

IR 310—Peace and Conflict Studies

Tuesday/Thursday, 5:00-6:20 pm

DMC 150

Douglas Becker

Office: DMC 231C

Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday, 6:30-8:00 or by appointment

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This course serves as the broad examination in 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, engineering and technology, history, and psychology. But at its root this course is an international relations course. In short, we will use 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) Analyze the role of rationality, emotional politics, identity, and historical memory in driving conflicts. Introduce the ideas of ontological security and mnemonic conflicts to broaden our understanding of security.
- 2) Explore the relationship between economics and war. Introduce the concept of the greed/grievance debate and consider the implications of the debate.
- 3) Further explore the role of international intervention play in the outbreak and expansion of wars. Contrast the norms of responsibility to protect and sovereignty and consider which is the most effective way to build peace.
- 4) Define peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. And present the challenges of both international and domestic actors strengthen the capacity and the impact of international peacekeeping and peacebuilding campaigns.
- 5) Examine the relationship between conflict and war? What is the difference between conflict management, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution?
- 6) Consider the Global War on Terror and how it frames wars religious or civilizational conflict. Explore the transnational threats that international actors face? In particular we will consider the definitions of jihadism and the actors and explore with some detail as to the religious, ideological, and practical motivations for these militarized actors. We will consider its impact on “globalized” violent trends that can transforming the nature and the impact of wars.
- 7) Locate the rise of ethno-nationalism, populism, fascism, and other right-wing political movements threatened peace and democratization throughout the world. Examine its motivations and the reactionary and reactive elements of the movements. And understand the variables of race, class, gender, and “othering” as a cause of conflict in the world.
- 8) Consider the role of environmental degradation and in particular climate change in creating conditions for conflict. Further consider how these issues have contributed to immigration and population movements which also are associated with conflict?

- 9) Locate non-self governing territories and explore how the history and potential continuation of colonialism have led to a democracy deficiency and the potential for conflict.
- 10) And contrast violent and non-violent campaigns and rates of success for change. In particular examine the rates of success of these non-violent campaigns and explore why they are more successful than violent movements.

We will begin with an examination of different variables of conflict, ranging from ideologies to economic motivation, and contrasting rational choice and emotional motivations for conflict. We will explore the relationship between domestic and international actors both in driving conflict and potentially in providing resources for peace. 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. What is the continued practice of colonialism or quasi-colonialism in what the UN calls "non self-governing territories." This will bring us to the midterm. In the second half of the class, we move to some new areas of conflict, including the impact of environmental degradation and the role of online conflicts spilling over into physical conflict. Then we explore peacekeeping and its potential in specific conflict. These include 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 roughly 5000 word (that's 10 pages single spaced or 20 pages double spaced) 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.** They both will have a recall, objective component and a critical analytic 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. I will make accommodations for students battling Covid issues by providing information in office hours (which can be arranged by Zoom if needed). 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.

We are meeting in person and you need to come to class. 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 my modality of teaching is a conversational style with some short "lectures" in the middle but with plenty of your responses. Come to each class prepared to talk about the material. Make sure you have read the material before class. But, I realize we are still 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 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 each other.**
 - I like a class that is loud and boisterous before I come in. During the pandemic, we were all so isolated from our classmates and friends. 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 (and ALL are available online through the library if you are ok reading on screen and would like to save some money(:

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

Singer, PW and Emerson T Brooking LikeWar: The Weaponization of Social Media. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018, ISBN: 9780358108474

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

January 9: introductions, Hand out Syllabi, Why is War so Popular?

Part 1: International Actors and Domestic Peace?

11: Democratic Backsliding: Kant's Greatest Fear

Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman, "Chapter 2: Social and Political Origins of Backsliding: The Role of Polarization" in Democratic Regress in a Contemporary World Cambridge University Press 2021 **Blackboard**

Ulrich Sedelmeier. "Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession" Journal of Common Market Studies. 2014 **Blackboard**

Valeriya Mechova, Anna Lührmann, and Staffan I. Lindberg "How Much Democratic Backsliding?" Journal of Democracy 2017 **Blackboard**

Licia Cianetti, James Dawson & Seán Hanley (2018) Rethinking "democratic backsliding" in Central and Eastern Europe – looking beyond Hungary and Poland, East European Politics, 34:3, 243-256 **Blackboard**

16: Responsibility to Protect

Gareth Evans, Responsibility to Protect pgs 1-76 **Blackboard**

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

18: Haiti

Rocio Cara Labrador and Diana Roy. "Haiti's Troubled Path to Development." Council on Foreign Relations, 2022, **Blackboard**

Erica Caple James. "Introduction." In Democratic Insecurities: Violence, Trauma and Intervention in Haiti. University of California Press, 2010, **Blackboard**

Mark Schuller, "Conclusion: Killing with Kindness?" in Killing with Kindness: Haiti, International Aid, and NGOs. Rutgers University Press, 2012 **Blackboard**

Scholars Circle Podcast, September 5, 2021

www.scholarscircle.org

[Scholars' Circle – How Haiti became an impoverished nation due to External and Internal Forces – September 5, 2021 – The Scholars' Circle \(scholarscircle.org\)](#)

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

23: 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" From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict. pgs 47-70 **Blackboard**

25: Historical Memory and Mnemonic Conflict

Maria Malksoo "Memory Must Be Defended: Beyond the Politics of Mnemonic Security" Security Dialogue, 2015 **Blackboard**

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

Douglas Becker "The Rationality and Emotion of Russian Historical Memory: The Case of Crimea" in Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics: Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective, Routledge 2018 **Blackboard**

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

Scholars Circle Podcast, May 23, 2021

www.scholarscircle.org Scholars' Circle – influence of Memory in politics during war and post war – May 23, 2021 – The Scholars' Circle (scholarscircle.org)

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

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

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

February 1: War in Nagorno-Karabakh/Artsakh

Stuart Kaufman, Modern Hatreds, 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**

Scholars Circle Podcast

www.scholarscircle.org

October 18, 2020

<https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-causes-and-conflict-resolution-of-the-nagorno-karabakh-war-october-18-2020/>

November 8, 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)

October 1, 2023

[Scholars' Circle – Ethnic cleansing of Artsakh – October 1, 2023 – The Scholars' Circle \(scholarscircle.org\)](https://scholarscircle.org/scholars-circle-ethnic-cleansing-of-artsakh-october-1-2023-the-scholars-circle)

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

- 6: 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**

Curtis A Bradley and Jack L Goldsmith. “Obama’s AUMF Legacy” American Journal of International Law (2016) **Blackboard**

RadioLab radio show on the “60 Words”

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

- 8: Israel/Palestine

Anne Perez, The Foundations of Zionism pgs 11-31 **Blackboard**

Rashid Khalidi, The Hundred Years War on Palestine. Pgs 17-54 **Blackboard**

Chenoweth and Stephan, Chapter 5 (First Palestinian Intifada) pgs 118-147

- 13: What is Jihadism?

Khosrokhavar, pgs 18-102

- 15: Jihadism and Islamic Hermeneutics

Khosrokhavar, pgs 152-185, 265-314

Saba Mahmood “Islamic Hermeneutics” **Blackboard**

- 20: Islam, Jihadism, and Democracy

Khosrokhavar, pgs 103-151, 186-264

Ian Buruma, Murder in Amsterdam, Chapter 5, “Submission” pgs 141-185 **Blackboard**

22: Who is HAMAS?

Matthew Levitt, HAMAS: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the service of Jihad. Chapters 1, 3, 9, pgs 8-32; 52-79; 229-249 **Blackboard**

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

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

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

Juan Francisco Fuentes. "Populism: Timeline of a Concept." **Blackboard**

29: Populism and Brexit

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

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

March

5: Populism in South Asia: Indian Nationalism and Kashmir

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

Sumit Ganguly et al "India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir dispute: unpacking the dynamics of a South Asian frozen conflict"

Scholars Circle Podcast July 22, 2019

www.scholarscircle.org

[Scholars' Circle – India and Pakistan tensions over Kashmir – July 23, 2019 – The Scholars' Circle \(scholarscircle.org\)](#)

7: Mid Term

12, 14: Spring Break

19: Non Self-Governing Territories: Puerto Rico Statehood and the Insular Cases

Daniel Immerwahr. "The Greater United States: Territory and Empire in US History." **Blackboard**

Amilcar Antonio Barreto "American Identity, Congress, and the Puerto Rico Statehood Debate." Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism. **Blackboard**

Jorge M. Farinacci Fernos. "The New Insular Cases and the Territorial Clause: From Temporary Incorporation to Permanent Un-Incorporation." **Blackboard**

21: The Rise of Children in warfare

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

26: Climate Change and Conflict

Beza Tesfaye. "Climate Change and Conflict in the Sahel." **Blackboard**

Joshua Busby, States and Nature, 2022, Chapters 2 and 7 **Blackboard**

28: Yemen

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

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

Helen Lackner. "Global Warming, The Environmental Crisis and Social Justice in Yemen." *Asian Affairs*, 2020 **Blackboard**

Part 6: Cyber Warfare

April

2: The Weaponization of Social Media

Singer and Brooking, #LikeWar Chapters 1-3, pgs 1-82

4: Misinformation, Disinformation, Conflict, and the Internet

Singer and Brooking, #LikeWar Chapters 4-6, pgs 83-180

9: Governing the Internet?

Singer and Brooking, #LikeWar, Chapters 7-9, pgs 181-273

Part 7: Building Peace Through Institutions?

11: 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**

16: 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." Journal of Liberty and International Affairs Vol. 5, No. 2, 2019, pgs 26-42 **Blackboard**

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

Part 9: The Success of Non-Violent Movements

18: Why Civil Resistance Works
Chenoweth and Stephan, pgs 1-84

Research Papers Due

23: The Iranian Revolution
Chenoweth and Stephan, pgs 92-119, 199-231

25: The Philippines
Chenoweth and Stephan, pgs 147-198

April 39: Optional Review Session in same classroom

Final Exam: Thursday, May 2, 4:30-6:30

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