstrate principles outlined in the book. Skim Part Four.
- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink, “Transnational Activist Networks.” Art and Jervis, 477-483.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Keck, Margaret. *Activists Beyond Borders*

Cheadle, Don and John Prendergast. 2007. *Not on Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond*.

#### **Some questions:**

- Gandhi and some others perceive nonviolence not only as a goal oriented political strategy but as a way of life that requires a high level of moral commitment in all areas of

one's life. How important is this "be the change we want to see" philosophy to the success of nonviolence undertakings?

- The concepts of "social justice" and "advocacy" are part of the lexicon of beliefs and actions in the field of nonviolence. What do you understand "social justice" to mean, and do you believe that "social justice" is central to the commitment to nonviolence and peacebuilding?

## **PARADIGM 4**

### **PEACE THROUGH COMMUNICATION and CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

#### **11. April 5 – Negotiation and Mediation**

##### **Required Reading:**

- Zartman, I. William and Saadia Touval. "International Mediation." Chapter 25 of Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 437-454.
- Louis Kriesberg, "Contemporary Conflict Resolution Applications." Chapter 26 of Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 455-476.
- Hopmann, P.T. 2001. "Bargaining and problem solving: two perspectives on international negotiation. In *Turbulent Peace: the challenges of managing international conflict*. Edited by Crocker, Hampson and Aall. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace.
- Cohen, Raymond. 2001. "Negotiating Across Cultures." In *Turbulent Peace: the challenges of managing international conflict*. Edited by Crocker, Hampson and Aall. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace.
- Brooks, David. December 17, 2009. New York Times.  
<http://www.fresnobee.com/287/story/1751229.html>

##### **Recommended Reading:**

- Fisher, Roger and William Ury. 1981. *Getting to Yes*. Penguin.

##### **Some questions:**

- Negotiation and mediation focus on process rather than substance in addressing international issues. Why has this become increasingly important in today's world?
- How do these approaches deal with the question of power?
- Is negotiation a cop out for standing firm for what you believe is right?

#### **12. April 12 - Innovations in Conflict Resolution**

##### **Required Reading:**

##### ***Third party roles***

- Herbert Kelman, "Social Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict," Chapter 6 in Zartman and Rasmussen, *Peacemaking in International Conflict*.
- Ronald Fisher, "Interactive Conflict Resolution," Chapter 7 in Zartman and Rasmussen, *Peacemaking in International Conflict*.

**NGOs**

- Aall, Pamela. 2007. "The Power of Non-official actors in Conflict Management." Chapter 27 of *Crocker, Hampson and Aall*. 477-494.
- Chigas, Diana. 2007. "Capacities and Limits of NGOs as Conflict Managers." Chapter ?, *Crocker, Hampson and Aall*.
- Anderson, Mary. 2001. "Humanitarian NGOs in conflict Intervention." In *Turbulent Peace: the challenges of managing international conflict*. Edited by Crocker, Hampson and Aall. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace.
- Mallaby, Sebastian. 2004. "NGOs: Fighting Poverty, Hurting the Poor." First published in *Foreign Policy*, September /October; Art and Jervis, 484-490.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Harold Saunders, *A Public Peace Process*.

**Some questions:**

- Can non-government actors influence international affairs?
- In what kinds of conflict or post-conflict environments is facilitated dialogue useful? What mechanism for change does it produce?

**PARADIGM 5  
PEACE THROUGH PERSONAL  
AND COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATION**

**13. April 19 – Drawing on existing societal resources and personal commitment to peacemaking: cultures of peace, women, educators and religious groups**

**Required Reading:*****Cultures of Peace***

- Elise Boulding, "Peace behaviours in various societies, *From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace*. France: UNESCO Publishing, 1996.

***Women***

- Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. 2007. *Women Building Peace: What they do, Why it matters*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Introduction.
- Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea Den Boer, "A Surplus of Men, a Deficit of Peace: Security and Sex Ratios in Asia's Largest States," *International Security*, 26, 4, (Spring 2002).
- James Q. Wilson, reviewer. "Guys Without Gals Get Into a Mess." *Wall Street Journal* review of David T. Courtwright, *Violent Land*. December 11, 1996.

***Religious groups***

- Appleby, Scott. 2001. "Religion as an Agent of Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding." Chapter 48 of *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall.
- Mohammed Abu-Nimer, 2008. "The Role of Religious Peacebuilders in Traumatized Societies: From Withdrawal to Forgiveness," Chapter 11 *Peacebuilding in Traumatized Societies*, edited by Bary Hart. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

- USIP Special Report 103, “Can Faith-Based NGOs Advance Interfaith Reconciliation? The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”  
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr103.html>

### **Education**

- Smith, Margaret. “Education and Post-Conflict Recovery,” in Barry Hart, ed., *Peacebuilding in Traumatized Societies*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008.
- Coleman, Peter and Morton Deutsch, “Introducing Cooperation and Conflict Resolution into Schools: A Systems Approach,” in *Peace, Conflict and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by Daniel Christie, Richard Wagner and Deborah Du Nann Winter. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall 2001.

### **Recommended Reading:**

- Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. 2007. *Women Building Peace: What they do, Why it matters*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War, with a new Epilogue*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Appleby, Scott. 2000. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Gopin, Marc. 2000. *Between Eden and Armageddon: The future of world religions, violence and peacemaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson, Eds. *Religion the Missing Dimension of Statecraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mortenson, Greg. 2006. *Three Cups of Tea: One Man’s Mission to Promote Peace One School at a Time*. Penguin.

### **Some questions:**

- In what types of conflict do you think these peacebuilding approaches would be most valuable?
- How do these approaches address the concerns and goals of nation building and human security that we discussed several weeks ago?

### **4. April 26 – Reconciliation and healing**

**\*\*Final papers due!\*\***

### **Required Reading:**

- Lederach, John Paul. 2005. *The Moral Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-4.
- Martha Minow, “Breaking the Cycles of Hatred,” Chapter 1 of Martha Minow, ed., *Breaking the Cycles of Hatred*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Roy Brooke, ed. “The Age of Apology,” Chapter 1 in *When Sorry Isn’t Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*. New York: NYU Press, 1999.
- Trudy Govier and Wilhelm Vervoerd, “Trust and the Problem of National Reconciliation,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* Vol. 32, No. 2, June 2002: 178-205.

- John Bond, “Healing Trauma among Australia’s ‘Stolen Generations,’” Chapter 14 in Barry Hart, ed., *Peacebuilding in Traumatized Societies*, Lanham, MD; University Press of America, 2008.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Lederach, John Paul. 2005. *The Moral Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cole, Elizabeth. 2007. *Teaching the Violent Past*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Minow, Martha. 1998. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press.

**Some questions:**

- The word “reconciliation” has different meanings, but in all cases suggests that people have been able to “move on” from the residue of paralysis that conflict and trauma often create. List a variety of signs you would look for in a society that would suggest reconciliation of various kinds has occurred.
- Lederach describes the essentials required for a person pursuing a vocation of a peacemaker. What additions or subtractions would you want to make to his list?