

**POLS 490S: Interveners and Intermediaries in International Conflict  
Fall 2006**

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Office Hours: 9-11 AM on Wednesdays or by appointment

Course materials and grades will be posted on Blackboard

**Overview:**

International conflicts are often discussed in terms of two sides fighting over an issue, yet many conflicts are considerably more complex in practice. This seminar will consider how third parties can influence the dynamics and outcomes of international disputes. We will specifically explore the roles of outside actors as humanitarian interveners, mediators and peacekeepers. The scope of the course will include both intrastate (civil) and interstate conflict. We will not only discuss the theory behind third-party activity, but we will also focus on the practical implications through student-led case studies and participation in a computer simulation.

**Grading:**

2 Case study papers (20% each), Final Paper (40%), Simulation (10%), Participation (10%)

Paper extensions will only be granted with proper documentation. Late case study papers will be deducted one letter grade per day late, beginning at the end of the class in which it is due. No credit will be given to any final paper turned in after 5:00 on the day of the final exam (12/20). All work must be the original work of the student, with no assistance from any other individuals.

Case study papers: Each topic in the latter part of the course has an accompanying case study that we will discuss in class along with the theoretical concepts. Each student will choose two of these case studies and write a paper on each one. The students will need to research the conflicts using a combination of case histories and academic books or articles.

Each paper consists of two parts. The first part, due at the start of the respective class period, should give a historical account of the case in question. This part should include a description of the relevant actors, the issues in question, the involved third parties and the barriers to settlement. The second part, due a week after the case is discussed should include an assessment of how the case helps us better understand the topic for that class. This should be a concise and thoughtful presentation of the relevant debates in the literature and whether the case lends support to some lines of argument more than others. This second part should also consider if there are any unanswered questions that arise from the case.

Each part should be between two and three pages in length. Each student will also be responsible for helping lead discussion about their cases during class. The first part of

the paper, plus the student's role in facilitating course discussion will be 50% of the paper's grade. The second part will be the remaining 50% of the grade.

Final paper: Students will turn in a final paper at the end of the course. They will have a choice of topics from a prompt distributed in class. In the paper, students should thoughtfully engage the theoretical concepts in class – i.e., they should avoid simply reciting the presented arguments – and be able to make a clear argument supported with knowledge of real-world examples.

Simulation: We will spend one class period in a computer lab, where we will simulate a mediation environment. This will be done using a computer package designed for experimental research. After the simulation, students will write a one-page paper describing how they performed in the simulation and what they learned in the process.

Participation: Students should come to each class prepared to discuss that day's reading. They will be assessed based on their ability to answer questions posed to the class and their willingness to ask thoughtful questions. Participation is crucial to the learning process in such a small seminar environment. Effective participation requires that the students do all of the assigned reading, but they are encouraged to read for overall content and to not get lost in the details of each text. One of the goals of this course is to refine the students' ability to engage the academic literature efficiently.

**Texts:**

Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, eds. *Mediation in International Relations*. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Jacob Bercovitch, ed. *Resolving International Conflicts*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Thomas Princen. *Intermediaries in International Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1992.

Patrick M. Regan. *Civil Wars and Foreign Powers*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2002.

Barbara F. Walter. *Committing to Peace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2002.

Paul F. Diehl, ed. *Politics of Global Governance*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, eds. *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003.

Additional materials, as well as the assigned readings from the Bercovitch & Rubin and Princen texts, will be available through Reserves Direct.

## Schedule:

### I. Overview

8/31 Introduction to the Course

9/5 Prevalence and Importance of Third-Party Intervention

Readings: Regan – Chapter 2.

Jacob Bercovitch and Allison Houston. “The Study of International Mediation: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence.” In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 11-35. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

9/7 Introduction to Humanitarian Intervention

Readings: J. L. Holzgrefe. “The Humanitarian Intervention Debate.” In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 15-52. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Tom J. Farer. “Humanitarian Intervention before and after 9/11: Legality and Legitimacy.” In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 53-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Recommended: Robert O. Keohane. “Introduction.” In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 1-11. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

9/12 Introduction to Mediation

Readings: Princen – Chapter 1.

Jacob Bercovitch. “Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice.” In *Peacemaking in International Conflict*, edited by I. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen, 125-154. Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1997.

9/14 Introduction to Peacekeeping

Readings: Regan – Chapter 1.

Paul F. Diehl. “Forks in the Road: Theoretical and Policy Concerns for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Peacekeeping.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 242-268. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

## II. Knowing the Relevant Actors

9/19 Self-Interested States in Relative Anarchy

Readings: Regan – Chapter 3.

9/21 International Governance Organizations

Readings: Jon Pevehouse, Timothy Nordstrom, and Kevin Warnke. “International Governmental Organizations.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 9-24. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal. “Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 25-59. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

9/26 The UN

Readings: Ian Johnstone. “The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 127-143. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Barry O’Neill. “Power and Satisfaction in the Security Council.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 144-164. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

9/28 NGO’s and Individuals

Readings: Andrew S. Natsois. “NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation?” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 381-397. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Ellen Dorsey. “The Global Women’s Movement: Articulating a New Vision of Global Governance.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 415-439. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

## III. Humanitarian Intervention

10/3 Sovereignty vs. Negligence: The Ethical Dilemma of Intervention

Readings: Fernando R. Teson. “The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention.” In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L.

Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 93-129. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Allen Buchanan. "Reforming the International Law of Humanitarian Intervention." In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 130-173. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Example: Kosovo (1999)

10/5-10/12 The Changing Legal Basis for Intervention

Readings: Michael Byers and Simon Chesterman. "Changing the Rules about Rules? Unilateral Intervention and the Future of International Law." In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 177-203. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Thomas M. Franck. "Interpretation and Change in the Law of Humanitarian Intervention." In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 204-231. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Jane Stromseth. "Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention: The Case for Incremental Change." In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 232-272. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Example: Bosnia (1995)

10/17-10/19 What Affects the Efficacy of Intervention?

Readings: Regan – Chapters 4-6.

Example: Zaire (1967)

#### **IV: Mediation**

10/24-10/26 Setting the Stage: Adversary and Mediator Objectives

Readings: Princen – Chapters 2-5.

Example: Carter in the DPRK (1994)

10/31 Form Matters: Mediation Styles

Readings: Louis Kriesberg. "Varieties of Mediating Activities and Mediators in International Relations." In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 219-234. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Kyle C. Beardsley, David M. Quinn, Bidisha Biswas and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. "Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (February 2006), 58-86.

Example: Russo-Japanese War (Portsmouth-1905)

11/2 Neutral vs Biased Mediation

Readings: Peter J. Carnevale and Sharon Arad. "Bias and Impartiality in International Mediation." In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 39-54. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Paul Wehr and John Paul Lederach. "Mediating Conflict in Central America." In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 55-74. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Example: Central American Civil Wars (Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua)

11/7 Mediation by a State

Readings: Randa M. Slim. "Small-State Mediation in International Relations: The Algerian Mediation of the Iranian Hostage Crisis." In *Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 206-231. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Saadia Touval. "The Superpowers as Mediators." In *Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 232-248. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Example: Israel-Egypt (Camp David-1978)

11/9 Mediation by an IGO

Readings: Kjell Skjelsbaek and Gunnar Fermann. "The UN Secretary-General and the Mediation of International Disputes." In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 75-104. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Recommended: Samuel G. Amoo and I. William Zartman. "Mediation by Regional Organizations: The Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Chad." In *Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 131-148. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Recommended: James O. C. Jonah. "The United Nations and International Conflict: The Military Talks at Kilometre Marker-101." In

*Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 176-205. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Example: October War (1973)

11/14 Mediation by an NGO or Individual

Readings: A. Paul Hare. "Informal Mediation by Private Individuals." In *Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 52-63. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Thomas Princen. "Mediation by a Transnational Organization: The Case of the Vatican." In *Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 149-175. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Example: Argentina-Chile (1978-1984)

11/16 Does Culture Matter?

Readings: Raymond Cohen. "Cultural Aspects of International Mediation." In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 107-128. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Brian Mandell. "The Limits of Mediation: Lessons from the Syria-Israel Experience, 1974-1994." In *Resolving International Conflicts*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch, 129-149. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Example: Syria-Israel (1974-1994)

11/21 What Affects the Efficacy of Mediation?

Readings: Lawrence Susskind and Eileen Babbit. "Overcoming the Obstacles to Effective Mediation of International Disputes." In *Mediation in International Relations*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 30-51. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.

Example: Falklands War (1982)

11/28 Mediation Simulations

## **V: Peacekeeping**

11/30-12/5 Third Parties as the Necessary Ingredient for Credible Commitments

Readings: Walter – Chapters 1, 2, 7.

Example: Rwanda (1994)

12/7 More than Blue Hats: Establishing Viable Institutions

Readings: Robert O. Keohane. "Political Authority after Intervention: Gradations in Sovereignty." In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 275-298. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Michael Ignatieff. "State Failure and Nation-Building." In *Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, 299-321. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996.

Example: East Timor (1999)

12/12 What Affects the Efficacy of Peacekeeping?

Readings: Walter – Chapters 3-6.

Example: Zimbabwe (1972-1979)

**Final paper due on 12/20 @ 5:00 PM**