

# GLOBAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Prof. Stephen Zunes  
University of San Francisco  
Fall 1995

## Course Description

This course examines the roots of some of the major current and recent conflicts in the world and the efforts to have them resolved by such actors as the United Nations and other inter-governmental organizations, individual governments, and non-governmental organizations. In addition, we will analyze differing approaches to conflict resolution in the post-Cold War world in light of the heightened urgency for workable means of conflict resolution

This course does demand a lot of reading, though most of it is not particularly difficult. It will also be possible to write the final term paper without doing any additional outside reading

Regular attendance is expected and active participation in class discussions is strongly encouraged. Please check in with the instructor regarding any absences or any problems you may have in fully participating in class. Similarly, those of you for whom meeting any of the class requirements may be particularly challenging due to disabilities, Lack of fluency in English, employment obligations or other reasons are encouraged to discuss these issues with the instructor early in the semester

There will be a mid-term exam in class on Monday, October 23. There will be a final research paper of approximately 10 pages due in class on December 6. The assigned paper -- which will be broad enough to allow for a wide variety of topics and approaches -- will be passed out on November 13. Those who wish to hand in a draft of the paper for comments and suggestions must do so by November 27; this will not affect your grade. The final exam will be at 12:00 noon on December 13. There will also be periodic in-class quizzes based on recent readings

Each student is encouraged to meet with the instructor one-on-one at least twice during the semester to discuss progress in the class or any other concerns.

A set of photocopied readings is available for sale through the instructor. In addition, the following books, periodicals and pamphlets are available for purchase at the campus bookstore:

Gareth Evans, *Cooperation for Peace*, Concord MA: Paul & Company, 1994  
Roger Fisher, *Beyond Machiavelli*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994  
Mohamed Rabie, *Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994  
Hugh Miall, *The Peacemakers: Peaceful Settlements of Disputes since 1945*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992  
Johan Kaufmann, "The Evolving United Nations: Principles and Realities," ACUNS Reports and Papers, No. 14, 1994  
Pamos Institute, "Conflict and Development" *The New Internationalist*, December 1994 #262 *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #4, (1993)

## Course Description

### Part I: Theoretical Overview

**Aug. 25** Introduction

**Aug. 28** Peace and Conflict-- an Overview

Miall, ch. 1-3

Rabie, ch. 1

**Aug. 30** The Theory of Conflict Resolution

Miall, ch. 4

Joseph A Scimecca, "What is Conflict Resolution'?" from *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #4, (1993)

Louis Kriesberg, "Conflict Resolution Application to Peace Studies," *Peace and Change*, Vol. XVI, #4, October 1991 [reader]

K.J Holsti, "Paths to Peace? Theories of Conflict Resolution and Realities of International Politics, from Ramesh Thakur, ed *International Conflict Resolution* [reader]

**Sept. 1** The Roots and Functions of Conflict

Rabie, ch. 2

Anthony de Reuck, "The Logic of Conflict: Its Origin, Development and Resolution," from Michael Banks, ed *Conflict in World Society: A New Perspective on International Relations* [reader]

Joseph J. Fahey, "Conflict Creation," from *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #4, (1993)

**Sept. 6** Conflict Resolution--Applications, Part I

Alan C Tidwell & Andrew Hays, "The Ashes of Conflict Resolution," from *Peace Review*, Vol V, #4, (1993)

Dean G. Pruitt and William Rick Fry, "Conflict Escalation and Problem Solving," from Linda

Rennie Forcey, *Peace: Meanings, Politics, Strategies*[reader]

Louis Kriesberg, "Interpersonal Factors, Structural Factors, and Conflict Resolution Strategies," from Linda Rennie Forcey, *Peace: Meanings, Poli-ics, S~ra~egics* [reader]

**Sept. 8** Conflict Resolution—Applications Part II

Karoly Toth, "Role of the Church in Conflict Resolution," from Ramesh Thakur, ed *International Conflict Resolution* [reader]

Louis Kriesberg, "Dilemmas in Nonviolent Settling International Conflicts," from *Armed Forces After The Cold War* [reader]

Louis Kriesberg, "Intractable Conflicts," from *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #4, (1993)

John Bulton, "A Regional Strategy: From Strategic Deterrence to Problem Solving," from Salla, Tonetto, & Martinez, *Essays on Peace* [reader]

**Sept. 11** Conflict Resolution--Applications Part III

(quiz) Miall, ch. S

Rabie, ch. 3

**Part II: Issues and Institutions**

**Sept. 13** Patriarchy & Feminism

George Lakey & Bruce Kokopeli, "More Power than We Want: Patriarchy and Violence," from Pam McAllister, *Reweaving The Web of Life* [reader]

Myriam Miedzian, "Real Men, Wimps, and National Security," from Elias & Turpin, *Rethinking Peace* [reader]

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," from Linda Rennie Forcey, *Peace: Meanings, Politics, Strategies* [reader]

Simona Sharoni, "Gender Issues In Democracy: Rethinking Middle East Peace and Security from a Feminist Perspective," in Elise Boulding, ed. *Peace Building in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Societies* [on reserve]

Linda Remlie Forcey, "Women as Peacemakers: Contested Terrain for Feminist Peace Studies," *Peace and Change*, Vol. XVI, #4, October 1991 [reader]

**Sept. 18** Coping With Conflict

Roger Fisher, Elizabeth Kopelman, & Andrea Kupfer Schneider, *Beyond Machiavelli*, ch 14

**Sept. 20** The Peace Process, Dialogue and Negotiations

Rabie, ch. 4-6, 10

**Sept. 22** Mediation

(quiz) Alain Brouillet, "Mediation as a Technique of Dispute Settlement: Appraisal and Prospects," from Ramesh Thakur, ed *International Conflict Resolution* [reader]

Thomac Princen, Ch [8,] 10. in *Intermediaries in International Conflict* [reader]

Fisher et al, ch. 5-6, Conclusion

Rabie, ch 7

**Sept. 25** The United Nations

Patricia M. Mische & Rosamand Rodman, T11e *United Nations in an Interdependent World: Past, Present, Future*, Appendix 1, pp. 51-62 [reader]

Evans, ch. 1-6

Johan Kaufman, "The Evolving United Nations: Principles and Realities"

Raimo Vayrynell. "The United Nations and the Resolution of International Conflicts," from Falk. Kim, and Mendlovitz, eds *The United Nations and a Just World Order* [reader]

**Sept. 27** United Nations--New Challenges

*New Internationalist*, December 1994, pp. 4-8, 12-13, 18-19, 26

Erskine Childers, "Midlife Crisis: The UN at 50," *World Press Review*, June 1995 [reader]

Kevin Danaher, "Can We Democratize the United Nations?" [reader]

Phyllis Bennis, "Command and Control: Politics and Power in the Post-Cold War United Nations," from Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in The New World Order*, pg. 38-48 [on reserve]

Noam Chomsky, "The Use and Abuse of the United Nations," from Micah Sifry & Christopher Cerf, *The Gulf War Reader* [reader]

**Sept. 29** Sanctions

Evans, ch. 7

Kimberly Elliot, Gary Huibauer, Jeffrey Schott, "Sanctions Work: The Historical Record," from Micah Sifry & Christopher Cerf, *The Gulf War Reader* [reader]

Jack Patterson, "The Sanctions Dilemma," *Middle East Report*, March-June 1994 [reader]

Selma al-Radi, "Iraqi Sanctions--A Postwar Crime," *The Nation*, March 27, 1995 [reader]

Sarah Graham-Brown, "Intervention, Sovereignty and Responsibility," *Middle East Report*, #193 March-April 1995

**Oct 2** International Peacekeeping

Evans, ch 8- 10

Gregor Tome, "Our Men (and Women) from UNCLE," *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #4, (1993)

Alan James, "Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War Era," *International Journal*, Vol. L, #2; Spring 1995 [reader]

Joel J. Sokolsky, "Great Ideals and Uneasy Compromises: the United States Approach to Peacekeeping," *International Journal*, Vol. L, #2; Spring 1995 [reader]

David Rieff, "The Illusions of Peacekeeping," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XI, #3, Fall 1994 [reader]

**Oct. 4** Humanitarian Interventionism

Richard Falk, "Hard Choices and Tragic Dilemmas," *The Nation*, Dec 20, 1993 [reader]

Michael Randle, "Military Intervention: Should Progressives Rush In?" *Nonviolent Activism*, Sept /Oct. 1994 [reader]

Alex de Waal & Rakiya Omaar, "Can Military Intervention Be Humanitarian'?" *Middle East Report*, March-July 1994 [reader]

Thomas G Weiss, "Triage: Humanitarian Interventions in a New Era," *World Policy Journal*, Vol XI; #1

(Spring 1994) [reader]

Kai Bird, "The Case for a U N Army," *The Nation*, August 8/15, 1994 [reader]

### **Oct 6 U.S Unilateralism**

(quiz)

Samuel Huntington, "Why International Primacy Matters," *International Security*, Spring 1993 [on reserve]

Daniel Hellinger, "Empire Strikes Back," *In These Times*, July 26, 1993 [reader]

Noam Chomsky, "Introduction: World Orders, Old and New," in Phyllis Bennis & Michel Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in The New World Order* [on reserve]

### **Oct 9 Nonviolent Intervention**

David McReynolds, "Pacifism in Time of War" [reader]

George Lakey, "How to Develop Peace Teams--The Lightbulb Theory" [reader]

Michael Nagler, "Peacemaking Through Nonviolence" [reader]

Piet Dijkstra "Nonviolence in Practice," *Gandhi Marj*, Vol XIV, #1, April June 1992 [reader]

Vincent Kavaloski, "Transnational Citizen Peacemaking as Nonviolent Action." *Peace & Change*, Vol. XV, #2 April 1990 [reader]

### **Oct. 11 Nonviolent Revolution**

Stephen Zunes, "Unarmed Insurrections Against Authoritarian Government in the Third World: A New Kind of Revolution." *Third World Quarterly*, Fall 1994 [reader]

Ralph Sumuny, "Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent," from Salla, Tonetto, & Martinez, *Essays on Peace* [reader]

### **Oct. 13 Arms control**

Michael Klare, "The New Challenges to Global Security," *Current History*, April 1993 [reader] Jack

Mendelssohn, "Dismantling the Arsenals: Arms Control and the New World Agenda," *The Brookings Review*, Spring 1992 [reader]

Michael Klare, "Armed and Dangerous," *In These Times*, June 13, 1994 [reader]

### **Oct. 16 Ethnic Conflict--Part I**

Louis Kriesberg, "Ethnicity, Nationalism and Violent Conflict in the 1990s," *Peace Studies Bulletin*, Winter 1992-93, Vol. II, #1-2 [reader]

Mary Kaldor, "The New Nationalism in Europe," from *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #2, (1993) [reader]

Larry L. Watts, "Ethnic Tensions: How the West Can Help," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XII, #1 (Spring 1995) [reader]

Elise Boulding, "Ethnicity and New Constitutive Orders," and Jack D. Forbes, "Cross-Boundary Sub-States," in Jeremy Brecher, John Brown Childs, and Jill Cutler, *Global Visions: Beyond The New World Order*, pp. 213-238 [on reserve]

### **Oct. 18 Ethnic Conflict--Part II**

Rabie, ch 8-9

Miall, ch 9-10

### **Oct. 20 Settlement of Conflict**

(quiz) Miall, ch 6, [7], 12 (I~P 164-169), [Part V ], ch. 13

### **Oct. 23 MIDTERM EXAM**

## **Part III: Case Studies**

### **Oct. 25 Africa**

Ali A Mazrui, "The Blood of Experience: The Failed State and Political Collapse in Africa," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XII, # 1 (Spring 1994) [reader]

Siba N'ZatiouLI Grovogui, "Glasnost: The New World Order and Post-colonialism in Africa," and Francis M. Deng, "Africa and the New World Dis-Order," from Brecher, Childs, & Cutler, *Global Visions*, pp 87-112 [on reserve]

George Klay Kieh, "Resolving African Conflicts," from *Peace Review*, Vol. V, #4, (1993)

Shawn H McConnick, "The Lessons of Intervention in Africa," *Current History*, April 1995 [reader]

#### **Oct 27** Somalia

Patrick Gilkes, "From Peace-Keeping to Peace Enforcement: The Somalia Precedent," *Middle East Report*, Nov -Dec 199~ [reader]

Jeffrey A Lefebvre, "Intervention in Somalia: A Hidden Agenda?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. II, #1 (1993)

Mitchell Cohen, "Somalia: The Cynical Manipulation of Hunger," *Z*, Nov. 1993 [reader]

Ken Menkhau~, "Getting Out vs. Getting Through in Somalia," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III, #1 1994 [reader]

Mohamed Sahnoun, "Flashlight Over Mogadishu," *New Internationalist*, December 1994

Matthew Bryden, "Somalia: The Wages of Failure," *Current History*, April 1995 [reader]

Caleb Carr, "The Consequences of Somalia," *World Policy Journal*. Vol. X, #3, Fall 1993 [reader]

Carl M. Peterson & Daniel T Barkley, "Saving Somalia," *In These Times*, April 4, 1994 [reader]

#### **Oct. 30** Rwanda

Frank Smyth, "Blood Money and Geopolitics," *The Nation*, May 2, 1994 [reader]

Alex de Waal & Rakiya Omaar, "The Genocide in Rwanda and the International Response," *Current History* April 1995 [reader]

Linsey Hilsum, "What on Earth were they Doing'?" *New Internationalist*, Dec 1994, pp. 14-16

#### **Nov. 1** Mozambique

Robert B Lloyd, "Mozambique: The Terror of Wau, the Tensions of Peace," *Current History*, April 1995 [reader]

Jim Wurst, "Mozambique: Peace and More," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XI, #3, Fall 1994 [reader]

#### **Nov. 3** Angola

George Wright, "The U.S and Angola," *Z*, May 1992 [reader]

Victoria Brittain, "Savimbi, Bloody Savimbi," *The Nation*, July 11, 1994 [reader]

#### **Nov. 6** Western Sahara

Yahia Zoubir and Daniel Volman, International Dimension. of *the Western Sahara Conflict*, ch. 1, [reader]

Stephen Zunes, *Western Sahara: Nationalism and Conflict in Northwest Africa*, ch. 7 [on reserve]

#### **Nov 8** Middle East--General

Yasumasa Kuroda, "A Structural Analysis of Instability and Conflict in the Gulf," from Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in the New World order* [reader]

Nahla Abdo, "New World Order: Old Arab World Problems," from Brecher, Childs, & Cutler, *Global Visions*, pp-. 67-86 [on reserve]

Michael Harbottle, "Collective Security Under Subregional Arrangements: A Cooperative Approach," in Boulding, *Peace Building in the Middle East* [on reserve]

Richard Falk, "World Order Conceptions and the Peace Process in the Middle East," in Boulding, *Peace Building in the Middle East* [on reserve]

Crown Prince Hassan ibn-Tal, "Towards Security and Cooperation in the Middle East" [on reserve]

Ahdul Aziz Said, "A Middle Eastern Peace Strategy," from Elias & Turl in, *Rethinking Peace* [reader]

#### **Nov. 10** Arab-Biraeli Conflict

Walid Khalidi, "Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1978 [reader]

Camille Mansour, "The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: An Overview and Assessment," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 1993 [reader]

Noam Chomsky, "Middle East Diplomacy," *Z*, December 1991 [reader]

### **Nov 13** Recent Developments

Clyde Haberman., "How Oslo Helped Mold the Mideast Pact," *New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1993 [reader]  
Edward Said, "A Palestinian Versailles," *The Progressive*, December 1993 [reader]  
Stephen Zunes, "The Israeli-Jordanian Agreement: Peace or Pax Americana?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol 3, No 4 [reader]

### **Nov. 15** Gulf War

Stephen Solarz, "The Case for U S. Intervention," *New Republic*, Jan. 7 & 14, 1991 [reader]  
Joe Stork and Ann Mosely Lesch, "Why War? Background to the Crisis," *Middle East Report*, November/December 1990 [reader]  
Miall, ch. 12, pp . 170-181

### **Nov. 17** Gulf War and the United Nations

(quiz) Phyllis Bennis, "False Consensus: George Bush's United Nations," from Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, eds. *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader* [on reserve]  
Robert Springborg, "The United Nations in the Gulf War," from Bennis & Moushabeck [on reserve]  
Richard Falk, "Force and War in the UN System," from Bennis & Moushabeck [on reserve]  
Jim Wurst, "The United Nations After the Gulf War," *Nonviolent Activist*, July-Aug. 1991 [reader]  
Tareq Y. Ismael & Jacqueline S. Ismael, *The Gulf War and the New World Order*, ch. 1-3 [on reserve]  
Robert C. Johansen, "The Lessons for Collective Security," *World Policy Journal* [reader]  
Stephen Lewis, "A Promised Betrayed," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. VII, #3, Summer 1991 [reader]

### **Nov 20** Cambodia

Paul Shannon, "Cambodia Suffers Major Defeat," *Z*, December 1992 [reader]  
Ben Kiennan, "Risking Cambodia: The UN Brokers a Flawed Peace," from Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in the New World Order*, pp. 384-396 [on reserve]  
Yeshua Moser, "The U.N in Cambodia: Soldiers, Not Peacekeepers," *Nonviolent Activist*, March-April 1993 [reader]

### **Nov. 22** Latin America

Xabier Gorostiaga, "Latin America in the New World Order," from Brecher, Childs, & Cutler, *Global Visions*, pp.67-86 [on reserve]  
Stephen Baranyi, "Peace Missions and Subsidiarity in the Americas: Conflict Management in the Western Hemisphere," *International Journal*, Vol. L, #2; Spring 1995 [reader]

### **Nov 27** Central America

Jack Child, *The Central American Peace Process, 1983-1991: Sheathing Swords. Building Confidence*, ch. 9 [reader]  
William Goodfellow and James Morrell, "From Contradora to Esquipulas to Sapoa and Beyond," in Thomas W. Walker, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua* [reader]  
Ana Guadalupe Martinez, "El Salvador's Peace Process: Stumbling into the New A World Order," from Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in the New World Order*, pp. 428-432 [on reserve]  
Loramy Conradi, "Grassroots Peacework in Nicaragua," *Peace Review*, Vol V., #4; Winter 1993

### **Nov. 29** The former Yugoslavia

(quiz) Sonja Licht, "After Yugoslavia," from Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in the New World Order*, pp. 484-492 [on reserve]  
Jan Oberg, "Conflict Mitigation in Former Yugoslavia," *Peace Review*, Vol V., #4; Winter 1993  
John Feffer, "Balkan Chamber of Horrors," *Z*, April 1993 [reader]  
Thomas Harrison, "The Betrayal of Bosnia," *Z*, July/August 1993 [reader]  
Diana Johnstone, "We Are All Serbo-Croatians," *In These Times*, May 3, 1993 [reader]  
Kenneth Zapp, "A United Approach," *In These Times*, Feb. 7, 1994 [reader]  
David Rieff, "The Lessons of Bosnia: Morality and Power," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XII; #1 (Spring 1995) [reader]

## **Part IV: The Future of Conflict Resolution**

### **Dec 1** Global Economics and Conflict

Panos Institute, "Conflict and Development"

Brecher, Childs & Cutler, "Introduction" [on reserve]

### **Dec. 4** International Law and Global Governance

Michael Kinsley, "Taking International Law Seriously," from Micah Sifry & Christopher Cerf, *The Gulf War Reader* [reader]

Richard Falk, "International Law in a Fragmented World: The Challenge of New Issues and New Actors," from Raimo Vayrynen, *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation* [reader]

### **Dec 6** Making Peace

Evans, ch. 11 - 12

David Krieger, "Ending the Scourge of War" and Chadwick F. Alger, "A Grassroots Approach to Life in Peace," from Elias & Turpin, *Rethinking Peace* [reader]