IR 310—Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies

Tuesday/Thursday, 12:30-1:50 pm CPA (soon to be JMCH) 152 Online, on Zoom for first week Douglas Becker

Office: CPA (JMCH) 231C plus Zoom by appointment

Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday, 5:00-7:00 or by appointment

email (preferred) dfbecker@usc.edu,

This course serves as the introduction to the broad and diverse field of peace and conflict studies. The field is rooted in international relations, and is in fact the oldest question that international relations asks: what causes war and what produces peace. But the approach in this course is multi-faceted and interdisciplinary. We will explore this issue in varied approaches of philosophy, economics, religion, sociology, history, and psychology. But at its root this course is an international relations course. In short, we will a variety of tools in the conceptual and policy toolbox to explore these core questions, in order to better advance the international relations approach to improving responses to the threats to peace. And this course will explore a multitude of cases, to understand the specific implications in conflicts around the world.

The goals of the course are as follows:

- 1) How is violence interwoven into international relations? What are conceptual alternatives to violence? How effective is nonviolence in addressing issues of justice, rights protections, empowerment, and economic development?
- 2) What is the relationship between conflict and war? What is the difference between conflict management, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution?
- 3) What are the ultimate causes of war? How can these causes be addressed earlier in conflicts before wars break out, when the options are considerably more appealing? How does national sovereignty complicate these campaigns?
- 4) How are economics and war intertwined? How much of war is driven by economic need and how much is it driven by economic greed? What is the greed/grievance debate in the cause of war and what are its implications?
- 5) What role does international intervention play in the outbreak and expansion of wars? Should states seek to avoid intervening in the conflicts of other states, or do they have a responsibility to intervene to end these conflicts?
- 6) What are the transnational threats that international actors face? What specifically is the impact of religion and religious differences in conflicts, with a particular eye toward the Global War on Terror? Are these "globalized" violent trends transforming the nature and the impact of wars?
- 7) How has the rise of ethno-nationalism, populism, fascism, and other right-wing political movements threatened peace and democratization throughout the world? Is this a sustained political movement? Is it a reaction to globalization? Is this a reaction to multi- culturalism? What does it suggest about race, class, gender, and "othering" as a cause of conflict in the world?

- 8) What constitutes successful peacekeeping and peacebuilding? What is the difference between the two? How can international actors strengthen the capacity and the impact of international peacekeeping and peacebuilding campaigns?
- 9) How do non-violent campaigns succeed, often with greater success rates than violent campaigns? What does the new empirical evidence about the rates of success of these non-violent campaigns suggest about popular movements and the impact of peace rather than violence campaigns?

After a brief introduction to the popularity of war historically as well as in popular culture and an examination of the history of nonviolence as a movement, we will turn to the issue first of civil wars. What makes civil war so prevalent in the current international system? What generally do we perceive as the causes of these civil wars? How can we as peace researchers advocate earlier interventions in these wars to increase the odds of an intervention's success? What is the relationship between economics, identity, human rights, domestic governance, and civil conflict? Then, we will turn our attention to transnational threats. We will examine the role of Jihadism and international terrorism. We then discuss populism and the rise of the Far Right in key areas around the world. We explore it is a potential threat to multi-culturalism, democracy, and peace. This will bring us to the midterm. In the second half of the class, we will focus much more directly on potential means of conflict resolution. We start by examining some new frontiers in conflict. Then we examine peacebuilding measures, international legal interventions, and global governance campaigns, especially the role of UN peacekeeping. Finally we will conclude with an analysis of non-violent movements and their relative success or failure.

The assignments for this course are as follows:

Research paper 35% mid-term 25% final 35% class participation 5%

The research paper is a piece of empirical research on a topic that we mutually agree upon. This means that you should plan to come in and see me during office hours to discuss your topic. It is a 15 page paper and intends to take one of the topics we raise (or potentially one we have not addressed but you believe we should) in the broad study of how wars break out and how to produce peace. The mid-term will be a take-home and final is in-class. The mid-term and final are in person. There will not be an online option (unless it is required by the University based on Covid.) They both will have a recall, objective component and a critical analysic essay component. The final is cumulative. Class participation is required, which includes attendance of the class, demonstration of prior completion of the reading, and thoughtful response to questions posed. If we are online, cameras should be on. When we return in person, you are expected to be in class. I will make accommodations for students battling Covid issues (meaning I will enable Zoom when needed but it will not be the norm for the class), but I will not record classes. Instead, I will provide reflection questions on the class. If you miss class, you can get the notes from a classmate and then schedule a meeting with me to ensure you understand the material. And if you are concerned with losing participation credit for the day, you may submit the answers to the reflection questions for grade. The penalty for late work is 5 points a day. The only

excuses accepted are University sanctioned excuses and must be documented. Also, this course will follow all of the guidelines for reasonable accommodations laid out in the University Handbook.

The Challenge of Teaching in a Pandemic: We are starting class online. But I expect we will be back in person within the next couple of weeks (and ideally by week 2). So I want to reiterate the modality of the class instructions. We are meeting in person and you need to come to class when we are back in person. This is essential because I do not intend to lecture throughout the semester. I want an interactive classroom where we have a conversation about the material. I will not post powerpoints (and indeed, I will use Powerpoint sparingly). Instead, I will post reflection questions to guide the material and for you to ensure that you have all the relevant information for exams. I don't want you uncertain as to what is on the exam, but I want to return to my modality of teaching—a conversational style with some short "lectures" in the middle but with plenty of your responses. I know this will be a challenge with masks. But it will be worth it. Come to each class prepared to talk about the material. Make sure you have read the material before class.

But, I realize we are living in a pandemic. I know we will have issues. I will work with you should something come up. One of the reasons I will post questions is that, if you do miss class, you can get your review of the answers to the questions to ensure you understand the material. If issues arise with the pandemic or any other issue, please let me know. It is always confidential. I will make accommodations.

Some key norms and rules for the classroom. Please be aware of these as we progress throughout the semester:

Share responsibility for including all voices in the conversation.

I know this is a large class. But we want to hear from all of you this semester. These issues can often carry a significant resonance with us, since the issues we raise can often be contentious. Let's make sure everyone has a chance to speak. If you find yourself being shut out of conversations, please let me know privately and I will make adjustments.

Listen respectfully.

 A great classroom is a dialogue. It is not simply my thoughts and you trying to recall and reconstruct them for exams. I want to hear from all of you. And I want you to listen to one another. We need to listen respectfully but also actively and critically.

Be open to changing your perspectives based on what you learn from others.

Nothing is more exciting than learning something new. This allows us to evolve our
perspectives and develop as scholars. I have learned something new from students
every semester I've taught. I change material from semester to semester based on what
I have learned. Always be prepared to change your mind.

Understand that we are bound to make mistakes in this space.

I may have been raised Roman Catholic, but I am not infallible. I will make mistakes. You will too. We learn from our mistakes, but we can't be afraid to present our work and our thoughts on an issue because we might make one. When we do, we will respectfully update the information and learn from them.

• Understand that your words have effects on others.

Respect is based on the understanding that words matter. Freedom of speech means
we can express ourselves freely. But it does not mean we don't consider the effects
these words have on others in the classroom. Please keep that in mind as we progress

this semester. Let's have a rich exploration and discussion of ideas while always remembering to respect one another. And if we make a mistake, we will learn from it. Compassion and empathy means always wanting to improve.

Understand that others will come to these discussions with different experiences from yours.

The best thing about a campus like USC is the rich diversity of the student body. We have students from all over the world. And I think I learned as much as an undergraduate from the conversations I had with my classmates than even from class work. Toleration of different experiences is boring. Revel in them! Learn from one another. And be aware of them.

Make an effort to get to know other students.

 I like a class that is loud and boisterous before I come in. During the pandemic, we have all been so isolated from our classmates and friends. So, I will take some time and make connections as much as I can. But absolutely spend some times getting to know each other.

Understand that there are different approaches to solving problems.

We approach issues differently. It is truly exciting to see the different ways we solve problems and wrestle with material. Indeed, one of the most rewarding outcomes of an interdisciplinary approach like this is learning from different approaches from different disciplines. This class has a long history of attracting students from a multitude of majors, and I want to hear from all of you.

Grading Scale

Course final grades will be determined using the following scale

A 93-100

A- 90-92

B+ 87-89

B 83-86

B- 80-82

C+ 77-79

C 73-76

C- 70-72

D+ 67-69

D 63-66

D- 60-62

F 59 and below

Grading and Correction of Grades Excerpts for this section have been taken from the University Grading Handbook, located at http://www.usc.edu/dept/ARR/grades/gradinghandbook/gradingpolicies.html Please see the link for the course before the semester ends. All missing grades must be resolved by the instructor through the Correction of Grade Process. One calendar year is allowed to resolve a MG. If an MG is not resolved [within] one year the grade is changed to [Unofficial Withdrawal] UW and will be calculated into the grade point average a zero grade points. A grade of Incomplete (IN) "is assigned when work is not completed because of documented illness or other 'emergency' occurring after the twelfth week of the semester (or 12th week equivalency for any course scheduled for less than 15

weeks)." for more details on grading concerns. A grade of Missing Grade (MG) "should only be assigned in unique or unusual situations... for those cases in which a student does not complete work

The books for this class are as follows:

Chenoweth. Erica and Maria J. Stephan. Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. Columbia University Press, 2012, ISBN: 9780231156837

Khosrokhavar, Farhad, Inside Jihadism: Understanding Jihadi Movements Worldwide. Paradigm Publishers, 2009, ISBN: 9781594516160

Kurlansky, Mark. Non-Violence: The History of a Dangerous Idea. Modern Library; Reprint edition (April 8, 2008). ISBN: 978-0812974478

Plus readings on Blackboard and audio content from Scholar's Circle (www.scholarscircle.org)

NOTE: Every one of these books is available for online download at the USC Library

January 11: introductions, Hand out Syllabi, Why is War so Popular?

Chris Hedges, "War is a Force that Gives us Meaning"

Chapter 1 "The Myth of War"

Chapter 4 "Seduction of the Battlefield" Blackboard

Part 1: The Philosophical Case for Non-Violence

13: Non-Violence 1

Mark Kurlansky, Non-Violence, Chapters 1-6, pgs 1-85

18: Non-Violence 2

Mark Kurlansky, Non-Violence, Chpaters 7-11, pgs 87-184

20: Responsibility to Protect

Gareth Evans, Responsibility to Protect pgs 1-76 Blackboard

Roland Paris" The 'Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problems of Preventive Hum anitarian Intervention **Blackboard**

Part 2: Economics vs Political Science: The Greed/Grievance Debate in Peace Studies

25: Greed vs Grievance in Civil War (and a simulation on ending a civil war)

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56 (2004), 563–595 **Blackboard**

Michael Ross, "Oil, Drugs, and Diamonds" <u>From Promise to Practice:</u>
<u>Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict.</u> pgs 47-70 **Blackboard**

Andrew Reiter "Who Spoils and Why." <u>Fighting Over Peace</u>. <u>Rethinking Political Violence</u>. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. 2016 pgs 21-50 **Blackboard**

27: Resource-driven conflict: The Civil War in Sri Lanka

Rohan Gunaratna "Sri Lanka: Feeding the Tamil Tigers" Blackboard

Damien Kingsbury, <u>Sri Lanka and the Responsibility to Protect</u>, chapter 3, "The War in Sri Lanka." Pgs 63-81 **Blackboard**

Part 3: Sociology and International Relations: Identity vs Rationality

February

1: Identity Issues and Ethnic Divides: The Moldovan War (and a simulation on ethnicity)

Stuart Kaufman, <u>Modern Hatreds</u> Chapter 2, "The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War" pgs 15-47 **Blackboard**

Stuart Kaufman, <u>Modern Hatreds</u> Chapter 5, "Elite Conspiracy in Moldova's Civil War" pgs 129-163, **Blackboard**

3: War in Nagorno-Karabakh/Artsakh

Stuart Kaufman, <u>Modern Hatreds</u>, Chapter 3 "Karabagh and Fear of Minorities" pgs 49-83 **Blackboard**

Cagla Gul Yesevi and Burcu Yavuz Tiftikcigil, "Turkey-Azerbaijan Energy Relations: A Political and Economic Analysis." **Blackboard**

Two Radio Shows on the War in Nagaro-Karabakh:

https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-causes-and-conflict-resolution-of-the-nagorno-karabakhwar-october-18-2020/

https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-azerbaijan-and-armenia-to-end-the-fighting-us-electoral-college-fault-lines-november-8-2020/ (first half of the show)

Part 4: The Intellectual, Theological and Sociological Dimensions of Jihadism

8: The 60 words: Authorization of the Use of Force Resolution and the US War on Terror

Khosrokhavar, Introduction and Chapter 1, pgs 1-17

Gregory Johnson, "60 Words and a War Without End" Blackboard

RadioLab radio show on the "60 Words"

https://www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/radiolab/episodes/60-words

10: What is Jihadism?

Khosrokhavar, pgs 18-102

15: Jihadism and Islamic Hermeneutics

Khosrokhavar, pgs 152-185, 265-314

Saba Mahmood "Islamic Hermeneutics" Blackboard

17: Islam, Jihadism, and Democracy

Khrosrokhavar, pgs 103-151, 186-264

lan Buruma, <u>Murder in Amsterdam</u>, Chapter 5, "Submission" pgs 141-185 **Blackboard**

Part 5: "Othering" and the Rise of Far Right Populism

22: Historical Memory and "Making the Nation Great Again"

Douglas Becker "Memory and Trauma as Elements of Foreign Policymaking" Chapter 4 in Memory and Trauma in International Relations, pgs 57-73 **Blackboard**

Jelena Subotic, <u>Yellow Star Red Star</u> Chapter 1 "The Politics of Holocaust Remembrance After Communism" pgs 17-44 **Blackboard**

Radio Show and Interview of Jelena Subotic and the politics of memory in Eastern Europe

https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-politics-of-memory-and-alterations-of-history-october-13-2019/

24: The Authoritarian Threat to Democracy

Ben Rhodes, <u>After the Fall: Being American In the World We've Made</u>, chapters 1-6 pgs 3-66 "The Authoritarian Playbook" **Blackboard**

March 1: What is Populism? The rise of the Right in Italy

Gabrielle Lazaridis, <u>The Rise of the Far Right in Europe: Populist Shifts and 'Othering'</u> Chapter 1-2, pgs 1-54 **Blackboard**

3: Populism and Brexit

Gabrielle Lazaridis, <u>The Rise of the Far Right in Europe: Populist Shifts and</u> 'Othering' Chapter 9, pgs 239-272 **Blackboard**

Owen Hatherly, <u>The Ministry of Nostalgia</u>, Introduction and chapter 1_ pgs 1-42 **Blackboard**

8: Populism in South Asia: Indian Nationalism and Kashmir

Rathnam Indurthy, India-Pakistan Wars and the Kashmir Crisis Blackboard

Radio Show on Kashmir:

https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-india-and-pakistan-tensions-over-kashmir-july-22-2019/

- 10: Mid-Term
- 15, 17: Spring Break
- 22: The Ongoing Conflict in Syria

Christopher Phillips <u>The Battle for Syria</u>: <u>International Rvialry in the New Middle East</u>, "Introduction" and "Rebuilding Without Reconciling" pgs 1-9, 278-303 **Blackboard**

Christina Steenkamp, "The Crime-Conflict Nexus And the Civil War in Syria." **Blackboard**

Jeroen Gunning "Terrorism, Charities, and Diasporas" Blackboard

Part 6: New Developments in Warfare

24: The Rise of Children in warfare

P.W. Singer, "Children at War" pgs 3-34, 94-131 Blackboard

29: The Weaponization of Social Media (NOTE: THIS CLASS MAY BE CONDUCTED ON ZOOM AS I AM AT A CONFERENCE)

P.W. Singer, "#LikeWar, 181-257 Blackboard

Part 7: Third Party interventions and Building Peace

31: Yemen and Third Party Intervention (NOTE: THIS CLASS WILL BE CONDUCTED ON ZOOM AS I AM AT A CONFERENCE

Barak Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, "The Huthi Phenomenom", pgs 261-279 **Blackboard**

Marina Eleftheriadou, Non-state armed actors and contested sovereignties in internationalized civil wars: the case of Yemen's civil war (2015-), **International Politics**, 2021, **Blackboard**

Vincenzo Ruggiero, "Yemen: Civil War or Transnational Crime?" Blackboard

April 5: UN Peacekeeping

Alan Doss, In the Footsteps of Dr Bunche: The Congo, UN Peacekeeping and the Use of Force, Journal of Strategic Studies, 37:5, 703-735, **Blackboard**

Danesh Sarooshi, "The United Nations Collective Security System and the Establishment of Peace." *Current Legal Problems*, Volume 53, Issue 1, 2000, Pages 621–645, **Blackboard**

Jacob Kathman and Michelle Benson. "Cut Short? United Nations Peacekeeping and Civil War Duration to Negotiated Settlements Journal of Conflict Resolution 2019, Vol. 63(7) 1601-1629 **Blackboard**

7: Could the UN succeed in Western Sahara?

Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy "The War for Western Sahara" Blackboard

Stephen Zunes, "The East Timor Model Offers a Way Out for Morocco and Western Sahara" **Blackboard**

Randi Irwin, Contested Language in the Making and Unmaking of Western Sahara's Extractive Economy." **Blackboard**

Radio Show on the Conflict in Western Sahara

https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-western-sahara-conflict-towards-peaceful-resolution-december-20-2020/

Part 8: Post-Conflict Rebuilding and Reconciliation

12: Economic Priorities and Peacebuilding

Susan Woodward, "Economic priorities for successful peace implementation" Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements **Blackboard**

Craig Zelizer, "The Business of Peacebuilding." <u>Integrated Peacebuilding:</u> <u>Innovative Approaches to Transforming Conflict</u>. Pgs 31-54 **Blackboard**

Graciana del Castillo. "Basic Premises for Policymaking." <u>Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenhe of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction</u>. **Blackboard**

14: Resolving the Crimes of the Past (and a simulation on truth commissions)

Anita Ferrera, "Assessing the Long-Term Impact and Legacy of Truth Commissions" The Global Impact and Legacy of Truth Commissions. Pgs 75-97 Blackboard

Gabriela Gricius, "Transitional Justice: Lustration and Vetting in Ukraine and Georgia." <u>Journal of Liberty and International Affairs</u> Vol. 5, No. 2, 2019, pgs 26-42 **Blackboard**

Andrew Rigby, "Spain: Amnesty and Amnesia." <u>Justice and Reconciliation After</u> the Violence. Pgs 39-61 **Blackboard**

Part 9: The Success of Non-Violent Movements

19: Why Civil Resistance Works

Chenoweth and Stephan, pgs 1-84

Radio Show, China and Hong Kong

https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-hong-kong-protest-explained-september-1-2019/

Research Papers Due

21: The Iranian Revolution

Chenoweth and Stephan, pgs 92-119

26: The First Palestinian Intifada

Chenoweth and Stephen, pgs 120-146

28: The Philippines

Chenoweth and Stephan, pgs 147-231

May 3: Optional Study Session in same classroom or Zoom

Final Exam: Wednesday May 11, 2-4 pm

Support Systems Student Counseling Services (SCS) - (213) 740-7711 – 24/7 on call Free and confidential mental health treatment for students, including short-term psychotherapy, group counseling, stress fitness workshops, and crisis intervention. https://engemannshc.usc.edu/counseling/ National Suicide Prevention Lifeline - 1-800-273-8255 Provides free and confidential emotional support to people in suicidal crisis or emotional distress 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org

Relationship & Sexual Violence Prevention Services (RSVP) - (213) 740-4900 - 24/7 on call Free and confidential therapy services, workshops, and training for situations related to gender-based harm.

https://engemannshc.usc.edu/rsvp/ Sexual Assault Resource Center

For more information about how to get help or help a survivor, rights, reporting options, and additional resources, visit the website: http://sarc.usc.edu/

Office of Equity and Diversity (OED)/Title IX compliance – (213) 740-5086

Works with faculty, staff, visitors, applicants, and students around issues of protected class. https://equity.usc.edu/

Bias Assessment Response and Support Incidents of bias, hate crimes and microaggressions need to be reported allowing for appropriate investigation and response. https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/bias-assessment-response-support/

Student Support & Advocacy – (213) 821-4710 Assists students and families in resolving complex issues adversely affecting their success as a student EX: personal, financial, and academic. https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/ssa/

Diversity at USC – https://diversity.usc.edu/ Tabs for Events, Programs and Training, Task Force (including representatives for each school), Chronology, Participate, Resources for Students

USC Department of Public Safety – UPC: (213) 740-4321 24-hour emergency or to report a crime. Provides overall safety to USC community. dps.usc.edu

Academic Conduct USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. Students are expected to submit original work. They have an obligation both to protect their own work from misuse and to avoid using another's work as their own. All students are expected to understand and abide by the principles of academic honesty outlined in the University Student Conduct Code (see University Governance, Section 11.00) of SCampus (www.usc.edu/scampus or http://scampus.usc.edu). The recommended sanctions for academic integrity violations can be found in Appendix A of the Student Conduct Code.

Emergency preparedness/course continuity If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, USC Emergency Information http://emergency.usc.edu will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of Blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.

Students with Disabilities USC is committed to making reasonable accommodations to assist individuals with disabilities in reaching their academic potential. If you have a disability which may impact your performance, attendance, or grades in this course and require accommodations, you must first register with the Office of Disability Services and Programs (www.usc.edu/disability). DSP provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in GFS (Grace Ford Salvatori Hall) 120 and is open 8:30 a.m.—5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776. Email: ability@usc.edu