
International Relations 223: Cycles of War and Peace Global Security Track (A), Spring 2011

Instructor: Shawn Ling Ramirez

Office: Harkness Hall 338

Office Hours: Tues 12 - 2, or by appt.

shawn.ling.ramirez@rochester.edu

Course Information:

Class: Gavett 301

Tues and Thurs 2 - 3:15

Description

This course is designed to provide students with a rich understanding of both conflict and peace-making theory, of the advantages and limitations of using qualitative and quantitative evidence to test theory, and of the nuances involved in the practical application of theory to real world conflict. The first half of the course examines explanations of crisis initiation, the escalation of violence, and causes of protracted conflict. The second half surveys theories of conflict resolution (peace-making, negotiation, mediation and arbitration), as well as explanations of the successes and failures of peace-making and peace-keeping efforts (settlement vs. breakdown, spoiler effects, and various forms of intervention).

Generally, each week's readings consist of theoretical development alongside statistical evidence on Tuesday followed by a case study on Thursday. Each week's case study does not always reflect that week's readings, however, as we move through the course these case studies will return, thematically. Thus, the added value of each week's case study is intended to foster a well-rounded understanding of the central issues that plague contemporary crises, and to study how war and peace evolve in cases that vary (for example) in terms of the geopolitical struggle (e.g., Russia and Georgia), the intensity of the conflict (causes of genocide, e.g., Rwanda), the length of the conflict (enduring rivalries, e.g., the Israeli-Palestinian conflict), and the value of the conflict (territorial and resource wars, e.g., the dispute over Kashmir, the Congo, and the Arctic). Therefore, this course hopes to improve students' abilities to use a scientific approach to test theory rigorously using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, as well as provide students with a richer knowledge of contemporary conflicts as guided by theory.

Additionally, students will work in groups to apply the theories and concepts learned in a semester-long focused study of a conflict of their choice (see Group Work description below). Overall, this course addresses important questions involving the development of conflicts (why do wars occur, what prolongs fighting, what is the role of violence), as well as the prospects for peace (how is peace made, what makes peace last, why does peace end).

Aims of this course

This course has two broad aims. First, to improve students' knowledge of real world conflicts and international relations theory. Second, to develop students' abilities to think critically, write concisely, and speak effectively. *Please note that this course does not aim to advance anyone's political opinion or policy proposal (including those of the instructor).* Political opinions often are an integral part of one's own understanding of the world, however, it is equally important to acknowledge the multiplicity of opinions that exist – a central component of the political process. Therefore, discussion, group work, presentations, and exams will be judged based on the quality of analysis, the development of an argument that incorporates evidence and theory, and **not** the ability to expound upon any political opinion.

Thus, to assist the instructor in ensuring consistency and fairness in evaluating students, students' are expected to meet the following requirements:

Course Requirements

Readings and Participation

Participation, 20%: Come to class on-time, having read the course material, and be prepared to discuss the material and pay attention to information taught in class. *Students are responsible for concepts and information reviewed in class that are not found in the readings.* Often the ideas and concepts taught in class will draw from recommended readings, however, recommended readings are simply recommended, not required. Recommended readings are primarily listed so that each student is aware of where these ideas are from, and where to look for further information. Students are encouraged to criticize ideas presented in class, however no form of verbal attacks are permitted. The classroom is to be a supportive, and cooperative free exchange of ideas so that we can engage in serious, meaningful discussions of course material. Disruptive behavior or rudeness toward fellow students will result in a lowered participation grade for the course. Attendance will not be taken, however, students can expect that unexcused absences and/or lateness will result in a lowered participation grade for the course. Excused absences will not affect the participation grade.

Group Work

Students will be assigned to groups. Each group is to choose **one** conflict to study throughout the semester (this choice must be emailed to the instructor by **Sunday, January 23rd** for approval). Groups discussions will be held in the classroom (students should expect to meet outside the classroom to develop their group presentations as they deem necessary). Come to group discussion days prepared with information about the conflict with regard to that day's specified topic. Feel free to print out information, write down internet links, bring books or articles, and distribute your executive summary to your group to aid in your ability to summarize relevant information. This will enhance your group's understanding of the conflict, and improve your presentation at the end of the semester.

Three Executive Summaries, 5% each (15% total): Each student is to turn in their own two-page, double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1 inch margins, executive summary **due**

at the start of class on each group discussion day. These executive summaries are intended to ensure that each group member has reviewed the relevant literature and is ready to contribute to discussion on group discussion days.

The first executive summary on the “Origins of the Conflict” is due on **January 27th**.

The second executive summary on the “Actors and Issues” is due on **February 17th**.

The third executive summary on the “History of Conflict and Resolution” is due on **March 24th**.

Group Presentation, 20%: Each group is to create a presentation that teaches the class about the origins of their chosen conflict, the actors and issues that are important to the conflict, the overall history of the conflict and its resolution (or attempts to resolve the conflict), and develop an argument about this conflict in light of the theories and concepts learned in this course. Please draw from theoretical concepts regarding both the conflict and conflict resolution (or the potential for conflict resolution) for the presentation. Each group’s presentation is to be no longer than 12 minutes total. Group members who do not present will receive a zero for their group presentation grade. Group presentations will be followed by questions from fellow students and the instructor, and a general discussion of what we as a class can learn from this conflict (in preparation for the final exam). Group presentations will be made on two separate “pizza and pop” **group presentation days** on Thursday, **April 21st** and Tuesday, **April 26th**. Attendance and participation is required for everyone in the class.

Exams

Midterm Exam, 20%: Thursday, March 3rd. The midterm consists of identification-style questions as well as short essays. Options will be given to allow students to choose the questions they feel they can best answer. A study guide will be distributed at least one week before the exam.

Final Exam, 25%: See registrar’s schedule for date/time. The final exam is cumulative and will consist of identification-style questions, short essay questions, and a long essay that will require students to defend an argument using evidence gained from case studies reviewed in class *and* as presented by the various groups. Options will be given to allow students to choose the questions they feel they can best answer. A study guide will be distributed at least one week before the exam.

Grading Policy

No incomplete grades will be given as a final course grade. Students who fail to complete the course will be given a failing grade. Final grades are computed as follows: Participation (20%), Executive Summaries (15%), Group Presentation (20%), Midterm (20%), Final Exam (25%).

Late Assignment Policy

Assignments are due by the start of class on the due date. Hard copies of written assignments are expected, however, emailed copies are acceptable if unforeseen circumstances arise. Students will lose 10 points (out of 100) for every 24 hours that an assignment is late.

Exam Policy

Exams are to be taken at the specified day and time. If you cannot take the exam on the specified day/time, prior approval (at least 48 hours in advance) must be obtained. If approval is not obtained at least 48 hours in advance, a failing grade will be given for that exam. Make-up exams must be taken within 3 days of the specified time/day. Lateness on the day of the exam will result in less time to take the exam.

Academic Integrity

There are many forms of academic dishonesty, which include, but are not limited to: cheating, plagiarism, false citations, creating or using fraudulent records or official documents, and aiding another person in their academic dishonesty. No form of academic dishonesty will be tolerated. Any case of suspected academic dishonesty will be reported to the College Board of Academic Honesty. Please speak with the instructor immediately if you have any concerns or questions about academic integrity.

Campus Resources

There are several on-campus resources here to help you succeed in college, and to ensure that you are safe and secure. Please contact these resources if you feel that any of these may be helpful to you:

College Center for Academic Support (CCAS): 585-275-2354

Learning Assistance Services: 585-275-9049

The Center for Study Abroad and Interdepartmental Programs: 585-275-7532

University Health Services: 585-275-2662

University Counseling Center: 585-275-3113

University Security Services: 585-275-3333

University Facilities and Services: 585-273-4567

Required Texts

- Huth, Paul. 1996. *Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press. (SYG)
- Huth and Allee. 2002. *The Democratic Peace and Territorial Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (HA)
- Colaresi, Michael. 2005. *Scare Tactics: The Politics of International Rivalry*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. (ST)
- Zartman, I. William, ed. 2007. *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace. (PIIC)
- Crocker, Chester A., Hampson, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds. 2005. *Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace. (GTN)

- Page Fortna, Virginia. 2004. *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (PT)

Recommended Texts

- Senese, Paul D. and John A. Vasquez. 2008. *The Steps to War: An Empirical Study*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Diehl, Paul F. ed. 1998. *The Dynamics of Enduring Rivalries*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Gowa, Joanne. 1999. *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schedule

Week 1: Thursday January 13

Course Logistics

Week 2a: Tuesday January 18

No Class

Week 2b: Thursday January 20

Traditional Thoughts on Causes of War

- Cashman, Greg and Leonard C. Robinson. 2007. *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
Introduction only, p. 1-26.

Week 3a: Tuesday January 25

Structural vs. Fundamental Causes of War

- Hassner, Ron. 2003. “‘To Halve and to Hold’: Conflicts Over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility.” *Security Studies* 12(4): 1-33.
- Weidmann, Nils. 2009. “Geography as Motivation and Opportunity: Group Concentration and Ethnic Conflict.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4): 526-543.
- GTN Introduction.

Recommended:

- Fearon, James D. 1995. “Rationalist Explanations for War.” *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

- Senese, Paul D. 1996. “Geographical Proximity and Issue Salience: Their Effects on the Escalation of Militarized Interstate Conflict.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15(2): 133-161.

Week 3b: Thursday January 27

Group Discussions: Origins of the Conflict

- Executive Summary 1 due.

Week 4a: Tuesday February 1

Alternative Motivations in War: Reputation, Power and Symbolism

- Crescenzi, Mark J.C. 2007. “Reputation and Interstate Conflict.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 382-396.
- Kaufman, Stuart. 2006. “Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence.” *International Security* 30(4): 45-86.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Wimmer, Andreas and Brian Min. 2010. “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?” *World Politics* 62: 87-119.

Recommended:

- Walter, Barbara. 2006. “Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists But Not Others.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 313-330.
- Hensel, Paul R. and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2006. “Issue Indivisibility and Territorial Claims.” *GeoJournal: Theme Issue on Territorial Conflict* 64(4): 275-285.
- Grigorian, Arman and Stuart Kaufman. 2007. “Hate Narratives and Ethnic Conflict.” *International Security* 31(4): 180-191.
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2009. “Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 61(1): 1-27.

Week 4b: Thursday February 3

Case Study: Israel and Palestine

- GTN Chapters 14, 15.

Week 5a: Tuesday February 8

Territory, Domestic Politics and War

- SYG Chapters 1, 2, 3.

Recommended:

- Diehl, Paul and Gary Goertz. “The New Rivalry Dataset: Procedures and Patterns.” *Journal of Peace Research* 43(3): 331-348.

- Colaresi, Michael. 2007. "The Benefit of the Doubt: Testing an Informational Theory of the Rally Effect." *International Organization* 61(1): 99-143.

Week 5b: Thursday February 10

Case Study: Kashmir

- GTN Chapter 12.
- Blank, Jonah. 1999. "Kashmir: Fundamentalism Takes Root" *Foreign Affairs* 78(6): 36-53.
- Farrell, Brian. 2002-2003. "The Role of International Law in the Kashmir Conflict." *Penn State International Law Review*. 21(2): 293-318.

Recommended:

- Sikand, Yoginder. 2007. "The Changing Course of the Kashmiri Struggle: From National Liberation to Islamist Jihad?." *The Muslim World*. 91(1-2): 229-256.
- Subbiah, Sumathi. 2004. "Security Council Mediation and the Kashmir Dispute: Reflections on Its Failures and Possibilities for Renewal." *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review* 27(1): 173-185.
- Ganguli, Sumit. 2006. "Will Kashmir Stop India's Rise?" *Foreign Affairs* 85(4): 45-56.
- Suziki, Akisato and Neophytos Loizides. 2011. "Escalation of Interstate Crises of Conflictual Dyads: Greece-Turkey and India-Pakistan." *Working Paper*. p. 1-40.

Week 6: Tuesday February 15

Domestic Politics, War Propensity, and the Choice Between Diplomatic and Military Conflict

- SYG Chapters 4, 5.

Recommended:

- Mansfield, Edward and Jack Snyder. 2009. "Pathways to War in Democratic Transitions." *International Organization* 63(2): 381-390.
- Mansfield, Edward and Jack Snyder. 2007. "The Sequencing 'Fallacy'." *Journal of Democracy* 18(3): 5-10.

Week 6b: Thursday February 17

Group Discussions: Actors and Issues

- Executive Summary 2 due.

Week 7a: Tuesday February 22

Causes of Protracted Conflict: Domestic vs. International Reasons to Escalate Violence

- HA Chapters 2 - 3.
- ST Chapters 1 - 2.

Recommended:

- Senese, Paul D. and John A. Vasquez. 2008. *The Steps to War: An Empirical Study*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Diehl, Paul F. ed. 1998. *The Dynamics of Enduring Rivalries*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Gowa, Joanne. 1999. *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 7b: Thursday February 24

Case Study: Russia and Georgia

- Allison, Roy. 2008. "Russia resurgent? Moscow's campaign to 'coerce Georgia to peace'." *International Affairs* 84(6): 1145-1171.
- "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia." *Report by the European Union*. Available at:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/30_09_09_iiffmgc_report.pdf

Week 8a: Tuesday March 1

Research Design: Data vs. Case Studies

- HA Chapters 4 - 6, and 7.
- ST Chapters 4, 5, and 7.
- Note: Groups will be assigned to individual chapters. You are not responsible for every chapter this week, but you are responsible to contribute to the discussion with regard to your assigned chapter.

Week 8b: Thursday March 3

MIDTERM EXAM

Week 9: Spring Break

Week 10a: Tuesday March 15 Peacemaking: Mediation, Negotiation and Arbitration

- PIIC Chapters 3-5.

Recommended:

- Werner, Suzanne and Amy Yuen. 2005. "Making and Keeping Peace." *International Organization* 59(2): 261-292.

- Lo, Nigel, Hashimoto, Barry and Dan Reiter. “Ensuring Peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace.” *International Organization* 62(4): 717-736.
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. 2009. “What’s in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?” *International Security* 34(2): 82-118.
- Ratner, Steven R. 1995. *The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict after the Cold War*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

Week 10b: Thursday March 17

Case Study: Cyprus

- Rouleau, E. 2000. “Turkey’s Dream of Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* 79(6): 100-114.
- Fisher, Ronald J. 2001. “Cyprus: The Failure of Mediation and the Escalation of an Identity-Based Conflict to an Adversarial Impasse.” *Journal of Peace Research* 38(3): 307-326.
- Loizides, Neophytos G. 2002. “Greek-Turkish Dilemmas and the Cyprus EU Accession Process.” *Security Dialogue* 33(4): 429-442.

Recommended:

- Adamson, F.B. 2001. “Democratization and the Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy: Turkey in the 1974 Cyprus Crisis.” *Political Science Quarterly* 116(2): 277-303.

Week 11a: Tuesday March 22

The Prospects for Peace

- PT Chapters 3 - 5.
- GTN Chapters 5 - 6.

Recommended:

- Bercovitch, Jacob and Scott Sigmund Gartner. 2006. “Is There Method in the Madness of Mediation? Some Lessons for Mediators From Quantitative Studies of Mediation.” *International Interactions* 32(4): 329-354.
- Morgan, T. Clifton. 1990. “Issue Linkages in International Crisis Bargaining.” *American Journal of Political Science* 34(2): 311-333.
- Keohane, Robert O., Morvacsik, Andrew and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2000. “Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational.” *International Organization* 54(3): 457-488.
- Davis, Christina L. 2004. “International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization.” *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 153-169.
- Regan, Patrick M. and Allan Stam. 2002. “In the Nick of Time: Conflict Management, Mediation Timing, and the Duration of Interstate Disputes.” *International Studies Quarterly* 44(2): 239-260.

- Greig, J. Michael. 2005. "Stepping Into the Fray: When Do Mediators Mediate?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 249-266.
- Hensel, Paul R. 2002. "Contentious Issues in World Politics: The Management of Territorial Claims in the Americas, 1816-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 45(1): 81-109.
- Raymond, Gregory A. 1994. "Democracies, Disputes, and Third-Party Intermediaries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38(1): 24-42.

Week 11b: Thursday March 24

Group Discussions: History of Conflict and Resolution

- Executive Summary 3 due.

Week 12a: Tuesday March 29

The Choice Between Peaceful Settlement and Violence

- SYG Chapters 6, 7.
- HA Chapters 8, 9.
- PT Chapter 2, 6.

Week 12b: Thursday March 31

Case Study: Eurasia and Nagorno Karabakh

- Melander, Eric. 2001. "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Revisited: Was the War Inevitable?" *Journal of Cold War Studies*. 3(2): 48-75.
- Mooradian, Moorad and Daniel Druckman. 1999. "Mutually Hurting Stalemate or Mediation? The Conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, 1990-1995." *Journal of Peace Research* 36(6): 709-727.
- GTN Chapter 11.

Recommended:

- Betts, Wendy. 1999. "Third Party Mediation: An Obstacle to Peace in Nagorno Karabakh." *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 19(2): 161-183.

Week 13a: Tuesday April 5

Economic, Military and Humanitarian Intervention

- PIIC Chapters 10, 11.
- Kuperman, Alan J. 2008. "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1): 49-80.

Recommended:

- Strobel, Warren. 1996. "The CNN Effect." *American Journalism Review* 18(4): 33-39.
- Posen, Barry. 1996. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters." *International Security* 21(1): 72-111.
- Frazier, Derrick and William Dixon. 2006. "Third-Party Intermediaries and Negotiated Settlements, 1946-2000." *International Interactions* 32(4): 385-408.
- Huth, Paul K. 1998. "Major Power Intervention in International Crises, 1918 - 1988." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(6): 744-770.
- Crocker, Chester. 2000. "A Poor Case for Quitting: Mistaking Incompetence for Interventionism." *Foreign Affairs* 79(1): 183-186.
- Luttwak, Edward N. 1999. "Give War a Chance." *Foreign Affairs* 78(4): 36-44.
- Rauchhaus, Robert W. 2009. "Principal-Agent Problems in Humanitarian Intervention: Moral Hazards, Adverse Selection, and the Commitment Dilemma." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(4): 871-884.

Week 13b: Thursday April 7

Case Study: Darfur, Rwanda, and Genocide

- Power, Samantha. 2001. "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen." *Atlantic Monthly* September 2001:1-31.
- Straus, Scott. 2005. "Darfur and the Genocide Debate." *Foreign Affairs* 84(1): 123-133.
- GTN Chapter 7.

Recommended:

- Johnston, Patrick. 2007. "Negotiated Settlements and Government Strategy in Civil Wars: Evidence from Darfur." *Civil Wars* 9(4): 359-377.

Week 14a: Tuesday April 12

Spoiling the Peace

- Kydd, Andrew F. and Barbara Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56(2): 263-296.
- Stedman, Stephen J. 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22(2): 5-53.
- Menkhaus, Ken. 2007. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building and the Politics of Coping." *International Security* 31(3): 74-106.
- Patton, Bruce et al. "Legal Issues and Human Rights Dimensions of the Israeli Settlements Issue: Victims and Spoilers." *Negotiation Journal* 21(2): 221-230.

Recommended:

- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. “Demobilization and Reintegration.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(4): 531-567.
- Singer, Pete W. 2002. “Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramification for International Security.” *International Security* 26(3): 186-220.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 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): 5-38.
- Pickering, Jeffrey and Mark Peceny. 2006. “Forging Democracy at Gunpoint.” *International Studies Quarterly* 50(3): 539-560.
- Haftel, Yoram Z. 2007. “Designing for Peace: Regional Integration Arrangements, Institutional Variation, and Militarized Interstate Disputes.” *International Organization* 61(1): 217-237.

Week 14b: Thursday April 14

Case Study: The Conflict Over the Falkland/Malvinas Islands

- Gordon, Dennis. “The Paralysis of Multilateral Peacekeeping: International Organizations and the Falkland/Malvinas War.” *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research* 12(1-2): 51-64.
- Corbacho, Alejandro L. “Prenegotiation and Mediation: Anglo-Argentine Diplomacy After the Falklands/Malvinas War, 1983-1989.” *International Negotiation* 13(3): 311-339.
- Dodds, Klaus. 2002. “Towards rapprochement? Anglo-Argentine relations and the Falklands/Malvinas in the late 1990s.” *International Affairs*. 74(3): 617-630.

Week 15a: Tuesday April 19

Case Study 1: The Spratly Islands

- Ross, Robert. 1997. “Beijing as a Conservative Power.” *Foreign Affairs* 76(2): 33-44.
- Joyner, C. C. 1998. “The Spratly Islands Dispute: Rethinking the Interplay of Law, Diplomacy, and Geo-politics in the South China Sea.” *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 13(2): 193-236.

Recommended:

- Bennett, Michael. 1991 - 1992. “The People’s Republic of China and the Use of International Law in the Spratly Islands Dispute.” *Stanford Journal of International Law* 28(2): 425-450.

Case Study 2: The Conflict Over the Arctic Circle

- Hellman, Jordan. 2008-2009. “Racing for the Arctic? Better Bring a Flag.” *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution* 10(2): 627-656.
- Holtsmark, Sven G. 2009. “Towards Cooperation or Confrontation? Security in the High North.” NATO Research paper. 45: 1-12.

Week 15b: Thursday April 21
Group Presentation Day 1

Week 16: Tuesday April 26
Group Presentation Day 2