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**HONORS SEMINAR**  
**IN CONFLICT, CONFLICT RESOLUTION, PEACEMAKING,**  
**AND PEACEKEEPING IN THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD:**

Opportunities, Challenges, and Dilemmas

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**COURSE GOALS:** This course is designed to expose students to the multifaceted nature of conflict on the inter and intra state levels, historically, and in the post-Cold War period. This objective will be achieved by exploring the sources, causes, and determinants of conflict, presenting the various perspectives on the genesis and amelioration of conflict, and utilizing the case method to examine and demonstrate the life cycle of specific conflicts and the management or resolution thereof. Students will explore a variety of techniques employed in managing, resolving, and preventing conflict. In a culminating project, the students will evaluate a specific conflict (one not covered in the class case studies) from the vantagepoint of the theoretical literature explored throughout the course and from the larger issues highlighted in the case studies presented in class. The goal on the micro level is that students will incorporate some of their knowledge and understanding of the sources of conflict as well as some of the successful techniques and strategies for preventing conflict into their personal and professional lives making them amateur conflict resolution practitioners.

**COURSE METHODOLOGY:** This course will employ several methodological approaches to the study of conflict and to conflict resolution. Among the approaches utilized will be structural analyses of conflict, sociological explanations (including analysis of ethnic and religious groups), psychological determinants of conflict, and conflict management strategies (including conflict avoidance, third party mediation or arbitration, deterrence, and compromise). The case method will be utilized in class with cases furnished by the Pew Case Studies in International Affairs. We will analyze the following three cases: the international conflict in the Persian Gulf War, the religious conflict of the Anglo-Irish troubles, and the ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia. For

the Persian Gulf War case study there will be a film entitled, "The Road to War: American Decision Making During the Gulf Crisis" produced under the auspices of the American Enterprise Institute and furnished by Films for the Humanities and Social Sciences of Princeton, New Jersey. With the case study of the conflict in Northern Ireland we will view the film "Conflicts of Religious Ideology,

### **COURSE READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS IN WEEKLY SEGMENTS:**

**WEEK ONE:** (January 25 & 27) Exploring the nature and sources of conflict in order to arrive at an agreed upon working definition of the problem. Since the problem of conflict is multifaceted our examination of it will be as well.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Getting to Yes Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In by Roger Fisher and William Ury of the Harvard Negotiation Project. Read for Tuesday. (2) Sigmund Freud, "Civilization and Its Discontents," and "Why War?@ in Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present. On reserve in Binder. These short excerpts by Freud help to explain the aggressive impulse within human beings thus expanding Waltz's argument about the aggressive behavior of individuals. Despite his overall pessimistic view of human nature, Freud's work is not entirely pessimistic on the possibility of eliminating war. He points to two ways to promote peace. First, civilization should continue its efforts to tame human instincts, making war culturally less acceptable. Second, individuals who subordinate their instincts to reason can encourage domestic tranquility and international peace. Read both pieces by Freud in Reserve Binder. Read for Tuesday. (3) C.R. Mitchell, The Structure of International Conflict (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), pp.15-34. The introductory chapter to this book provides the best foundation for a definition of conflict, the situations that contain conflict, conflict attitudes, and what constitutes conflict behavior. On Reserve in Binder. Read for Thursday. (4) Read Part I, Introduction in Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure. Edited by Ho-Wen Jeong. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK TWO:** (February 1 & 3) In this week's class and readings we will be examining the various sources of conflict touched on last week adding to them such sources as: identity, religion, culture, economics, political frameworks (for example, various ideologies, forms of ethnonationalism, and nationalism), and political realities.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Janice Stein, "Identity and Conflict," Managing Global Chaos: Sources and Responses to International Conflict eds. Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996).pp. 93-112. This chapter will provide a general background on the role of the identity of groups and individuals in conflict and the ways in which such issues can exacerbate an existing conflict. Read for Tuesday. (2) Ted Robert Gurr, " Minorities, Nationalists, and Ethnopolitical Conflict," This Chapter synthesizes Professor Gurr's rich theorizing on the role of ethnicity in conflict that he articulates at length in his book Ethnic Conflict in World Politics (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994). Pp. 53-78 in Managing Global Chaos, Read for Tuesday. (3) Samuel P. Huntington "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs (Summer 1993),pp.22-49. In this seminal piece Professor

Huntington supports his hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in the post-cold war world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic, rather that "the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural." On Reserve in Binder. Read for Thursday. (4) "Identity Formation and Transformation," by Ho Won Jeong and Tarja Vayrynen in edited text by Ho Won Jeong, pp. 59-77. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK THREE:** (February 8 & 10) Week three will explore the role of political systems in helping both to foster conflict and prevent it. This issue is a large subtext in much of the literature on conflict during the Cold War and it takes on a new significance in this post-Cold War period. A second issue we will explore this week is the role of economic variables in conflict and conflict resolution. Economic disparities can lead to conflict whereas economic leverage (including the use of economic sanctions) can prevent conflicts from escalating.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) "Military Technology and Conflict," by Geoffrey Kemp, pp. 129-140 in *Managing Global Chaos*. Read for Tuesday. (2) Chapter Four in Ho Won Jeong text, "Social-Psychological Processes in Interactive Conflict Analysis and Reconciliation," by Ronald J. Fisher. pp.81-104. Read for Thursday. (3) "Structural Forces in Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Democratic Society," in Ho Won Jeong text. pp. 155-172. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK FOUR:** (February 15 & 17) We begin our use of the case method this week with an introduction to a conflict that escalated to the level of war involving several actors on the international level, the Persian Gulf War.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Martin Staniland *Getting to No: The Diplomacy of the Gulf Conflict, 1990-1*, "Background to the Conflict," *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* (Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Publications, 1995) Case no.449A-93-R. "Background to the conflict discusses the events leading to Iraq's August 2, 1990 invasion of Kuwait, and identifies the economic, territorial, and diplomatic issues in dispute and attempts to resolve them prior to the invasion. The actions of the principal participants between August 2, 1990, and January 15, 1991 are also examined." Read for Tuesday. (2) Earl L. Gibbons *Forging Consensus: The Western Alliance and the Invasion of Kuwait*. *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* (Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Publications, 1995), Case no.354-92-N. "This case covers the period from Iraq's August 2, 1990 invasion of Kuwait to 15 September, 1990, when Great Britain and France independently announced their intentions to deploy large contingents of ground forces to Saudi Arabia. Events are traced along a single dimension-the building of a military coalition." Read for Thursday.

**WEEK FIVE:** (February 22 & 24) This week we continue with our case study of the Persian Gulf War by examining two more case files on the conflict and by viewing a film in class on the conflict entitled, "The Road to War: American Decision Making During the Gulf Crisis." The film furnishes a historical retrospective and an inside look at how the United States responded to the crisis in the Gulf.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Martin Staniland *Getting to No: The Diplomacy of the Gulf Conflict, 1990-1, "The Pursuit of an Arab Solution."* Pew Case Studies in International Affairs (Washington: Institute for The Study of Diplomacy Publications, 1995), Case no.449B-93-R. "The Pursuit of an Arab solution considers the mediation attempts by Arab states, notably Egypt and Jordan, in the days immediately following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. This case also explores the motives and objectives of Iraq's neighbors." Read for Tuesday. (2) Martin Staniland *Getting to No: The Diplomacy of the Gulf Conflict, 1990-1, "The Making of Resolution 678."* Pew Case Studies in International Affairs (Washington: Institute for The Study of Diplomacy, 1995), Case no.449C-93-R. "The making of resolution 678 analyzes U.S. diplomacy in late October and November 1990 in preparation for a UN Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. This study focuses on the tactical problems facing Secretary of State James Baker in trying to secure unanimous support for a resolution and at the same time trying to protect the autonomy of the U.S. military and diplomatic leadership." Read for Thursday.

**WEEK SIX:** (February 29 and March 2) We begin the second case study this week, the Anglo-Irish religious conflict that can be traced back to the independence from Britain of twenty-six of the thirty-two counties of Ireland in 1921. The remaining six counties in Northern Ireland remained under British rule as part of the United Kingdom. "There is a cynical definition of peace which says that it is merely the suspension of war. One of the paradoxical blessings of the past two and a half decades of Northern Ireland's history has been an emergent vision of peace as a creative condition in which cultural, political, and doctrinal differences can be actively confessed and intelligently contested. The word has passed through a phase when it seemed to belong in the realm of wishful thinking; it has attained a new and robust reality in the common mind, offering to challenge the artist and entrepreneur alike and intimating the genuine possibility of a better life." Seamus Heaney, 1995 Nobel Laureate in Literature (Poem written on the occasion of a dinner for the Irish-American Partnership, May, 1995).

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Hugh Kearney and Robert F. Mulvihill, *The British-Irish Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ireland: A Case Study in Efforts to Reach a Settlement, 1973-1990.* Pew Case Studies in International Affairs (Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Publications, 1995) Case no.461-94-N. "This case study begins with the October 5, 1968 suppression of Northern Irish civil rights marchers by the Royal Ulster Constabulary. This case covers the players involved and the events that transpired from the beginning of this conflict- the ethnoreligious problem, partition, direct rule, the political balance, and terrorism-to its current unresolved status. This study leaves the student with two important questions: (1) what does the British government want to see happen in Northern Ireland?; and (2) What does the Irish government want to see happen in Northern Ireland?" Read for Tuesday. We will view a film in class entitled "Conflicts of Religious Ideology: War and Peace." While this film deals with the topic of religious conflicts in general, it has a specific segment on the Anglo-Irish troubles. Film in class on Thursday.

**WEEK SEVEN:** ( March 7 & 9) This week we continue our examination of the Anglo-Irish conflict and the various attempts to arbitrate, mediate, and resolve the conflict.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Robert F. Mulvihill and Sean Farren, The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. Pew Case Studies in International Affairs. Case no.459-93-N. "The governments of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985. This agreement is distinctive because of its open ended view of political solutions to the conflict and because it was negotiated without the direct participation of the involved parties in Northern Ireland. This case describes the developments leading to the agreement that most strongly influence relationships between all parties to the Northern Ireland conflict. Read for Tuesday.

**\*\*\*\*Thursday, March 9th MIDTERM EXAMINATION COVERING ALL MATERIAL in class and in readings. \*\*\*\***

**WEEK EIGHT:** (March 21 & 23) This week we will begin our examination of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Before we delve into the actual Pew case studies, we will read some background information from a variety of sources to assess the conflict along the multidimensional lines along which it lies.

*REQUIRED READING:* (1) Cvijeto Job, "Yugoslavia's Ethnic Furies," Foreign Policy, no.92 (Fall 1993), pp.52-74. In an article in Foreign Affairs, the role of ethnic hatred is analyzed as a key to understanding the continuing conflict in the Balkans. The author's argument is that the seeds of ethnic cleansing "did not just mutate into reality in our own time . . . its roots lie in the work of generations of nationalist ideologues, intellectuals, politicians and clergy." Read for Tuesday. (2) Saadia Touval, "Case Study: Lessons of Preventive Diplomacy in Yugoslavia," in Managing Global Chaos, pp. 403-417. Read for Thursday. (3) Susan L. Woodward. Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War. pp.374-400. On Reserve in Binder. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK NINE:** (March 28 & 30) This week we employ the case materials from the Pew Case Studies on the former Yugoslavia and continue to try to grapple with the issue of ethnic conflict escalating into war.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) James E. Bjork and Allan E. Goodman, Yugoslavia, 1991-92: Could Diplomacy Have Prevented a Tragedy? Pew Case Studies in International Affairs (Washington: Institute for The Study of Diplomacy Publications, 1995) Case no.453-92-N. Read for Tuesday. "The disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991-1992 is one of the most severe challenges to the international community in the post-Cold War era. As brinkmanship among top political leaders in the Yugoslav republics precipitated a descent into brutal ethnic warfare, diplomatic efforts by the United States, Western Europe, and the United Nations to forestall open conflict proved unsuccessful. This case conveys to students the difficulties facing negotiators in dealing with the Yugoslav crisis. It also challenges them to explore diplomatic options and opportunities that international leaders may have neglected." Read for Tuesday. (2) "Nations, States and Succession: Lessons from the Former Yugoslavia," by Raju G. C. Thomas, in Mediterranean Quarterly: A Journal of Global Issues. Volume 5, Number 4 Fall 1994. pp. 40-65. On reserve in binder. Read for Thursday. (3) "UN Responses in the Former Yugoslavia:

Moral and Operational Choices," Thomas G. Weiss in *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 8, 1994. On Reserve in Binder. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK TEN:** (April 4 & 6) This week we will explore the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in conflict management, intervention, and arbitration. NGOs are increasing in number and importance not only in the traditional fields of humanitarian assistance and intervention, but in human rights education and conflict prevention strategies of peacebuilding.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Mary B. Anderson, "Humanitarian NGOs in Conflict," In *Managing Global Chaos*, pp. 343-354. This chapter in the edited volume explores the work of humanitarian NGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and others in conflict intervention and prevention. Read for Tuesday. (2) Amnesty International, *Peacekeeping and Human Rights*, (New York: Amnesty International U.S.A. Publications, 1994). This document, written under the auspices of the premier international human rights NGO, Amnesty International, demonstrates the role that NGOs can have in peacekeeping operations such as the training of civilian and police monitors of the peace in conflict torn areas. The paper puts forth Amnesty International's "Fifteen-Point Program for Implementing Human Rights in International Peace-keeping Operations." The program is addressed to all those involved in the establishment of such operations-the parties to the conflict, observer governments involved in the process, and other UN member states as well as the United Nations Secretariat and other UN bodies and specialized agencies. On Reserve in Binder. Read for Tuesday. (2) Alex De Waal, "Intervention Unbound," in the *Index on Censorship* No.6, 1994. Humanitarian aid and military intervention make disturbing bedfellows, argues Alex de Waal, then co-director of African Rights. He poses the question can NGOs really call for the military occupation of a country with complete impunity? On reserve in Binder. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK ELEVEN:** (April 11 & 13) During this week we will examine the conduct and nature of peacekeeping after a peace settlement has been reached by conflicting parties. Often this process can be as dangerous as the conflict that preceded it.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) "The Crisis in UN Peacekeeping," by Adam Roberts, in *Managing Global Chaos*, pp. 297-320. Read for Tuesday. (2) "Early Warning and Preventive Diplomacy," by Michael S. Lund, in *Managing Global Chaos*, pp.379-402. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK TWELVE:** (April 18 & 20) This week our discussions and readings will focus on the consolidation of peace for the long term. The various economic, political, and institutional measures that help to consolidate peace will be analyzed.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) Joshua Muravchik, "Promoting Peace Through Democracy." In *Managing Global Chaos*, pp. 573-586. This chapter examines the ways newly established systems can build in the necessary safeguards for civil liberties, rights of ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities into the new political system in the wake of recent conflict. Read for Tuesday. (2) Neil J. Kirtz, "The Rule of Law in the Postconflict

Phase: Building a Stable Peace," in *Managing Global Chaos*. Pp. 587-606. This chapter deals with the development of institutional mechanisms to set up a system for the rule of law in the post-conflict environment. Read for Tuesday. (3) Nicole Ball, "The Challenge of Rebuilding War-torn Societies," In *Managing Global Chaos* pp. 607-622. This chapter treats the importance of economic development to the peacekeeping process. Often economic disparities can stimulate a revival of the conflict. Economic development opportunities, on the other hand, when evenly distributed among the conflicting actors can help to solidify the peace. Read for Thursday.

**WEEK THIRTEEN:** This week we will begin to analyze the so-called "Life-cycle of conflicts" with Conflict interventions and Preventive Diplomacy.

*REQUIRED READINGS:* (1) "States of Peace and War" from "The Preventive Diplomacy Toolbox: Policies and Instruments for Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Taxonomy. In Michael Lund, "Europe's Toolbox for Conflict Prevention," Chapter 10 in *Post Cold War European Security and Conflict Management*. On reserve in Binder, Read for Tuesday (2) "Preventive Diplomacy: A Conceptual and Analytic Framework," Bruce W. Jentleson in *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World*. Read for Thursday. On Reserve in Binder.

**WEEK FOURTEEN:** Brief presentations of the conflicts explored in each student's paper. FINAL

**EXAMINATION DURING THE WEEK OF May 8-12. GRADING AND EVALUATION FOR THE COURSE:** There will be a mid-term exam worth 25% of the grade. Participation and discussion will be worth 15% of the grade.\* The paper analyzing a conflict (other than those we examine in class) will be worth 25% of the grade. The student presentations on their paper topics will be worth 10% of the grade. The final exam will be worth 25% of the grade. \*NOTE: 15% of your course grade consists of your participation in the course throughout the course. This means contributing to class discussions, being in class to contribute to the discussions, and actively participating in all aspects of the course work.