American University

School of International Service

International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program

**IPCR Seminar I:**

**Analyzing War and Peace**

**Prof. Chuck Call**

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**SIS 215, Office Hours 4-6 pm Thursdays, 11 am-Noon Fridays**

**Overview:**

This course presents the main theoretical approaches to peace and mass violence. Students learn the history and underlying assumptions of explanations of peace and war including the interstate system, international organizations, fragile states, gendered societies, economic incentives, ideas, and psychological factors.

Students are expected to demonstrate competency in reading complex materials, in offering coherent written analysis, and in deploying different theories to critically and persuasively analyze given peace opportunities or armed conflicts.

**Learning Outcomes:**

Students will:

- Understand the major approaches to peace and organized mass violence.

- Apply the theories to violent conflicts and peace opportunities in ways that combine different explanations as appropriate.

**Who Should Take the Course?**

All learners from any discipline or MA program seeking a deeper understanding of how we resolve international conflicts. Both IPCR Seminar I and IPCR Seminar II are the core requirements for the MA in International Peace and Conflict Resolution for all students entering SIS as of Fall Semester 2016 and this course can be taken after, prior to or in conjunction with IPCR Seminar II

**Requirements and Evaluation:**

You will have a variety of ways to demonstrate and participate in your own learning. These activities help us achieve the learning outcomes:

***Participation in Class Discussion*** *(15 percent)* - The course is organized as a seminar. In order to learn, you need to participate. Complete the reading assignments before class if you wish to contribute to an informed, valuable, and enjoyable exchange of ideas. Observations that advance or enhance the discussion are more useful than casual comments. Insightful commentaries include applying concepts to our lived experiences challenging or clarifying readings, and offering analyses of your own. Class attendance is a prerequisite for class contribution.

Class participation will be graded according to the following subjective criteria, in descending order of value.

• Able to answer or ask questions with good examples from the readings and makes several excellent points that reveals thought about the issue(s), and understanding of the readings and cases. Raises the level of discourse. This score is rare.

• Raises a number of good points from the cases and readings, less inspired than an A, but reveals a clear understanding of the material, with the ability to apply it.

• Raises one or two good points and shows a rudimentary grasp of course material and cases.

• Makes one or two points but does not attempt to apply what is learned in the readings or lectures (i.e., superficial common sense-type observations instead of deeper insight).

• Attends class but does not participate.

• Did not attend class.

***Mid-Term Exam***. (40%). The mid-term will be in two sections. The first (10%) is an in-class handwritten closed-book test on basic questions on the readings and basic concepts from the course and the seminar discussions. This in-class portion will commence at the outset of the class on October 19, 5:30 pm sharp. The second portion of the mid-term will consist of two essays (15% each) drawn from a few options, to be taken via Blackboard outside classtime for 3 hours of your choosing between Noon on Sunday Oct. 9 and 2 pm on Tuesday Oct. 11. These essays will require you to discuss and analyze theories of peace and war in comparative ways, to compare or contrast theories, and to synthesize theories and empirical cases or data.

***Final Exam****.* (45%). The exam will include some basic questions on the readings as well as three essay questions requiring you to synthesize course themes. It will be available for any five-hour period from Tuesday Dec. 13 at Noon and due Wednesday Dec 16 at 11 pm. Late penalties will apply.

***Extra Credit***: Reading Reviews: You may get up to 10 extra points on your midterm exam grade or your final exam grade (wherever you need it most).

You may apply the grades of only your BEST TWO reviews to get to the ten points.  Each review will be graded as follows:

Letter grade of review = A or A+ = 5 points.

B+ or A- = 4 points

B- or B = 3 points

C or C+ = 2 points

If you do more than two reviews, I will take the best two grades.

Here is a description of the reviews:

**The review will cover at least three of the readings assigned for a particular week (unless the review covers an entire book or there are fewer than 3 readings assigned).** Your review will be graded for its substantive points and for its clarity, persuasiveness and artfulness. The paper should be no more than 5 pages long, double-spaced (Times Roman, 12-pt font, normal margins).  You should provide a brief (no more than 3-4 sentences of the MAIN argument or point the author is trying to make – his or her ultimate agenda.  In the rest of the reaction piece, you should make comments about the the quality of the evidence, the persuasiveness of the piece(s) and place them in a broader context if possible.  You should e-mail YourName Review #X as an attachment in Word (format: Firstname Lastname Review #1.doc -- # refers to sequence of your papers, not week reviewed) to me (call@american.edu) by 5 pm on Wednesday of the class in which the readings will be discussed.  Do NOT simply summarize the readings!  Analyze them critically!

**Required Texts:**

* Waller, James. (2007). Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing. Oxford University Press.

**Emergency Preparedness for Disruption of Classes:**

In the event of an emergency, 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. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, 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.

**Academic Integrity**

All students must adhere to American University’s Academic Integrity Code, which you can find at:<http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>.

Please take particular note of Section II.A, which lists violations adjudicated under the academic integrity code. They include:

· **plagiarism** (i.e., “the representation of someone else’s words, ideas, or work as one’s own without attribution…”)

· inappropriate collaboration (i.e., “when work that the professor presumes is original to the student is in fact the product of collaboration so close that the originality is no longer individual to the student…”)

· dishonesty in examinations (i.e., “the use of inappropriate or unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in a test. Unless the instructor directs otherwise, an examination is assumed to be solely a student’s own work. No communication is allowed among students either through voice, written, electronic, or any other form of transmission, nor are students permitted to consult books, papers, study aids, or notes without explicit permission…”)

· dishonesty in papers (i.e., “submitting material obtained from another person or company or purchased from either. All papers and materials submitted for a course must be the student’s original work unless the sources are cited.”)

· **work done for one course and submitted to another** (“This category of violation covers the presentation of the same work in more than one course at any time during a student’s academic career without prior consent from both instructor. When incorporating their own past research into current projects, students must cite previous work…”)

· “bribes, favors, and threats … with the purpose of affecting a grade or the evaluation of academic performance and other academic misconduct (which includes “ any form of academic deceit has violated the intellectual enterprise of the university…”)

Class Sessions by week:

**1) Introduction**

Introduction to the course, the syllabus, the purpose of the two-sequence foundations course, beginning discussion of the field.

**2) Peace Studies: What is its current relevance? What is ‘Peace and Conflict Resolution’?**

Wallensteen, P. (2011). “Understanding Contemporary Peace Research,” in Kristine Hoglund and Magnus Oberg, *Understanding Peace Research*, Chapter 2, pp. 14-31. You can also access this at <http://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2013/MVZ453/um/Hoglund__Oberg_-_Understanding_Peace_Research.pdf>

Galtung, J. (1985). “Twenty Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses.” *Journal of Peace Research*. 22(2). 141-158.

Rogers, Paul and Oliver Ramsbotham. (1999). Then and Now: Peace Research – Past and Future. *Political Studies*, XLVII, 740-754.

Jutila, Matti; Samu Pehkonen and Tarja Väyrynen. (2008). “Resuscitating a Discipline: An Agenda for Critical Peace Research.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 36(3): 623-640.

Recommended:

Brunk, Conrad G. 2008. ‘Shaping a Vision: The Nature of Peace Studies.’ In *Patterns of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, eds. Larry J. Fisk and John L. Schellenberg. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 11-33.

Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall. 2011. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. 3rd Edition. Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity. Chapters 1 and 2 (3-62).

Banks, Michael. 1987. “Four Conceptions of Peace”, in Dennis Sandole, Ingrid Sandole-Staroste, *Conflict Management and Problem Solving: Interpersonal to International Applications*. NYU Press.

**EXPLAINING WAR AND PEACE: SYSTEM-LEVEL THEORIES**

**3) Realism: Power, Coercion and the Threat of Force**

Readings marked “Betts text” are on Blackboard and from Richard K. Betts, 2012. *Conflict after the Cold War.* Pearson.

Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories,” *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998), 29-32, 34-46.

Jack Snyder, “One World, Rival Theories,” *Foreign Policy* (Nov-Dec 2004), 52-62.

Betts, Intro to Part II, Betts Text, pp. 53-55.

Thucydides, “The Melian Dialogue,” Betts Text, pp. 56-60. [Classic Realism]

Hobbes, T. “The State of Nature and the State of War,” Betts Text, pp. 66-69. [Classic]

Kenneth Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neo-Realist Thoughts” Betts text, 87-93.

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (Knopf, 1954), chapters 1, 3. [Classic]

Robert Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics* (Columbia, 1986), chapters 1, 7, 9, 11.

Recommended:

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics.* Columbia Univ. Press 1979. [Neorealist Bible]

Niccolo Machiavelli, “Doing Evil in Order to Do Good,” Betts Text, pp. 61-65.

John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (Norton, 2001), chapters 1-2.

Stephen M. Walt, “Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power,” *International Security* (Spring 1985), 3-43.

Robert Jervis. 1978. “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30: 167-214.

Jack Levy. 1998. “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” *Annual Review of Political Scienc*e: 139-65.

**4. Classic Liberalism and Neoliberalism: Cooperation and Institutions**

Robert Keohane & Joseph S. Nye, “Power and Interdependence” in Betts Text, pp. 161-167 [Neo-liberal Institutionalism]

Andrew Moravcsik, 1997, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,” I*nternational Organization*, Autumn, pp. 513-54. [Classic Liberalism]

Bruce Russett and J. Oneal. 2001. Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations. New York: W. W. Norton & Company – chapters 1 and 7.

John Mearsheimer. 1994/95. “The False Promise of International Institutions,” *International Security* (Winter), 5-49. [Realist Counter to Neo-Liberalism]

John Ruggie. 1993. *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an International Forum*. Columbia University Press. chapter 1. [Liberal Multilateralism]

Recommended:

Wallensteen, P., M. Eriksson, et al. 2006. “Sanctions for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building.” Uppsala University: Department of Peace and Conflict Research: 36.

Levy, J. S. 1998. “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” *Annual Review of Political Science* : 139-65.

Jervis, R. 1978. “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30: 167-214.

Nye, J. and D. Welch. 2012. *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation.* Pearson: 157-175.

Kant, I. 1795. *Perpetual Peace, A Philosophical Essay* (1795), Betts Text, 103-09.

Spiro, D. 1994. “The Insignificance of the Liberal Peace,” *International Security* (Fall), 50-86.

Axelrod, R. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation.* Basic Books. chapters 1, 9.

Keohane, R. & L. Martin. 1995. “The Promise of Institutionalist Theory.” *International Security* 20(1): 39-51.

Owen, J.M. 1994. “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace,” *International Security*, 19(2) pp. 87-125.

 **5) Constructivism and Peace**

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. 2001. “Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 4:. 391-416.

Ruggie, J. G. 1998. ‘The Emergence of Social Constructivism,’ section in *Constructing the World Polity.* Routledge, pp. 11-28.

John Mueller. “The Obsolescence of Major War,” Betts Text, pp. 224-235.

Margaret Mead. “War is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity,” Betts Text, pp. 219-223.

 **6) Structural Violence & Social Justice**

Galtung. J. 1969. “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3):. 167-191.

Farmer. P.1996. “On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below.” *Daedalus*. Vol. 125: 261-283.

Galtung. J.1990. “Cultural Violence.” *Journal of Peace Research*. 27(3): 291-305.

Bourgois, P. 2001. “The Power of violence in war and peace: Post-Cold War lessons from El Salvador.” *Ethnography*. 2(1). 5-34.

Ong, A. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham: Duke University Press “Introduction: Neoliberalism as Exception, Exception to Neoliberalism.” Pp. 1- 27

**7) Critical Theory**

Ann J. Tickner, 1997. “You just don’t understand: Troubled engagements between feminists and IR theorists.” *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611–632.

Amitav Acharya, 2016, ‘Idea-shift’: how ideas from the rest are reshaping global order, *Third World Quarterly*, 37:7, 1156-1170.

Oliver Richmond. “Understanding the Liberal Peace” Essay, 2005.

Derek Gregory, “’In Another Time-Zone, the Bombs Fall Unsafely’: Targets, Civilians and Late Modern War,” *The Arab World Geographer,* 9(2): 88-111 (2006).

Joanne Sharp, 2013, “Africa’s Colonial Present: Development, Violence and Postcolonial Security,” Chapter 10 in Graham Huggan (ed) *Oxford Handbook on Postcolonial Studies* pp. 235-252.

 **EXPLAINING WAR, VIOLENCE AND PEACE: THEORIES ‘BELOW’ THE INTERSTATE SYSTEM**

**8) Peace, Development and State Fragility: Do poverty or weak institutions make peace harder?**

Holsti, K.1996. *The State, War and the State of War.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press. Preface and Chapters 1, & 2, pp. xi-xiv, 1-40.

World Bank. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. World Bank Policy Research Report. Read only Parts I and II.

Duffield, M. 2001. “The Merging of Development and Security” and “Global Governance and the Causes of Conflict” in *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. Zed Books.

Call, C. T. 2009. “Beyond State Failure: Weak States, Insecure States and Illegitimate States.” *European Journal of International Relations.*

**9) Economics and Peace: How do resources shape war and peace?**

Paul Collier. 2000. “Doing Well Out of War,” in M. Berdal and D. M. Malone eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner*,* pp. 91-111.

Ross, M. L. 2003. “Oil, Drugs and Diamonds: The Varying Roles of Natural Resources in Civil War,” in K. Ballentine and J. Sherman eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance.*Boulder: Lynne Rienner and IPA, pp. 47-72.

Ballentine, K. “Reconsidering the Economic Dynamics of Armed Conflict”, K. Ballentine and J. Sherman eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance.*Boulder: Lynne Rienner and IPA, pp. 259-283.

Collier, P & A. Hoeffler. 2004. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 563-595.

10)  **Gender: How do gender identity and relations shape war and peace?**

Cockburn, C. 2004. “The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace,” in W. Giles and J. Hyndman, eds. *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones.*Univ. of California Press, pp. 24-44.

Copelon, R. “Surfacing Gender: Reconceptualizing Crimes Against Women in time of War.” In *Violence: A Reader*. Pp. 193-208.

El-Bushra, J. 2003. “Fused in Combat: Gender Relations and Armed Conflict,” in *Development in Practice*, 13, No. 2 & 3 (May 2003), pp. 252-265.

Wood, E. 2006. “Variation in Sexual Violence during War.” *Politics & Society*. 34; 307.

Burguieres, M. 1990. "Feminist Approaches to Peace: Another Step for Peace Studies," *Millennium* 19(1): 1-18

Olujic, M. 1998. “Embodiment of Terror: Gendered Violence in Peacetime and Wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.” *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12 (1): 31–50.

**11) Terrorism and Peace**

Crenshaw, M. 2002. “The Causes of Terrorism” in *Violence: A Reader*, Chapter 7

Goody, J. 2002. “What is a Terrorist?” *History and Anthropology*. 13(2): 139-143.

Pape, R. A. 2003. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.” *American Political Science Review*. 97(3): 343-361.

Wilkinson, P. & D. Bryan. “Is Terrorism Still a Useful Analytical Term or Should it be Abandoned?” In R. Jackson and S.J. Sinclair, eds. *Contemporary Debates on Terrorism*. Routledge.

Jones, D. M. & M. L. R. Smith. 2009. We’re All Terrorists Now: Critical—or Hypocritical—Studies “on” Terrorism? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32(4): 292-302

Dixit, P. & J. L. Stump.2011. “A Response to Jones and Smith: It’s Not as Bad as It Seems; Or, Five Ways to Move Critical Terrorism Studies Forward.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 34(6): 501-511.

Lopez, G. A. 1995. “Terrorism and Peace Studies,” *Peace Review* 7 (3): 261-266.

Start reading the Waller book.

**12) Migration and the Environment**

Homer-Dixon, T. F. “Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict.” In Betts Text, pp. 607-621.

Salehyan, I., & C. Hendrix. 2014. “Climate shocks and political violence.” *Global Environmental Change* 28: 239-250.

Cooley, J. “The War Over Water,” in Betts Text.

Buhauga, H., N. Petter Gleditsch & O. Magnus Theisen. 2010. “Implications of Climate Change for Armed Conflict.” Ch. 3 in R. Mearns and A. Norton, eds., *Social Dimensions of Climate Change, Equity and Vulnerability in a Warming World*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Nel, P. & M. Righarts. 2008. “Natural Disasters and the Risk of Violent Civil Conflict.” *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1) : 159-185.

Boehm, D. A. 2011. US-Mexico Mixed Migration in an Age of Deportation: An Inquiry into the Transnational Circulation of Violence. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 30(1):1-21.

Continue reading the Waller book.

**13) Culture, Identity and Peace: How does collective identity hinder and help peace?**

Gagnon, V.P. 1994-95. Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict. *International Security* 91(3): 130-166.

Avruch, K. 2013. *Culture and Conflict Resolution.*USIP Press, pp. 3-72.

Crawford, B. 1998. “The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach.” In Crawford, B. and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, eds. *The Myth of “Ethnic Conflict: Politics, Economics and “Cultural” Violence*. UC Berkeley

Continue reading the Waller book.

**14) Psychology of Mass Atrocities & Poetics: How can we possibly explain genocide?**

Waller, J. 2007. *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*. Oxford University Press. (Yes, the whole book).

Hinton, A. 2004. “The Poetics of Genocidal Practice: Violence under the Khmer Rouge” in *Violence*, SAR Press.

**Final Exam.**