

LAW AND POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Professor Antonia Handler Chayes
(DHP: D227 • Spring 2009)

Course Description:

The course offers a broad sweep of the legal, political and policy issues involved in international intervention in conflicts since the end of the cold war. In many respects, this course should be considered as an introduction to the detailed course offerings on such subjects as peace operations, post-conflict corruption, post-conflict economic development, rule of law and statebuilding. It covers conflict prevention, the dilemmas of intervention and a heavy focus on post-conflict recovery when peace is tenuous.

Introductory sessions cover legal, conceptual and historic background, with an ongoing theme of the intersection of law and politics. The course emphasizes the continuum from war to peace, rather than offering in-depth case studies. Specific cases such as Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq will be used illustratively. This course will approach conflict analysis with the assumption of multiple causality in which context plays a very large role.

This course fulfills a field study requirement for International Negotiation and Conflict Resolution (INCR) and Human Security. It also offers a chance to gain practical insights for students interested in International Organizations, Governance, Human Security or Post-conflict transitions.

The course is not currently available.

Coordinates for the instructor are as follows:

Instructor: Antonia Chayes, Visiting Professor
of International Politics and Law

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Cabot 511

Office hours most Tuesdays and Thursday afternoons BY APPOINTMENT

Times will be posted weekly on the door of my office, Cabot 511.

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Course Requirements / Evaluation:

Evaluation for this course will have four parts:

- 1) Class participation will count for approximately 25% of the grade. There will be in-class team exercises but they will not be formally graded—though informally observed as part of class participation;
- 2) A midterm policy-type exercise (Due March 2nd);
- 3) A Saturday simulation and an analysis of your participation* (April 4th);
- 4) A final exam (TBD).

** The Simulation is scheduled for April 4th, the last day to take written language exams. The simulation is mandatory, so if you take this class and need to complete the written language exam this semester, be sure to take the exam February 6th.*

Assignments:

Readings are available on the course website (Blackboard) unless otherwise noted. A pocket UN charter will be available at the bookstore and is important to have handy. Class exercises will be given out as assigned. The course readings post-spring break may be altered a little, as students often offer new postings.

Topics for each class plus a tentative table of contents of assigned materials are given below. Please note that sometimes we have to switch classes to accommodate outside lecturers who add to the richness of the class.

I. INTRODUCTORY MATERIALS: FRAMING THE ISSUES

Tues, Jan. 13: *Conceptual Overview of Managing Conflict*

- United Nations Charter, 59 Stat. 1031, U.N.T.S. 993, *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>
Read: Chapters I, VI and VII
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *AN AGENDA FOR PEACE: PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, PEACEMAKING AND PEACE-KEEPING* (New York, NY: United Nations Press, 1992), *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>
Read: paras. 1-65
- REPORT OF THE PANEL ON UNITED NATIONS PEACE OPERATIONS, (“Brahimi Report”), UN Doc. A/55/305-S/2000/809 (21 August 2000), *available online at:* http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/
Read: pp. viii-xv and paras. 1-21
- A MORE SECURE WORLD, OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE, transmitted to the Office of the Secretary General on (1 December 2004), UN Doc A/59/565, *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>.
Read: Introductory Synopsis, Part 1 Synopsis and paras. 1-43
- REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, UN Doc. A/60/640 (29 December 2005), Read: pp. 1-17
- Antonia Handler Chayes and Abram Chayes, “Chapter Two: The Dimensions of the Problem,” *in* *PLANNING FOR INTERVENTION: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1999).
Read: pp. 9-46
- USE THIS EXCELLENT SITE THROUGHOUT FOR NEW MATERIAL:
<http://www.cic.nyu.edu/internationalsecurity/globalpeace.html>.

Optional Reading:

- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, “Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations,” UN Doc. A/50/60; S/1995/1 (3 January 1995), *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agsupp.html>
Read: paras. 8-25, 77-80

For those interested in “root causes”

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War,” *THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (February 2003). Read: pp. 75-90
- Jack Snyder, “Anarchy and Culture,” *INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2002).
Read: pp. 7-45

Thurs, Jan. 15: *The Legal Framework for Intervention in Internal Conflict – Part 1*

- Thomas M. Franck, *RECOURSE TO FORCE: STATE ACTION AGAINST THREATS AND ARMED ATTACKS*. Hersch Lauterpacht Memorial Lectures (Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2002).
Read: Chapters 3, 4, 7, 9, 10
- Maj. Joseph B. Berger III, Maj. Derek Grimes and Maj. Eric T. Jensen, eds., *OPERATIONAL LAW HANDBOOK*, Judge Advocate School of the Army (2004), p.27.
- Rules of Engagement for U.S. Military Forces in Iraq Issued by U.S. Central Command Combined Forces land Component Commander (January 2003).

Familiarize yourself with (ie: read lightly for this class but understand the form of) the following primary materials, all of which are available on Blackboard and UN charter sections also in the pocket UN charter:

- UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, 59 Stat. 1031, U.N.T.S. 993 (1945), *available online at*:
<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>
Read: Chapters VI, VII and VIII
 - UN Security Council Resolution 1701 on the Situation in the Middle East, UN Doc. S/Res/1701 (11 Aug. 2006), *available online at*: BRIEF CLASS EXERCISE ON THIS RESOLUTIONP-http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions06.htm
 - UN Security Council Resolution 781 on the Situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, UN Doc. S/Res/781 (9 Oct. 1992), *available online at*:
<http://www.un.org/documents/sc/res/1992/scres92.htm>
 - UN Security Council Resolution 816 on the Situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, UN Doc. S/Res/816 (31 Mar. 1993), *available online at*:
<http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1993/scres93.htm>

Tues, Jan. 20: No Class

Thurs, Jan. 22: *The Legal Framework for Intervention in Internal Conflict – Part 2*

- Michael Glennon, "Military Action Against Terrorists Under International Law: The Fog of Law: Self-Defense, Inherence, and Incoherence in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter," 25 *HARVARD JOURNAL OF LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY* 539 (2002).
- *Military and Paramilitary Activities In and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua. v. U.S.)*, 1986 I.C.J. 14 (27 June) (merits).
Read: paras. 183-292
- Abram Chayes, "Chapter One: Preliminaries," in *THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS: INTERNATIONAL CRISES AND THE ROLE OF LAW* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987) Read: pp. 1-7

- UN Security Council Resolution 1441 on the Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait, UN Doc. S/Res/1441 (8 Nov. 2002), *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2002/sc2002.htm>
- UN Security Council Resolution 1483 on the Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait, UN Doc. S/Res/1483 (25 Nov. 2002), *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2002/sc2002.htm>
- UN Security Council Resolution 1701 on the Situation in the Middle East, UN Doc. S/Res/1701 (11 Aug. 2006), *available online at:* http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions06.htm

II. BEFORE ESCALATION

Tues, Jan. 27: *Conflict Prevention Part 1 – What have we learned?*

- FINAL REPORT OF THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, December 1997).
Read: Executive Summary, pp. xvii-xlvi
- Michael Lund, “Chapter 2: Concept, Tools, and Targets,” *in* PREVENTING VIOLENT CONFLICTS: A STRATEGY FOR PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995).
Read: pp. 31-49
- Diana Chigas, Elizabeth McClintock and Christophe Kamp, “Preventive Diplomacy and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe: Creating Incentives for Dialogue and Cooperation,” *in* Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, eds., PREVENTING CONFLICT IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD: MOBILIZING INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1995), pp. 25-98.
Read: pp. 45-68 Optional: pp. 25-27, 41-44
- Bruce W. Jentleson, “The Realism of Preventive Statecraft,” *in* David Carment and Albrecht Schnabel, eds., CONFLICT PREVENTION: PATH TO PEACE OR GRAND ILLUSION? (New York: The United Nations University, 2003).
Read: pp. 26-46

Optional:

- The Fearon and Laitin article from the first class will prove valuable for this class.
- Albrecht Schnabel, “Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Second-Generation Preventive Action,” INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, Vol. 9, No. 2, (Summer 2002). Read: pp. 7-30
- Michele Griffin, “A Stitch in Time: Making the Case for Conflict Prevention,” SECURITY DIALOGUE, Vol. 32, No. 4 (December 2001). Read: pp. 482-496

Thurs, Jan. 29: Conflict Prevention Part 2 – Sanctions, Threats of Sanctions & Other Measures

- Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, *THE NEW SOVEREIGNTY* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
Read: pp. 29-47, 63-67
- Barnett R. Rubin, *BLOOD ON THE DOORSTEP: THE POLITICS OF PREVENTIVE ACTION*, (New York, NY: The Century Foundation, 2002).
Read: pp. 151-184
- UN Security Council Resolution 1373 on Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by Terrorist Acts. UN Doc. S/Res/1373 (28 Sept. 2001), *available online at*:
<http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2001/sc2001.htm>
- UN Security Council Resolution 983 on the Establishment of the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) within the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. UN Doc. S/Res/983 (31 March 1995), *available online at*: <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1995/scres95.htm>

Optional:

- Christine Chinkin, “Alternatives to Economic Sanctions,” in Vera Gowlland-Debbas, *United Nations Sanctions and International Law* (Kluwer 2001). Read: pp. 380-391
- Gail W. Lapidus, “Contested Sovereignty: The Tragedy of Chechnya,” *International Security* (Vol. 23, No. 1, Summer 1998). Read: pp. 5-8, 24-49
- Paul A. Volcker, “The United Nations at Risk,” in Jeffrey A. Meyer, Mark G. Califano, *GOOD INTENTIONS CORRUPTED: THE OIL-FOR-FOOD SCANDAL AND THE THREAT TO THE U.N.* (Public Affairs, Perseus Book Group 2006). Read: pp. vii-xxxiii

Tues, Feb 3: Conflict Prevention Part 3 – Prevention and Preemption: Practical Decisions

IRAN EXERCISE HANDED OUT

- Brian Urquhart, “Needed- A UN Volunteer Military Force,” *New York Review of Books* (Vol. XL, No. 11, June 10, 1993). Read: pp. 3-4
- Excerpts of the National Security Strategy of the United States, The White House, September 2002, *available online at*: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>
Read: Introductory Bush letter and Sections I, III and V (other sections are optional).
- Adam Roberts, “Law and the Use of Force After Iraq,” *SURVIVAL*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (2002). Read: pp. 31-56

- William J. Perry, “American Security Issues: Current Challenges,” Address at the Kennedy School Forum, September 22, 2003.
- Kyl-Lieberman Amendment, HR 1585, 26 September 2007, *available online at:* <http://www.weeklystandard.com/weblogs/TWSFP/Iran%20amendment.pdf>
- Michael Glennon, “Hill Approval Required Before Attacking Iran,” ROLL CALL (4 December 2007)
- A MORE SECURE WORLD, OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE, transmitted to the Office of the Secretary General on (1 December 2004), UN Doc A/59/565, *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>
Read: paras. 183-192

Optional:

- Sean D. Murphy, “Assessing the Legality of Invading Iraq,” *GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (2004) *Professor Chayes will be discussing this piece in class, alongside UN Security Council Resolutions 678, 687, 1441 and 1205.*
- Robert S. Litwak, “The New Calculus of Preemption,” *SURVIVAL*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2002-2003). Read: pp. 53-79

III. INTERVENTION IN CONFLICT

Thurs, Feb. 5: Classical Peacekeeping: Consent, Neutrality and Self Defense

**IRAN EXERCISE
DUE**

- General Assembly Resolution 377 – Uniting for Peace Resolution, *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/landmark/amajor.htm>
- "Judicial Review by the International Court of Justice: Certain Expenses of the United Nations," *in* Abram Chayes, Thomas Ehrlich and Andreas F. Lowenfeld, *INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PROCESS: MATERIALS FOR AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE* (Boston MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1968)
Read: pp. 163-168, 173-189, 203-206 (focus on pp. 176 –206)
- Mats R. Berdal, “Whither UN Peacekeeping?,” *Adelphi Paper 281* (London: Brassey, 1993).
Read: pp. 3-25
- REPORT OF THE PANEL ON UNITED NATIONS PEACE OPERATIONS, (“Brahimi Report”), UN Doc. A/55/305-S/2000/809 (21 August 2000), *available online at:* http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/
Read: Sections E (Para. 48) and F
- A MORE SECURE WORLD, OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE, transmitted to the Office of the Secretary General on (1 December 2004), UN Doc A/59/565, *available online at* <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>
Read: paras. 210-213

Tues, Feb. 10: *Beyond Classical Peacekeeping Part 1 – The Decision to Use Force in Somalia*

- Terrence Lyons and Ahmed I. Samatar, “Somalia: State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction,” Brookings Occasional Papers, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 1995.
Read: Chapters 4 (pp. 36-62) and 5 (pp. 63-69)
- Susan Rosegrant and Michael D. Watkins, “A ‘Seamless’ Transition: United States and United Nations Operations in Somalia – 1992-1993,” Kennedy School of Government Case Program, (1996).
Read: (A) and (B)

Familiarize yourself with these resolutions:

- United Nations Security Council Resolutions 751, 794, 814, 837, 886.

Optional:

- UN Security Council Resolution 1725 (December 6, 2006).
- Robert Oakley and John L. Hirsch, “Somalia and Operation Restore Hope,” Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press (1995).
Read: pp. 101-114 and 161-173
- Mark Bowden, *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War*. Penguin (2000). *Newspaper series available online at: <http://inquirer.philly.com/packages/somalia/>*
- Karin von Hippel, “Disappointed and Defeated in Somalia” in *DEMOCRACY BY FORCE: US MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 55-91

Thurs, Feb. 12: *No Class – DC Career Trip*

Tues, Feb. 17: *No Class – Monday Schedule*

Thurs, Feb. 19: *Beyond Classical Peacekeeping Part 2 – Dilemmas Posed By the Use of Force: Simultaneous peacekeeping vs. enforcement – Confusion in Bosnia*

- Rupert Smith, “Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World,” New York: Knopf (2007)
Read: Ch. 9
- Mats Berdal, “The Security Council and the War in Bosnia,” in *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, edited by David Malone (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004).
- Barry Posen, “Military Response to Refugee Disasters,” *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Summer 1996).
Read: pp. 72-111
- *A MORE SECURE WORLD, OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE*, transmitted to the Office of the Secretary General on (1 December 2004), UN Doc A/59/565, *available online at: <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>*

Review: paras. 210-213 Read: paras. 214-219

- Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, (“Brahimi Report”), UN Doc. A/55/305-S/2000/809, 21 August 2000.

Review: paras. 48-51 and Section F

Familiarize yourself with these resolutions; they are included to show the inconsistencies and compromises in decision-making in the Security Council:

- Security Council Resolution on the Former Yugoslavia – 713, 743, 757, 761, 770, 776, 781, 816, 824, 836.

Optional:

- Steven L. Burg and Paul S. Shoup, “The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention,” Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe (2000).
Read for a good reference: pp. 164-169, 185-188, and 317-360.
- Rosalyn Higgins, “The New United Nations and Former Yugoslavia,” International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 69 (July 1993).
Read: pp. 465-483.
- Trevor Findlay, The Use of Force in Peace Operations, (Solna, Sweden: Oxford University Press, 2002).
Read: pp. 374-390 on “Peace Enforcement”

Tues, Feb. 24: *Beyond Classical Peacekeeping Part 3 – Subcontracting*

- Rosemary Durward, “Security Council Authorization for Regional Peace Operations: A Critical Analysis,” INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, Vol. 13, No 3 (September 2006). Read: pp 350-365
- Paul D. Williams, “Military Responses to Mass Killing: The African Union Mission in Sudan,” INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, Vol 13, No 2 (June 2006). Read: pp 168-183
- A MORE SECURE WORLD, OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE, transmitted to the Office of the Secretary General on (1 December 2004), UN Doc A/59/565, *available online at*: <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>
Read: paras 270-273, 193-198 in contrast to BRAHIMI REPORT, paras. 53 and 54.

Rwanda

- ❑ UN Security Council Res. 929 on Rwanda, available online at <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1994/scres94.htm>

Georgia

- ❑ United Nations Security Council Resolution 937 on Georgia, available online at <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1994/scres94.htm>

Haiti

- ❑ United Nations Security Council Resolution 940 on Haiti, available online at <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1994/scres94.htm>

Afghanistan

- ❑ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1386 (2001), On the Situation in Afghanistan
- ❑ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1510 (2003), The Situation in Afghanistan

Optional:

- Michele Griffin, "Blue Helmet Blues: assessing the trend towards 'subcontracting' UN peacekeeping operations," *SECURITY DIALOGUE*, Vol. 30 (March 1999). Read: pp. 43-60.
- Christine Gray, "From Unity to Polarisation: International Law and the Use of Force Against Iraq," *EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2002). Read: pp. 1-19.
- [Sudan] William G. O'Neill and Violette Cassis, "Protecting Two Million Internally Displaces: The Successes and Shortcomings of the African Union in Darfur," The Brookings Institution-University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement (November 2005), *available online at:* http://www.brook.edu/fp/projects/idp/200511_au_darfur.pdf

Thurs, Feb. 26: *Beyond Classical Peacekeeping Part 4 – Use of Force in Humanitarian Intervention – Practical and Ethical Considerations-R2P*

TAKE HOME MIDTERM HANDED OUT – DUE MONDAY, MARCH 2ND AT 9:00 AM

- Stanley Hoffman, "The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention," *SURVIVAL*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter 1995). Read: pp. 29-51.
- J. Bryan Hehir, "Military Intervention and National Sovereignty," in Jonathan Moore, ed. "Hard Choices- Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention" (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998). Read: pp. 29-54.
- Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect," *FOREIGN AFFAIRS* (Nov/Dec 2002). Read: pp. 99-110.
- A MORE SECURE WORLD, OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE, transmitted to the Office of the Secretary General on (1 December 2004), UN Doc A/59/565, *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/secureworld/> Read: paras. 36, 55, 199-203, 204-209 232.

Optional:

- 2005 United Nations General Assembly, World Summit Outcome, UN Doc. A/Res/60/1 (16 Sept. 2005), *available online at:* <http://www.un.org/summit2005/documents.html> Read: paras. 138-139 on Responsibility to Protect.
- Desmond Tutu, "Taking the Responsibility to Protect," *International Herald Tribune* (Tuesday,

February 19, 2008).

- Dipali Mukhopadhyay, "Responsibility to Protect" PowerPoint Slides, 2008.

Tues, Mar. 3: *Peace Agreements*

- Christine Bell, "Peace Agreements and Human Rights," (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
Read: Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 (pp. 91-117).
- Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothschild and Elizabeth Cousens, "Ending Civil Wars," (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reimer Press, 2002) Read: pages TBA

(First Half of the Term Ends)

IV. STRATEGIES OF POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION

Thurs, Mar. 5: *The Security Sector: The Foundation for Post-Conflict State-building?*

- Robert Keohane, "Political Authority After Intervention: Gradations in Sovereignty," in Holzgrefe and Keohane, Chapter 8. Read: pp. 275-298.
- Mats Berdal, "Disarmament and Demobilisation After Civil Wars," Adelphi Paper 303, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the IISS, 1996)
Read: Sections I, II and Conclusion. Please skim the rest of the article.
- Michael Bhatia, "The Future of the Mujahideen: Legitimacy, Legacy and Demobilization in Post-Bonn Afghanistan," INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, Vol 14, No 1, (January 2007).
Read: pp. 90-107.

Optional:

- UN/World Bank Post-Conflict Needs Assessment Review, Security Sector Issues (January 2007)
Read: Annex IV

Tues, Mar. 10: *Transition to Democracy: Timing and Effectiveness*

Guest Lecturer: Tony Smith

- Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," Foreign Affairs (Vol. 76, No. 6) November/December 1997. Read: pp. 22-43.

- Marina Ottaway, “Promoting Democracy after Conflict: The Difficult Choices,” *International Studies Perspectives* (2003) 4. Read:
pp. 314-322.
- Roland Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*, (Cambridge, UK and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
Read: Chapter 10.
- Tony Smith, *A PACT WITH THE DEVIL: WASHINGTON’S BID FOR WORLD SUPREMACY AND THE BETRAYAL OF THE AMERICAN PROMISE* (New York, NY: Routledge 2007).
Read: Chapter 5.

Optional:

- AN AGENDA FOR DEMOCRATIZATION, UN Doc. A/51/761; DPI/1867 (1996)
Read: paras. 1-60.
- Roland Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*, (Cambridge, UK and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
Read: Chapter 2.

Thurs, Mar. 12: Critiques of the Democratic and Liberal Post-Conflict Models

- Susan L. Woodward, “State-building Operations: International v. Local Legitimacy?” presented at Nation-Building, State-Building and International Intervention: Between ‘Liberation’ and Symptom Relief, Centre d’Etudes et Recherche Internationale and Critique Internationale, Paris (October 15, 2004).
- Astri Suhrke, “The Limits of Statebuilding: The Role of International Assistance in Afghanistan, The Chr. Muchelsen Institute, Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego 21-24 March 2006. *Section to be assigned.*
- Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY*, Vol. 13, No 1 (January 2002). Read: pp. 5-21.
- Michael Barnett, “Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States After War.” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006). .
Read: pp. 87-112.

SPRING BREAK (March 13-23)**Tues, Mar. 24: Mission Integration**

- United Nations INTEGRATED MISSIONS PLANNING PROCESS, Guidelines Endorsed by the Secretary-General

(13 June 2006).

- United Nations/World Bank Post-Conflict Needs Assessment Review, Annex IV Security Sector Issues (January 2007).
- Simplified Post-Conflict Needs Assessment Framework.
- Department of Peacekeeping Operations Integrated Mission Planning Process Document (2007).
- National Security Presidential Directive #44. <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-44.pdf>

Thurs, Mar. 26: No Class – Read for Simulation-IMPP/World Bank Exercise
Meet as Simulation Teams during class and discuss the readings

- Read simulation materials, especially information about your individual role. Readings are posted on Blackboard in the Simulation folder

Tues, Mar. 31: Criminal Justice

- Charles T. Call and William D. Stanley, “Civilian Security,” in Stephen John Stedman, ENDING CIVIL WARS: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 2002). Read: pp. 303-325
- Robert B. Oakley and Michael J. Dziedzic, “Conclusions,” in Robert B. Oakley and Michael J. Dziedzic, eds., POLICING THE NEW WORLD DISORDER: PEACE OPERATIONS AND PUBLIC SECURITY (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1998). Read: pp.509-535
- Gemma Collantes Celador, “Police Reform: Peacebuilding Through ‘Democratic Policing’?” 12 (3) INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING (Autumn 2005). Read: 364-376
- THE IRAQ STUDY GROUP REPORT (December 2006).
Read: pp. 52-55

Thurs, Apr. 2: Broken Promises: Economic Development and Assistance

- Abram Chayes, Thomas Ehrlich and Andreas F. Lowenfeld, INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PROCESS: MATERIALS FOR AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE (Boston MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1968).
Read: Not a New Problem (pp. 1389-1391).
- Shepard Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., GOOD INTENTIONS: PLEDGES OF AID FOR POSTCONFLICT RECOVERY (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000).
Read: Introduction (pp. 1-15).
- James K. Boyce, “Beyond Good Intentions: External Assistance and Peace Building” in Shepard Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., GOOD INTENTIONS: PLEDGES OF AID FOR POSTCONFLICT RECOVERY (Boulder, Lynne

Rienner Publishers, 2000).

Read: pp. 367-382

- Spengemann, Sven M., "Freedom's Hidden Price: Framing the Obstacles to Economic Coexistence," *in* Antonia Chayes and Martha Minow, eds., *IMAGINE COEXISTENCE: RESTORING HUMANITY AFTER VIOLENT ETHNIC CONFLICT*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass (2003). Read: pp. 131-151
- Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke, "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Policy Lessons from Studies in the Political Economy of Armed Conflict," *International Peace Academy Policy Report* (October 2003)
- Peter Uvin, "Difficult Choices in the New Post-Conflict Agenda: the International Community in Rwanda after the Genocide," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 22, (2001).
Read: pp. 177-189

Optional:

- Susan Woodward, "Economic Problems" *in* Stephen John Stedman, *ENDING CIVIL WARS: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 2002).
Read: pp.183-214
- Stewart Patrick, "The Donor Community and the Challenge of Postconflict Recovery," *in* Shepard Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., *GOOD INTENTIONS: PLEDGES OF AID FOR POSTCONFLICT RECOVERY* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000). Read: pp. 35-65

Saturday, April 4: All Day Simulation

Tues, Apr. 7: Simulation De-brief

- Write a reflection on the simulation experience. What did you learn? What happened that surprised you? How do you apply what you learned to the course?

Thurs, Apr. 9: War Crimes

- Jane Stromseth, David Wippman and Rosa Brooks, *CAN MIGHT MAKE RIGHTS?: BUILDING THE RULE OF LAW AFTER MILITARY INTERVENTIONS* (John Burger, Cambridge University Press, 2006)
Read: Ch. 7 "Moving Forward by Looking Backward? Accountability for Atrocities and Strengthening the Rule of Law." Read: pp. 249-309
- David Scheffer, "Staying the Course with the International Criminal Court," *CORNELL INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL*, Vol. 35 (Winter 2002). Read: Skip 60-92, 69-72, 74-82
- Bartram S. Brown, "Bringing a Case to the ICC: Pathways and Thresholds," *in* Sarah Sewall and Carl Kayesen, eds, *THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT* (Lanham, MD, Rowan & Littlefield

Publishers, 2000).
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Read: pp. 251-

- “Appendix B: Excerpts from the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court,” in *Toward an International Criminal Court? A Council on Foreign Relations Policy Initiative* (New York, Brookings Institution Press, 1999).
Read: pp. 77-92
- Lawrence Weschler, “Exceptional Cases in Rome: The United States and the Struggle for an ICC,” in Sarah Sewall and Carl Kayesen, eds, *THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT* (Lanham, MD, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2000).
Read: pp. 85-111
- American Servicemembers’ Protection Act of 2002, *available online at:*
<http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/othr/misc/23425.htm>
Read: sections 2004-2007
- Nethercutt Amendment, “Limitation on Economic Support Fund Assistance for Certain Foreign Governments that are Parties to the International Criminal Court Sec. 574” 7 December 2004.

Optional:

- Robinson O. Everett, “American Service Members and the ICC” in Sarah Sewall and Carl Kayesen, eds, *THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT* (Lanham, MD, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2000).
Read: pp. 137-151
- John R. Bolton, “American Justice and the International Criminal Court,” excerpts from remarks made at the American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, 3 November 2003.
- Philippe Sands, *LAWLESS WORLD*, (New York, NY: Viking, Penguin Group, 2006).
Read: pp. 46-68

Tues, Apr. 14: *(Re)building a Legal System in a Post-conflict Society*

***Possible Guest Lecturer,
Noah Feldman***

- Thomas Carothers, “Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: The Problem of Knowledge,” Carnegie Paper No. 34 (January 2003).
- Jonathan Morrow, “Iraq’s Constitutional Process: An Opportunity Lost,” United States Institute of Peace Special Report No. 155 (November 2005).

Optional:

Andrew Reynolds, “Constitutional Medicine,” *JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan. 2005).
Read: pp. 54-68

Thurs, Apr. 16: *Co-existence and Reconciliation*

- Jean E. Manas, "The Impossible Tradeoff: 'Peace' versus 'Justice' in Settling Yugoslavia's Wars," *in* Richard Ullman ed., *THE WORLD AND YUGOSLAVIA'S WARS: IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS*. New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relations Press (1996).
Read: pp. 42-43
- Antonia Chayes and Martha Minow, eds. *IMAGINE COEXISTENCE: RESTORING HUMANITY AFTER VIOLENT ETHNIC CONFLICT*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass (2003).
Read: Introduction (pp. xvii-xxiii)
- Martha Minow, *BETWEEN VENGEANCE AND FORGIVENESS: FACING HISTORY AFTER GENOCIDE AND MASS VIOLENCE*. Boston: Beacon Press (1998). Read: Introduction (pp. 1-8), Truth Commissions (pp. 52-90) Optional: Facing History (pp. 118-147).
- Sarah Chayes, "French Justice Struggles with War-Crimes Issues," *THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR* April 27, 1994, p. 15.
- Neiman, "To Resist Hitler and Survive," *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, February 2, 2007.

Tues, Apr. 21: *Dealing with Corruption*

Guest Lecturer, Glenn Ware

- Gregory P. Noone and Glenn T. Ware, "The Culture of Corruption in the Post-conflict and Developing World," *in* Antonia Chayes and Martha Minow, eds., *IMAGINE COEXISTENCE: RESTORING HUMANITY AFTER VIOLENT ETHNIC CONFLICT* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2003).
Read: pp. 191-209
- Select Thought Pieces from *The Nexus: Corruption, Conflict and Peacebuilding*, Institute for Human Security Conference, The Fletcher School, 12-13 April 2007

Thurs, Apr. 23: *The Way Forward*

- Joseph Nye, *THE PARADOX OF AMERICAN POWER*. Oxford University Press (2002).
Read: Redefining the National Interest (pp.137-171).
- Robert Kagen, "Power and Weakness: Why the United States and Europe See the World Differently," *POLICY REVIEW*, Vol. 113 (June/July 2002).
- "Building a liberal order," *in* G. John Ikenberry and Anne-Marie Slaughter, *FORGING A WORLD OF LIBERTY UNDER LAW: U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY*. The Princeton Project Papers, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University (September 27, 2006).
Read: pp. 22-29 and App. A

DATE TBD: FINAL EXAMINATION (48-hour)

