

# **Politics 384: Ending War and Securing Peace: Conflict Mediation and Resolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

**Fall 2016, Wednesday 1:15-4:05, Room: TBA**

**Professor: Andy Reiter**

**Office Hours: Skinner 107, T 2:45-3:45, TH 10:45-11:45, or by appointment**

## **Course Description**

How do we end political violence and achieve peace? This course focuses on the context for negotiation and bargaining strategies, including what types of actors are involved in negotiations, the contours of the mediation environment, the timing of intervention and talks, the use of leverage to get warring parties to the table, and the transformation of processes across multiple stages from initial mediation to implementation to enforcement. The course also examines several peacemaking strategies in depth, including resource sharing, territorial autonomy and partitions, elections and powersharing agreements, refugee crisis management, and demobilization and reintegration programs.

## **Guidelines**

Any cheating or plagiarism is a serious violation of the College's Honor Code and any instance will result in a zero for the assignment, and potentially for the course. You are required to complete the [College's Tutorial on the proper use of sources](#). If you have any questions on what constitutes plagiarism, please ask; claiming that you did not know or understand the rules is not an excuse. In addition, late papers are not accepted for credit unless there are extenuating circumstances and you obtain *prior* approval from me. If a class is canceled for any reason, such as weather; I will email modifications to this syllabus accordingly.

## **AccessAbility**

If you have a disability and would like to request accommodations, please contact AccessAbility Services, located in Wilder Hall B4, at (413) 538-2634 or [accessability-services@mtholyoke.edu](mailto:accessability-services@mtholyoke.edu). If you are eligible, they will give you an accommodation letter which you should bring to me as soon as possible

## **Readings**

There are no texts to purchase for the course, all readings are provided electronically. Many of the readings are scholarly analyses by academics, much as would be used in a typical politics seminar. Yet we will also be reading a number of guides that are used in training workshops for practitioners working on conflict resolution around the world. In addition, we will also be examining several case studies and reading the actual peace agreements signed in those cases. The goal is providing students a window into what a professional career in this field might look.

## Requirements

Class participation is an important component of the course grade. If you are going to miss class for whatever reason, please notify me ahead of time and arrange to get notes for that day from another student. You may also be required to meet in office hours to get caught up on the material and discussion. Participation is graded on the frequency and, more importantly, the quality of your contributions to our class discussion. Everyone should participate every week we meet and you should demonstrate that you have thought critically about the readings and how they relate to one another (within a week's readings and across the semester), are making connections between the readings and your own cases, and have begun to frame your own arguments and views about the topics. Some of the readings and topics are difficult, so remember that interesting and thought-provoking questions are as important as knowledgeable answers—if you did not understand something it is likely that other students did not either. If you do not feel comfortable participating in class discussions, please come speak to me in office hours and we can strategize ways to improve in this area. Please also note that some of the course content may describe violence or raise difficult moral and ethical questions. If at any point you anticipate that particular readings or discussions will be difficult for you, please contact me ahead of time. Similarly, if after readings or a discussion, you feel unsettled or troubled in anyway, please contact me. It is also important to respect the views of each other during discussions. For many of the questions we will engage, there is no right answer. We will thus strive to take a step back and analyze these questions analytically.

The main research and writing project for the course will be for each student to analyze an ongoing conflict in the world in which there has been at least one failed peace process. The project takes three parts. The first assignment is an analysis of why the previous attempt(s) at peace failed. Were their missed opportunities? Did peacemakers pursue the wrong strategies? The second assignment is a proposal for a new approach at bringing peace the conflict. Drawing from the theory and cases discussed in the course, what strategies would you pursue, which actors would need to be involved, and what would a final peace agreement ideally look like? Each written assignment should be between 2,500 and 4,000 words—the goal is to be comprehensive in your analysis, but concise in your writing. In addition, these policy briefs should be formatted professionally (see examples on Moodle from past courses). You may submit multiple drafts for comments at any point during the semester. Students often need to workshop 2-3 drafts to produce a refined final product. The third assignment is to present and defend your analysis and recommendations for a new approach to peacemaking during the final two weeks of the course to our class and a panel of outside faculty. Failure to complete any of the assignments will result in an F for the course.

## Grade Breakdown

Participation	20%
Analysis of Peace Failure	25%
Proposals for Conflict Resolution	30%
Final Presentation	25%

## Resources

In selecting your cases and researching peace processes the following resources will be helpful:

The best data on civil wars is the [UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset](#). They also provide an [interactive global map](#) with detailed histories and data on each case.

There are several important sites that contain information on peace agreements:

- [United Nations Peacemaker](#)
- [Ulster University's Transitional Justice Institute](#)
- [Conciliation Resources](#)
- [United States Institute of Peace](#)
- [Peace Accords Matrix](#)
- [Uppsala Conflict Data Program's Peace Agreement's Dataset](#). In addition, the interactive site above has details on peace agreements in the narratives of each country.

## Schedule

### **Wednesday September 7 Introduction to the Course and Defining War**

- ❖ Therése Pettersson and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946–2014," *Journal of Peace Research* 52:4 (2015): 536-550.
- ❖ Höglbladh, Stina. 2012. "Peace agreements 1975-2011 - Updating the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset." In *States in Armed Conflict 2011*, edited by Pettersson Therése and Lotta Themnér. Uppsala University: Department of Peace and Conflict Research Report 99.

**Tuesday September 13      \*\*Complete the College's Tutorial on the proper use of sources\*\*  
\*\*Read the Assignment Guide on Moodle\*\***

### **Wednesday September 14 Multiple Actors and War Termination**

- ❖ Fred Iklé, *Every War Must End* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1971), 84-105.
- ❖ David Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50:4 (2006): 875-892.
- ❖ Barbara F. Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace," *International Security* 24:1 (1999): 127-55.

**Tuesday September 20      \*\*Case Selections need to be finalized by 1:15 PM\*\*  
(We should have already emailed back and forth several times prior to this and settled on a case that will work for you and the course)**

**Wednesday September 21 Timing and Mediation**

- ❖ I. William Zartman and Alvaro de Soto, “Timing Mediation Initiatives,” *The Peacemaker’s Toolkit* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010).
- ❖ Lakhdar Brahimi and Salman Ahmed, “In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation,” NYU Center for International Cooperation, May 2008.
- ❖ Conciliation Resources, *Accord 13* (2002), four articles on Guatemala.

**Wednesday September 28 Negotiation, Implementation, and Spoilers**

- ❖ Amy L. Smith and David R. Smock, “Managing a Mediation Process,” *The Peacemaker’s Toolkit* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008).
- ❖ Andrew G. Reiter, *Fighting Over Peace: Spoilers, Peace Agreements and the Strategic Use of Violence* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), Chapter 2.
- ❖ \*\*Discussion of Your Cases: Who are the Relevant Actors and What Are Their Positions?\*

**Wednesday October 5 Peacekeeping**

- ❖ Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerent’s Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 76-103.
- ❖ Paul D. Williams, “Peace Operations in Africa: Seven Challenges, Any Solutions?” *Conflict Trends* 3 (2009): 3-10.
- ❖ United Nations Documents on the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS).
- ❖ David H. Ucko, “South Sudan and the Perils of America’s Peacekeeping Policy,” *War on the Rocks*, August 18, 2016.

**Wednesday October 12 Refugees and Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration  
\*\*Midterm Course Evaluations and Participation Grades\*\***

- ❖ Eric Y. Shibuya, *Demobilizing Irregular Forces* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2012), 11-23, 117-139.
- ❖ Kelvin Ong, “Managing Fighting Forces: DDR in Peace Processes,” *The Peacemaker’s Toolkit* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2012).
- ❖ Gerard Mc Hugh, “Integrating Internal Displacement in Peace Processes and Agreements,” *The Peacemaker’s Toolkit* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010).
- ❖ Mary Kaldor and James Vincent, “Evaluation of UNDP Assistance to Conflict-Affected Countries: Case Study Sierra Leone,” United Nations Development Programme Evaluation Office, 2006.

**Tuesday October 18 \*\*Analysis of Peace Failure Due by 1:15 PM on Moodle\*\***

**Wednesday October 19 Unique Challenges: Religion, Ethnicity, Gender, Resources, and Territory**

- ❖ United Nations Department of Political Affairs, “Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements,” 2012.
- ❖ Isak Svensson, *Ending Holy Wars: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars* (Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2012), 49-82.
- ❖ Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, “What’s in a Line: Is Partition a Solution to Civil War,” *International Security* 34:2 (2009): 82-118.
- ❖ United States Institute of Peace, “Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution,” 2007.
- ❖ **\*\*In Class Simulation on Resource Sharing\*\***

**Wednesday October 26 Powersharing, Elections, and Democracy**

- ❖ Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 21-42.
- ❖ Charles T. Call, *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 183-210, 71-95.

**Wednesday November 2 Transitional Justice and Reconciliation**

- ❖ Tricia Olsen, Leigh Payne, and Andrew Reiter, *Transitional Justice in Balance: Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010), 9-28.
- ❖ Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter, “The Urge to Remember: The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstruction and Transitional Justice,” *Stabilization and Reconstruction Series No. 5.*, Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007.
- ❖ Philip Gourevitch, “The Life After” *The New Yorker*, May 4, 2009.

**Wednesday November 9 In Class Simulation**

**Wednesday November 16 Can Peace Be Achieved by Force?**

- ❖ Jon Western and Joshua S. Goldstein, “Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age: Lessons from Somalia to Libya,” *Foreign Affairs* 90:6 (2011): 48-59.
- ❖ Alan J. Kuperman, “Obama’s Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure,” *Foreign Affairs* 94:2 (2015): 66-77.
- ❖ Joshua S. Goldstein, *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide* (New York, NY: Dutton, 2011), 308-328.

**Wednesday November 23 No Class – Thanksgiving Break**

**Wednesday November 30 Final Presentations**

**Wednesday December 7 Final Presentations**

**Saturday December 17 **\*\*Proposals for Conflict Resolution Due by 1:15 PM via Moodle\*\*****