

## The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation

The Gershon H. Gordon  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
Tel Aviv University

### Political Approaches to the Management and Resolution of International Conflicts

*Fall 2024*

Class Meeting Time Wednesdays 3:45pm - 5:15pm in Naftali 004

**Lecturer:** Dr. Steven J. Klein

**Email:** stevekhaaretz@gmail.com

**Office:** Naftali 004

**Office Hours:** 5:15pm-6:15pm

#### I. Overview:

The course reviews the causes of international conflicts as perceived by the major theoretical frameworks for the study of international relations. It then delves into the principles of bargaining and conflict management theory, focusing on relevant concepts and applying them to case studies.

#### II. Learning Objectives

This course should prepare students to:

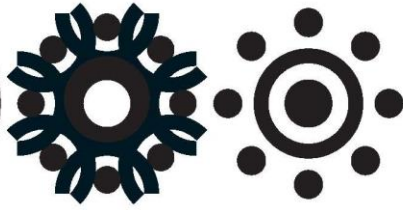
1. Critically analyze international conflicts and international interventions in domestic conflicts
2. Propose policy remedies to address the dynamics of such conflicts
3. Understand the political and practical limitations of applying theory to real-life situations

#### III. Grading

- **Group presentation:** 10% of final grade.
- **Participation / Attendance / Written Responses:** 20% of final grade.  
*As per university policy, students will receive a failing grade if they miss more than 20% of class meetings.*
- **Midterm assignment (due Sunday, Jan. 5, noon):** 30% of final grade.
- **Final Assignment:** 40% of final grade

*Electronic submission is possible via email to the lecturer and/or Moodle.*

The midterm and final assignments will both be take-home essays, the first focusing on comparing and contrasting individual theories covered in class, and the latter applying theory to a case study of a historic conflict involving international actors, which will be the student's choice, in consultation with Dr. Klein.



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#### **IV. Assignment extensions**

A student's request for an extension for assignments due during the semester is at the discretion of the lecturer. Final assignments cannot receive an extension.

#### **V. Statement on the readings**

While this course strives to offer a diversity of perspectives, it should be acknowledged that the field has historically underrepresented the voices of women and non-Europeans.

#### **VI. Class Schedule and Readings (note: additional readings may be added)**

Reading assignments should be completed before the class for which they are assigned.

##### **Week 1 (Nov. 6)**

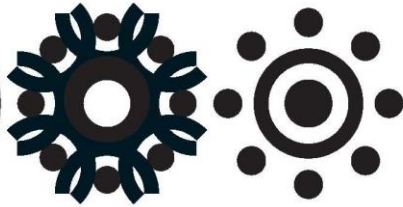
- Introduction: Classic approaches to managing political conflicts
  - **Required readings**
    - Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan* Chapter 13 (1651).  
See PDF or: [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Leviathan/The\\_First\\_Part](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Leviathan/The_First_Part)
    - Kant, Immanuel, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, selected readings from Section II (1795) See PDF or:  
[http://fs2.american.edu/dfagel/www/Class%20Readings/Kant/Immanuel%20Kant,%20Perpetual%20Peace\\_.pdf](http://fs2.american.edu/dfagel/www/Class%20Readings/Kant/Immanuel%20Kant,%20Perpetual%20Peace_.pdf)

##### **Week 2 (Nov. 13)**

- Wait, what? Viewing the classic approaches through different lenses
  - **Required readings and podcast**
    - You Are Not So Smart podcast, Ep. 286: "Notes on Complexity – Neil Theise  
Available at: <https://youarenotsosmart.com/2024/05/14/yanss-286-an-introduction-to-complexity-science-chaos-theory-and-how-life-um-finds-a-way/>
    - Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *Lahontan's New Voyages to North America, Vol. II* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1905), selected passages. See PDF.
    - Vis, Barbara and Dieuwertje Kuijpers, "Prospect Theory and Policy Decision-making," *Contemporary Security Policy* 39 (4, 2018): 575-589.

##### **Week 3 (Nov. 20)**

- (Neo-)Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism
  - **Required readings**
    - Waltz, Kenneth, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *J. of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (4, 1988): 653-673.
    - Keohane, Robert, "Twenty Years of International Liberalism," *International Relations* 26 (2, 2012): 125-138.



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Hopf, Ted, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23 (1, 1998): 171-185.

- **Optional readings**

Doyle, Michael W., "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80 (4, 1986): 1151-1169.

Wendt, Alexander, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46 (2, 1992): 391-425.

Snyder, Jack, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy* 145 (2004): 52-62.

### Week 4 (Nov. 27)

- Distributive bargaining

- **Required readings**

Schelling, Thomas C., *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1960): 3-6 (para. 1), 21-52.

Putnam, Robert D., "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games," *International Organization* 42 (1988): 427-460.

White, Sally B. & Margaret A. Neale, "Reservation Prices, Resistance Points and BATNAs," *Negotiation Journal* 6 (1991): 379-388.

- **Optional readings**

Powell, Robert, "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 1-27.

Rousseau, David L., "Motivations for Choice: The Salience of Relative Gains in International Politics," *J. of Conflict Resolution* 46 (3, June 2002): 394-426.

Bjola, Corneliu and Ilan Manor, "Revisiting Putnam's Two-level Game Theory in the Digital Age," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 31 (1, 2018): 3-32.

Hurst, Steven, "The Iranian Nuclear Negotiations as a Two-Level Game: The Importance of Domestic Politics," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27:3 (2016): 545-567.

### Week 5 (Dec. 4)

- Integrative bargaining

- **Required readings**

Axelrod, Robert, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, 1984): 3-24.

De Dreu, Carsten K. W., "Negotiating Deals and Settling Conflict Can Create Value for Both Sides," *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences* (1, 2014): 156-163.

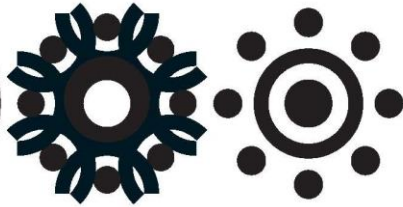
Fearon, James D., "Bargaining, Enforcement and International Cooperation," *International Organization* 52 (2, Spring 1998): 269-305.

- **Optional readings**

Da Conceicao-Heldt, Eugenia, "Two-level Games and Trade Cooperation: What Do We Know Now?" *International Politics* 50 (4, 2013): 579-599.

Basadur, Min, Pam Pringle, et al., "Collaborative Problem Solving Through Creativity in Problem Solving Definition: Expanding the Pie," *Creativity and Innovation Management* 9 (1, March 2000): 54-76.

Hopmann, P. Terrence, "Two Paradigms of Negotiation: Bargaining and Problem Solving," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* 542 (1995): 24-47.



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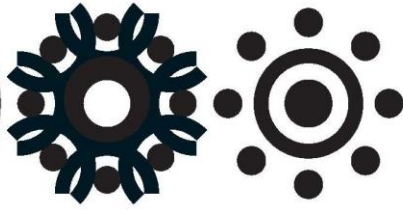
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### Week 6 (Dec. 11)

- Sources of war and peace
  - **Required readings**
    - Vasquez, John A. and Brandon Valeriano, "Territory as a Source of Conflict and a Road to Peace," in *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (SAGE, 2009): 193-209.
    - Gelpi, Christopher F. & Joseph M. Grieco, "Democracy, Interdependence and the Sources of the Liberal Peace," *J. of Peace Research* 45 (1, 2008): 17-36.
    - Tickner, J. Ann, "Peace and Security from a Feminist Perspective". Pp. 15-25 in Davies, Sara E. and Jacqui True (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (Oxford Handbooks Online, 2018).
  - **Optional readings**
    - Carment, David and Patrick James, "The Int'l Politics of Ethnic Conflict: New Perspectives on Theory and Policy," *Global Society* 11 (2, 1997): 205-232.
    - Dixon, William J. and Paul D. Senese, "Democracy, Disputes and Negotiated Settlements," *J. of Conflict Resolution* 46 (4, 2002): 547-571.
    - Kaufman, Stuart, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence," *International Security* 30 (4, 2006): 45-86.
    - Koubi, Vally et al., "Do Natural Resources Matter for Interstate and Intrastate Armed Conflict?" *J. of Peace Research* 51 (2, 2014): 227-243.
    - Rosato, Sebastian, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97 (4, 2003): 585-602.

### Week 7 (Dec. 18)

- Conflict prevention and crisis management
  - **Required readings**
    - Lebow, Richard Ned, *Key Texts in Political Psychology and International Relations* (Springer, 2016): 3-24.
    - Nathan, Laurie, "When Flames are Licking at the Door: Standing Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention," *Global Policy* 10 (2, June 2019): 46-54.
    - George, Alexander L., "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management," *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991): 22-27.
    - George, Alexander L., "Strategies for Crisis Management," *Ibid.*: 377-394.
  - **Optional readings**
    - Ackerman, Alice, "The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention," *J. of Peace Research* 40 (3, 2003): 339-347.
    - Lund, Michael S., "Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice," *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (London: SAGE Publications, 2009): 287-308.
    - Bearce, David H. et al., "The Shadow of the Future and International Bargaining," *The J. of Politics* 71 (2, April 2009): 719-732.



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### Week 8 (Dec. 25)

- Ripeness and pre-negotiations
  - **Required readings**

Zartman, I. William, "Ripeness: The Hurting Stalemate and Beyond," in Paul S. Stern and Daniel Druckman, Eds., *International Conflict Resolution after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2000): 225-250.

Kleibeoer, Marieke, "Ripeness of Conflict: A Fruitful Notion?" *J. of Peace Research* 31 (1, 1994): 109-116.

Doyle, Lindsey and Lukas Hegele, "Talks Before the Talks: Effects of Pre-negotiation on Reaching Peace Agreements in Intrastate Armed Conflicts, 2005-15," *J. of Peace Research* 58 (2, 2020): 231-247.
  - **Optional readings**

Vuković, Siniša, "Expanding Ripeness Beyond Push and Pull: The Relevance of Mutually Enticing Opportunities (MEOs)," *Ethnopolitics* 21 (2022): 190-201.

Zartman, I. William, "Pre-negotiation: Phases and Functions," *International Journal* 44 (1989): 375-384.

### Week 9 (Jan. 1, 2025)

- International Mediation
  - **Required readings**

Vukovic, Sinisia, "International Mediation as a Distinct Form of Conflict Management," *International J. of Conflict Management* 25 (1, 2014): 61-80.

Touval, Saadia, "Mediation and Foreign Policy," *International Studies Review* 5 (4, 2003): 91-95.

Nathan, Laurie and Joel M. Devonshire, "Don't We Have a Right to Get Angry? Integrating Emotions into International Mediation Studies," *International J. of Conflict Management* 35 (1, 2024): 81-103.
  - **Optional readings**

Aggestam, Karin, "Mediating Asymmetrical Conflict," *Mediterranean Politics* 7 (1, 2002): 69-88.

Bercovitch, Jacob and Leah Simpson, "International Mediation and the question of Failed Peace Agreements," *Peace & Change* 35 (1, 2010): 68-103.

Hansen, Holly E. et al., "IO Mediation of Interstate Conflicts," *J. of Conflict Resolution* 52 (2, 2008): 295-325.

Wallensteen, Peter and Isak Svensson, "Talking Peace: International Mediation in Armed Conflicts," *J. of Peace Research* 51 (2, 2014): 315-327.



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### Week 10 (Jan. 8, 2025)

- Forceful intervention
  - **Required readings**

Hultman, Lisa and Dursun Peksen, "Successful or Counterproductive Coercion? The Effect of International Sanctions on Conflict Intensity," *J. of Conflict Resolution* 61 (6, 2015): 1315-1339.

Van der Maat, Eelco, "Sleeping Hegemons: Third-party Intervention Following Territorial Integrity Transgressions," *J. of Peace Research* (2, March 2011): 201-215.

Luttwak, Edward, "Give Peace a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78 (4, 1999): 36-44.
  - **Optional readings**

Irrera, Daniela, "The Relevance of Third-party Intervention in Conflict Management," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Special Collection (2019): 1-10.

Toft, Monica Duffy, "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34 (4, 2010): 7-36.

Allison, Roy, "Russian 'Deniable Intervention in Ukraine: How and Why Russia Broke the Rules,'" *International Affairs* 90 (6, 2014): 1255-1297.

### Week 11 (Jan. 15)

- Cultural factors
  - **Required readings**

Kimmel, Paul R., "Culture and Conflict," *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2006): 625-648.

Bolewski, Wilfried, "Diplomatic Processes and Cultural Variations," *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 9 (1, 2008): 145-157.

Aggestam, Karin and Ann Towns, "The Gender Turn in Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21 (1, 2019): 9-28.
  - **Optional readings**

Rubinstein, Robert A., "Cross-Cultural Considerations in Complex Peace Operations," *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (SAGE, 2009): 246-263.

Sjoberg, Laura, *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013): 3-43.

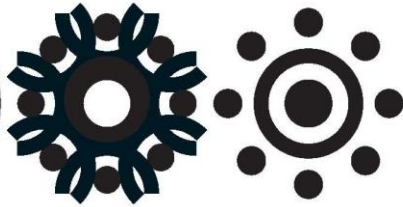
### Week 12 (Jan. 22)

- Overcoming obstacles to resolution
  - **Required readings**

Walter, Barbara, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51 (4, 1997): 335-363.

Nilsson, Desiree and Mimmi Soderberg, "Revisiting an Elusive Concept: A Review of the debate on Spoilers in Peace Processes," *Int'l Studies Review* 13 (4, 2011): 606-626.

Powell, Brenna Marea and Ifat Maoz, "Barriers to Conflict Resolution in Landscapes of Asymmetric Conflict," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 7 (2-3, 2014): 226-235.



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- **Optional reading**

Fey, Mark & Kristopher W. Ramsay, "Uncertainty and Incentives in Crisis Bargaining," *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (1, 2011): 149-168.

Kaufman, Stuart J., "Escaping the Symbolic Politics Trap," *J. of Peace Research* 43 (2, 2006): 201-218.

Zartman, I. William, "Dynamics and Constraints in Negotiations in Internal Conflicts," *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995): 3-26.

### Week 13 (Jan. 29)

- Reconciliation

- **Required readings**

Montville, Joseph V., "The Healing Function in Political Conflict Resolution," *Conflict Resolution in Theory and Practice* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993): 112-127.

Rehrman, Carolina, "Made for Goodness? Women, Ethnic Conflict, and Reconciliation." Pp. 65-75 in Martin Leiner & Christine Schliesser, eds. *Alternative Approaches in Conflict Resolution* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Leiner, Martin, "Conclusion: From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation." Pp. 175-186 in Leiner & Schliesser.

- **Optional readings**

Schliesser, Christine, "The Politics of Reconciliation in Post-genocide Rwanda." Pp. 137-148 in Leiner & Schliesser.

Palmiano Federer, Julia, "Toward a Normative Turn in Track Two Diplomacy? A Review of the Literature," *Negotiation Journal* 37 (4, 2021): 427-450.

Allen, Susan H., "Evolving Best Practices: Engaging the Strengths of Both External and Local Peacebuilders in Track Two Dialogues through Local Ownership," *International Negotiation* 26 (2021): 67-84.

### VII. Academic Fraud

Any person found guilty of academic fraud will be subject to severe sanctions. Some examples of academic fraud include:

- plagiarism or cheating of any kind;
- submitting work of which the student is not the author, in whole or in part (except for duly cited quotations or references);
- presenting research data that has been falsified or concocted in any way; and
- submitting, without written prior approval from the professors concerned, the same work for more than one course.

### VIII. Classroom rules

- Attendance is required, with students expected to arrive on time.
- Courses will be taught in the classroom and recorded on Zoom.