

## SEMESTER AT SEA COURSE SYLLABUS

**Voyage:** Spring 2014  
**Discipline:** History  
**Course Title:** *SEMS 2500-103, Ending Deadly Conflict*  
**Upper/Lower Division:** Lower  
**Faculty Name:** Robert K. Brigham

**Pre-requisites:** None

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

This course uses historical case studies to identify practical ways to end conflict and build sustainable peace. It is concerned with the vulnerability of the weak, failed and collapsed states, with post conflict periods that have reignited into violence, and problems of mediating conflicts that are unusually resistant to resolution. Of particular interest will be the role that third party intermediaries and global governance institutions have played in bringing about a negotiated end to violence.

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES:**

Upon successful completion of this course, students will be able to:

- Identify the best practices used by diplomats in negotiating intractable conflict.
- Describe the curve of conflict analysis in detail and discuss its function in negotiations.
- Discuss the framework needed for successful negotiations in an asymmetrical conflict.
- Analyze the problems of resource scarcity and describe its function in negotiations.
- Identify the legal status of peace agreements.
- Compare transitional justice mechanisms with other forms of nation building.
- Describe the key components of constitutional forms of peace agreements.
- Analyze the problems associated with truth and reconciliation programs.

### **REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS:**

**AUTHOR:** Desmond Tutu  
**TITLE:** *No Future Without Forgiveness*  
**PUBLISHER:** Doubleday  
**ISBN #:** 978038549690-2  
**DATE/EDITION:** 1999

**AUTHOR:** Chester Crocker, et. al,

TITLE: *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*  
PUBLISHER: United States Institute of Peace Press  
ISBN#: 9781929223558  
DATE/EDITION: 2004

AUTHOR: Aung San Suu Kyi  
TITLE: *Letters from Burma*  
PUBLISHER: Penguin  
ISBN#: 97801410445  
DATE/EDITION: 2010

AUTHOR: Adekeye Adebajo and Ismail Rashid  
TITLE: *West Africa's Security Challenges*  
PUBLISHER: Lynne Rienner  
ISBN#: 978-1-58826-284-4  
DATE/EDITION: 2004

## TOPICAL OUTLINE OF COURSE

**B1:**            *Course Introduction*

**B2:**            *Conflict Analysis*

Required reading:            “The Curve of Conflict” chart from Michael Lund’s *Preventing Violent Conflicts* (handout) and Crocker, et. al, *Taming Intractable Conflicts*, pp. 3-20.

Questions:

Do most conflicts have a chartable trajectory? What can this tell us about the character and nature of conflict? What does the “curve of conflict” tell us about mediation prospects? When is the best time to negotiate in a civil war?

### **Writing Assignment:            Conflict Analysis Paper**

In a short paper of not more than 500 words (typed, double-spaced, and pages numbered), please select a current international conflict and predict when it will “be ripe” for negotiations. Please include a discussion of what makes a conflict “ripe” for negotiations and why you think your conflict will reach that stage at the predicted time. Also include specific reference to the “curve of conflict.”

**B3:           *Defining Success***

Required Reading:           Chester Crocker, "Making Peace Settlements Work," *Foreign Policy* 104 (Autumn 1996): 54-71. JSTOR; and Alvaro de Soto and Graciana del Castillo, "Obstacles to Peacebuilding," *Foreign Policy* 94 (Spring 1995): 69-83. JSTOR.

Questions:

Can negotiations end all conflicts? What is the difference between conditional and unconditional negotiations? How do you define success in intractable negotiations?

**B4:           *The Architecture for Peace***

Required Reading:           Crocker, et. al *Taming Intractable Conflicts*, pp. 21-92; and Jacob Bercovitch and Jeffrey Langley, "The Nature of the Dispute and the Effectiveness of International Mediation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37 (Winter 1993): 670-691. JSTOR.

Questions:

What is the basic framework for successful negotiations to end deadly conflict? How can negotiators make sure that this framework is impartial? What key elements should be present in negotiations to end asymmetrical conflict? Who should supervise the building of the negotiations framework?

**B5:           *Building Peace after Civil Conflict***

Required Reading:           Crocker, et. al, *Taming Intractable Conflicts*, pp. 93-148.

Questions:

What are the greatest obstacles facing negotiators following a civil conflict? How can negotiations help build civil society quickly? What safeguards need to be in place to keep a civil conflict from starting up again? How can negotiators bring more actors in a civil conflict to the negotiating table?

**B6:           *Best Practices in Conflict Negotiation***

Required Reading:           Crocker, et. al *Taming Intractable Conflicts*, pp. 149-188; and Marieke Kleiboer, "Understanding Success and Failure of

International Mediation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40 (June 1996): 360-389. JSTOR.

Questions:

What are the best practices in building successful negotiations? What are the greatest obstacles to these best practices? How can negotiators build on failure? What framework is best for negotiating an end to civil wars?

**Writing Assignment: Best Practices Paper**

After reading much of the theoretical and practical scholarly work on conflict assessment and skilled negotiation, students are asked to write a paper of 1,500 words (typed, double-spaced with pages numbered) that puts in narrative form the best practices for resolving deadly conflict. No outside research is needed. Students can use their notes and our class discussion for the critical work required for this essay.

**B7: *In-class Negotiation***

Activity:

In class, we will divide into negotiating teams and implement our best practices using the several current civil conflicts as models. We will provide oral summaries of strategies needed and resources required to build lasting peace.

**B8: *The Road Map to Peace in Viet Nam***

Required Reading: U.S. Embassy in Vietnam, "U.S.-Vietnamese Relations," at <http://vietnam.usembassy.gov/chronology.html> and Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, "Taking Stock: 15 Years After Normalization Between U.S., Vietnam (July 2010)," at <http://vietnamembassy-usa.org/relations/taking-stock-15-years-after-normalization-between-us-vietnam>

Questions:

What were the biggest obstacles to normalized diplomatic relations between the United States and Vietnam? How were each of these issues dealt with in the road map to peace? What could have been done to shorten the negotiations?

**B9: *Building Durable Peace in Viet Nam***

Required Reading: "Bilateral Trade Agreement," U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council at

<http://www.usvtc.org/trade/bta/> and Mark E. Manyin, "The Vietnam-U.S. Normalization Process," June 17, 2005, CRS Issue Brief for the United States Congress.

Questions:

How can economic agreements enhance peace-building prospects? What can negotiators do to better understand the economic aspects of peace?

**B10: *Burma in Conflict***

Required Reading: Aung San Suu Kyi, *Letters from Burma*.

Questions:

What was the fundamental nature of the conflict in Burma? How could third party negotiators have intervened? What are the dangers of intervention in low intensity conflicts? How can negotiators use public pressure to improve the peace talks?

**B11: *Burma in Transition***

Required Reading: "Burma/Mynamar in Transition: A Discussion with Aung San Suu Kyi," U.S. Institute of Peace, " at <http://www.usip.org/newsroom/multimedia/audio/audio-burmamyanmar-in-transition-discussion-aung-san-suu-kyi>; "As Demand for Reform Grows in Burma, the U.S. Opens a Door," U.S. Institute of Peace, January 14, 2012," at <http://www.usip.org/in-the-field/demand-reform-grows-in-burma-the-us-opens-door>; and "Current Realities and Future Possibilities in Burma/Mynamar," Asia Society at <http://asiasociety.org/policy/social-issues/human-rights/current-realities-and-future-possibilities-burmamyanmar>

Questions:

How do negotiators shape a transitional government? What can negotiators do to ensure a peaceful transition? How do negotiators build civil capacity in an asymmetrical negotiation? When should negotiators walk away from a transitional government?

**B12: Third Party Negotiators**

Required Reading: William J. Dixon, "Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement," *International Organization* 50 (Autumn 1996): 653-681. JSTOR

Questions:

When are third parties most effective in negotiations? Is there a danger in involving outside parties in conflict negotiations? How are mediators best used in conflict negotiations? What other roles can third parties play in mediation?

**B13: Economic Development and Sustainable Peace**

Required Reading: Kofi Annan, "The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa," Report of the Secretary General to the Security Council, UN Document Number S/1998/318 (April 13, 1998), at: <http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/57jpej.htm> and Kofi Annan, "Peace and Development: One Struggle, Two Fronts," Address to World Bank, October 19, 1999, at <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/extem/kasp101999.htm>

Questions:

How can negotiators work with transnational networks to ensure sustainable peace? What role does economics and resource scarcity play in civil conflict? In the future, what key skills must negotiators have to successfully avert civil conflict based on resource scarcity? How can negotiators use developmental aid more effectively in negotiations?

**B14: Peace Agreements and International Law**

Required Reading: Christine Bell, "Peace Agreements: Their Nature and Legal Status," *The American Journal of International Law* 100 (April 2006): 373-412. JSTOR.

Questions:

What role does international law have in peace agreements? Does international humanitarian law and international criminal law have a detrimental impact on some negotiations? How can negotiators use international law to build better agreements? What key legal elements must be present in a peace treaty for sustainable peace?

**B15: In Class Negotiation**

Activity:

In class, we will divide into negotiating teams and implement our best practices using several current civil conflicts as models. We will provide oral summaries of strategies needed and resources required to build lasting peace.

**B16: *Transitional Justice in South Africa***

**Required Reading:** “The National Peace Accord and the International Community,” at <http://www.usip.org/publications/south-africa-national-peace-accord-and-international-community> and Brice Dickson, “Protecting Human Rights Through a Constitutional Court: The Case of South Africa,” *Fordham Law Review* 66 (1997): 531-566 (PDF).

Questions:

What is transitional justice? What role can it play in negotiations to end deadly conflict? Can transitional justice work without enormous economic resources? What are the obstacles to peace through a transitional justice framework?

**B17: *The Apartheid State in South Africa***

Required Reading: Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*

Questions:

Why did South Africa adopt a truth and reconciliation approach to transitional justice? Why does Desmond Tutu think this was the best approach to lasting peace in South Africa? What cultural factors were present in negotiations? How did these cultural influences impact negotiations?

**B18: *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa***

Required Reading: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission," at <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/unit.php?id=15> and James Gibson, "The Contributions of Truth to Reconciliation: The Lessons from South Africa," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (June 2006): 409-432. JSTOR.

Questions:

What is the relationship between peace and justice in a transitional framework? What do you think about symbolic justice? Is transitional justice sustainable? What alternatives did negotiators have in South Africa? Has South Africa's constitution lived up to the promises of negotiations?

**FIELD WORK, March 28, 2014, "Transitional Justice," Cape Town.**

### ***FIELD LAB***

We will meet with experts on the transition from apartheid to civil society in South Africa, hearing lectures by Melanie Dugmore of South Africa's Human Rights Commission, Carol Clarkson and Richard Calland at the University of Cape Town on the role of art and culture in South African transitional justice, the staff at the International Center for Transitional Justice in Cape Town, and a will we finish with a discussion with South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

### ***FIELD ASSIGNMENTS***

#### **Field Lab Writing Assignment:**

After three classes devoted to South Africa's transition from apartheid to civil society, a lecture by Melanie Dugmore of South Africa's Human Rights Commission, a lecture by Carol Clarkson and Richard Calland at the University of Cape Town on the role of art and culture in South African transitional justice, a lecture by the staff at the International Center for Transitional Justice in Cape Town, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, students will write a 1,500-word essay (typed, double spaced, pages numbered) that explores South Africa's path to sustainable peace. Students should cite the theoretical work read in class in the context of how that theory has been lived by South Africans who daily deal with the realities on ending years of racial hatred and segregation. Students should also keep in mind the best practices of negotiations as they consider the effectiveness of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This essay is worth 20% of the student's overall grade.

#### **Field Lab Journal:**

Students will keep a writing journal for each port of call. Since most of these port cities are

part of a now prospering civil society, students will keep entries in their writing journals to assess the impact of past conflict negotiation on the current state of civil society. Students will meet with me in office hours to discuss their journal, and a formal assessment of the journal will be done at the end of the semester. The Field Journal will be worth 10% of the student's overall grade.

**B19: In Class Discussion of Field Lab papers**

**Writing Assignment: Field Lab Paper**

After three classes devoted to South Africa's transition from apartheid to civil society, a lecture by Melanie Dugmore of South Africa's Human Rights Commission, a lecture by Carol Clarkson at the University of Cape Town on the role of art and culture in South African transitional justice, a lecture by the staff at the International Center for Transitional Justice in Cape Town, and a discussion with Archbishop Desmond Tutu on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, students will write a 1,500-word essay (typed, double spaced, pages numbered) that explores South Africa's path to sustainable peace. Students should cite the theoretical work read in class in the context of how that theory has been lived by South Africans who daily deal with the realities on ending years of racial hatred and segregation. Students should also keep in mind the best practices of negotiations as they consider the effectiveness of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

**B20: Building Peace in West Africa**

Required Reading: Adebajo and Rashid, *West Africa's Security Challenges*, pp. 1-116.

Questions:

What were the key problems facing negotiators during the 1990s in West Africa? Why did Sierra Leone prove to be such a difficult conflict to negotiate? What could negotiators have done better to shorten the civil conflicts in West Africa? Did the United Nations do all that it could to end the conflicts in West Africa? What role do legal tribunals play in negotiations to end deadly conflict? What role does democracy building play in the negotiating process? Can civil wars transition to civil society without democracy promotion? What are the key elements of demobilization and how must these be addressed in negotiations?

Film: *War Don/Don*. Showing TBA.

**B21: Resource Scarcity and Sustainable Peace: West Africa**

Required Reading: Adebajo and Rashid, *West Africa's Security Challenges*, pp. 169-264, 383-394.

Questions:

Resource scarcity was one of the root causes of conflict in West Africa. What can outside actors do to promote peace and stability in resource scarce areas? What can negotiators do to help mediate the problems associated with resource scarcity? Are public campaigns helpful in these types of conflict negotiations?

**Writing Assignment: Resource Scarcity**

One major theme to ending deadly conflict is to ensure that all members of society have equal access to social, political, cultural, and economic resources. Resource scarcity has been the defining characteristic in many civil wars, even though it may appear that race and religion have dominated the conflicts. In a 1,500-word essay, students are asked to write about the problem of resource scarcity in negotiations on end deadly conflict. How can negotiators ensure equal access to resources through skillful diplomacy and constitutional guarantees?

**B22: *The Responsibility to Protect Doctrine (R2P) and Deadly Conflict***

Required Reading: "The Responsibility to Protect," United Nations, at: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml>

Questions:

Is the U.N.'s responsibility to protect doctrine a legitimate instrument for negotiators to consider in ending deadly conflict? Is it possible for negotiators to consider military intervention as an incentive for others to negotiate? What have been the prospects for peace with international intervention as a threat? What can be done to improve the international negotiating regime?

**B23: *The Problems in Syria: Lecture***

**B24: *Review for Final Exam***

**B25: *B Day Finals***

## **FIELD WORK**

### ***FIELD LAB***

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#### **Field Lab Journal:**

Students will keep a writing journal for each port of call. Since most of these port cities are part of a now prospering civil society, students will keep entries in their writing journals to assess the impact of past conflict negotiation on the current state of civil society. Students will meet with me in office hours to discuss their journal, and a formal assessment of the journal will be done at the end of the semester. The Field Journal will be worth 10% of the student's overall grade.

## **METHODS OF EVALUATION / GRADING RUBRIC**

Each student is required to write: a short conflict analysis paper (500 words, typed, double spaced and pages numbered); a paper on the best negotiating practices to end deadly conflict (1,500 words, typed, double spaced, pages numbered); a 1500-word paper on the

role of resource scarcity in negotiations (typed, double spaced, pages numbered); and a 1,500-word field lab essay. In addition, students will keep a writing journal and assess will keep entries in their journals to assess the impact of past conflict negotiation on the current state of civil society in at least three ports of call. Students will meet with me in office hours to discuss their journal, and a formal assessment of the journal will be done at the end of the semester. All students are required to sit for a final exam. Students should attend class and will be graded on their participation. Participation is defined as obvious evidence in class of engagement with the assigned readings. This evidence will be presented in class through regular interventions in our discussion based on the readings. Students are also asked to participate in two in class simulations of negotiations, and will be graded on their active participation in these exercises as well. Laptops are allowed in class, but they must be used for note-taking and document research only.

Attendance and Participation	10%
Field Lab Writing Assignment	20%
Field Lab Journal Assignment	10%
Conflict Analysis Paper	10%
Best Practices Paper	15%
Resource Scarcity Paper	15%
Final Exam	20%

### **ADDITIONAL ELECTRONIC RESOURCES FOR STUDENT PAPERS**

*Research Resources on Ending Deadly Conflict:*

South Africa’s Truth Commission at <http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-south-africa>

South Africa’s Truth Commission at <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/>

Peace Agreement Data Base  
[http://www.transitionaljustice.ulster.ac.uk/tji\\_database.html](http://www.transitionaljustice.ulster.ac.uk/tji_database.html)

United States Institute of Peace  
<http://www.usip.org/>

The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement,” at <http://www.usip.org/publications/peace-agreements-northern-ireland>

War Crimes Atlas, United States Institute of Peace at  
<http://www.usip.org/publications/multimedia-online-atlas-war-crimes-in-bosnia-herzegovina>

UN, Responsibility to Protect at <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/>

The University of Minnesota Human Rights Library:  
<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/lawform.html>

University of California at Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, Human Rights Bibliography:  
<http://hrc.berkeley.edu/bibliography.html>

Irish Centre for Human Rights:  
<http://www.humanrightsdoctorate.blogspot.com/>

United Nations Human Rights Commission:  
<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>

United Nations High Commission on Refugees:  
<http://www.unhcr.ch/>

International Criminal Court:  
<http://www.icc-cpi.int/Menu/ICC?lan=en-GB>

University of Chicago, Human Rights Bibliography and Research Guide:  
<http://www2.lib.uchicago.edu/~llou/humanrights.html>

International Committee of the Red Cross website, contains much information on International Law:  
<http://www.icrc.org/>

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda:  
<http://www.unictr.org/>

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia:  
<http://www.unictr.org/>

The Special Court for Sierra Leone:  
<http://www.sc-sl.org/>

The National Security Archives  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>

Eyes on the ICC, the only journal devoted exclusively to the study of the International Criminal Court  
<http://www.americanstudents.us/journals/eyeso>

The State Department's Foreign Relations of the United States series, on line version  
[http://www.state.gov/www/about\\_state/history/frus.html](http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/frus.html)  
Also available in the Library at S 1.1. in the Government Documents Section

Diplomatic History, the journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/%28ISSN%291467-7709>  
Also available in the Library at E183.7.D48

## **HONOR CODE**

Semester at Sea students enroll in an academic program administered by the University of Virginia, and thus bind themselves to the University's honor code. The code prohibits all acts of lying, cheating, and stealing. Please consult the Voyager's Handbook for further explanation of what constitutes an honor offense.

Each written assignment for this course must be pledged by the student as follows: "On my honor as a student, I pledge that I have neither given nor received aid on this assignment." The pledge must be signed, or, in the case of an electronic file, signed "[signed]."