

Political Science 139-2: Third Parties in International Conflicts

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Course Overview

What motivates third parties to intervene in international conflicts? Why do some of them use the carrot-and-stick approach in negotiating settlements, while others choose only to help the disputed sides communicate effectively? Under which conditions can third parties succeed in efforts to end war? Research indicates that most third-party attempts at stopping violent conflict fail. Yet, successful conflict resolution can save countless lives and prevent much suffering. Therefore, it is worthwhile to look for ways in which intermediaries can help disputed parties reach peaceful settlements, or sometimes even prevent deadly conflict from occurring in the first place.

This course surveys major topics in the study of international conflict management, including mediation, military and economic coercion, military intervention, peacekeeping, and inaction.

Main goals:

1. To emphasize the diverse nature of international disputes and the variety of techniques third parties use in managing such conflicts;
2. To assess the motives and goals of third parties in conflict management;
3. To develop a framework through which students can learn to identify why some interventions succeed and others fail.

Course Requirements and Method of Evaluation

Grades will be based on an in-class examination (40 %), a 12-15 page research paper (50 %), and participation in class discussions (10 %). It is crucial that students keep up with the weekly reading assignments, which are the basis for class discussion and average 100-150 pages per week. To complete the research paper requirement, students will select an international dispute in which third parties were present and critically assess, in the context of the theories learned in class, why the attempted intervention succeeded or failed. I will provide a list of crises from which students may choose, but the following online resources provide a good starting point for crisis research:

1. www.crisisgroup.org
2. www.cidcm.umd.edu
3. <http://web.mit.edu/cascon/caselist.html>

Readings

The following book is available for purchase at the UCLA bookstore:

- Power, Samantha. 2007. *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Harper Perennial Press.

Excerpts from the following books, as well as other readings, are accessible through the course website at <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/09W/polisci139-2/>:

- Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. 2001. *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Princen, Thomas. 1992. *Intermediaries in International Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schedule of Classes and Readings

Introduction

- Course Overview and Expectations (Jan. 5)
- Intervention as a Conflict Management Tool (Jan. 7, 9)
 - Princen, pp. 3-17.
 - Krasner, Stephen D. and Carlos Pascual. Addressing State Failure. In *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005.
 - Luttwak, Edward N. 1999. Give War a Chance. *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1999.
 - Power, pp. 1-45.

Types of Third-Party Intervention

- Mediation (Jan. 12)
 - Touval, Saadia and William Zartman. 2001. International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era. In Crocker, Hampson and Aall, pp. 427-445.
- Military and Economic Coercion (Jan 14)
 - Pape, Robert. 1996. *Bombing to Win*. Cornell University Press. Ithaca: NY, pp. 12-54.
 - Pape, Robert. 1997. Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work. *International Security*, 22(2), pp. 90-136.
- Military Intervention and Peacekeeping (Jan 16)
 - Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2), pp. 269-292.

NOTE: No class on Jan. 19 (Martin Luther King, Jr, holiday)

Types of Intermediaries and Motives for Intervention

- States (Jan. 21)
 - Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. 2004. *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*. Washington, DC: USIP Press, pp. 21-43.
 - Power, ch. 8
- Organizations (Jan. 23)
 - Doyle, Michael W. 2001. War Making and Peace Making: The United Nations' Post-Cold War Record. In Crocker, Hampson and Aall, pp. 529-561.
 - Peck, Connie. 2001. The Role of Regional Organizations in Preventing and Resolving Conflict. In Crocker, Hampson and Aall, pp. 561-585.
 - Daalder, Ivo and James Goldgeier. 2006. Global NATO. *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2006
- Individuals (Jan. 26)
 - Princen, pp. 133-185.
 - Brinkley, Douglas. Jimmy Carter's Modest Quest for Global Peace: The Missionary Man. *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1995.

Conflict Characteristics and the Probability of Intervention

- The Inefficiency of War (Jan. 28)
 - Fearon, James. 1995. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization* 49(3), pp. 379-414.
 - Power, chs. 4 and 5
- Combatants' Desire for Third-Party Intervention (Jan. 30)
 - Princen, pp. 60-66.
 - Bercovitch, Jacob and Richard Jackson. Negotiation or Mediation? An Exploration of Factors Affecting the Choice of Conflict Management in International Conflict. *Negotiation Journal* 17(1), pp. 59-77.
- Intervention and Conflict Type (Feb. 2)
 - Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 3-17.
 - Brown, Michael E. 2001. Ethnic and Internal Conflicts: Causes and Implications. In Crocker, Hampson and Aall, pp. 209-226.

Probability of Intervention: The Case of Africa

- Somalia (Feb. 4)
 - Woods, James L. U.S. Government Decisionmaking Processes during Humanitarian Operations in Somalia. In Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. 1997. *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 151-172.
 - Harry Johnston and Ted Dagne. Congress and the Somali Crisis. In Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. 1997. *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 191-204.
- Rwanda (Feb. 6)
 - Power, Samantha. 2001. Bystanders to Genocide. *Atlantic Monthly* 288(2), pp. 84-108.
- Sudan (Feb. 9)
 - Prendergast, John. So How Come We Haven't Stopped It? *The Washington Post*, Nov. 19, 2006.
 - Mozersky, David. *Planning for Peace in Darfur*. Speech to International Crisis Group/Save Darfur Coalition/European Policy Centre Conference, Brussels, Jan. 22, 2007.
 - Evans, Gareth. *Darfur: What Next? Keynote Address to International Crisis Group/Save Darfur Coalition/European Policy Centre Conference*, Brussels, Jan. 22, 2007.

What Determines the Outcomes of Third-Party Intervention?

- Defining Success and Failure (Feb. 11)
 - Kleiboer, Marieke. 1996. Understanding the Success and Failure of International Mediation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(2), pp. 360-389.
- Characteristics of the Third Party and Its Intervention Strategy (Feb. 13)
 - Carnevale, Peter J. 2002. Mediating From Strength. In Jacob Bercovitch, ed. *Studies in International Mediation: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Z. Rubin*. New York, NY: Palgrave-MacMillan Press, pp. 25-40.

NOTE: No class on Monday, Feb. 16 (Presidents' Day holiday)

In-class midterm on Wednesday, Feb. 18 and on Friday, Feb. 20

- Characteristics of the Third Party and Its Intervention Strategy, Cont. (Feb. 23, 25)
 - Beardsley, Kyle C., David M. Quinn, Bidisha Biswas and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. 2006. Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (1), pp. 58-86.
 - Betts, Richard K. 2001. The Delusion of Impartial Intervention. In Crocker, Hampson and Aall, pp. 285-295.
 - Smith, James D. D. 1994. Mediator Impartiality: Banishing the Chimera. *Journal of Peace Research*, 31(4), pp. 445-450.

- Kydd, Andrew. 2003. Which Side Are You On? Bias, Credibility, and Mediation. *American Journal of Political Science*. 47(4).
- Kydd, Andrew. 2006. The Ball is in Your Court: Mediation and Blamecasting. Manuscript, March 18, 2006.
- Walter, Barbara F. 1999. Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace. *International Security* 24(1), pp. 127-155.
- Characteristics of the Dispute and the Warring Parties (Feb. 27, March 2)
 - Greig, J. Michael. 2001. Moments of Opportunity: Recognizing Conditions of Ripeness for International Mediation Between Enduring Rivals. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(6), pp. 691-718.
 - Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes. *International Security* 22(2), pp. 5-53.
 - Richmond, Oliver. 1998. Devious Objectives and the Disputants' View of International Mediation: A Theoretical Framework. *Journal of Peace Research* 35(6), pp. 707-722.

Coercion and Mediation in the Balkans

- Bosnia and the Road to Dayton (March 4, 6, 9)
 - Foyle, Douglas C. 2002. Public Opinion and Bosnia: Anticipating Disaster. In Ralph C. Carter, *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, pp. 31-58.
 - Holbrooke, Richard. 1998. *To End a War*. New York. NY: Random House, pp. 231-312.
 - Power, chs. 9 and 11

Coercion and Military Intervention in the Balkans

- Rambouillet Accords and the Bombing of Yugoslavia (March 11, 13)
 - Moskowitz, Eric and Jeffrey Lantis. 2002. The War in Kosovo: Coercive Diplomacy. In Ralph C. Carter, *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, pp. 59-87.
 - Power, chs. 12 and 13–14
 - Kupchan, Charles A. 2005. Independence for Kosovo. *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2005.

Research paper due on Friday, March 20