

Princeton University
Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs

WWS 555E
FALL 2008

Seminar on
INTERNATIONAL CRISIS DIPLOMACY:
CONCEPTUAL DIMENSIONS AND PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVES

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber & Robert Finn

Final Version 9/17/08

wfd – Faculty Assistant : Angella Matheney
009 BENDHEIM HALL
matheney@princeton.edu

wfd – Office hours tba
015 BENDHEIM HALL
e-mail: wfd@princeton.edu

rpf – Faculty Assistant : Angella Matheney
009 Bendheim Hall
matheney@princeton.edu

rpf– Office hours tba
013 Bendheim Hall
e-mail: Finn@princeton.edu

This seminar is designed to explore the intricacies, challenges, and possibilities of international diplomacy during crises between states, or between state and non-state actors in a conceptual and applied manner. Discussions and analyses of the issues involved will also draw heavily from the personal experience of seminar participants. In recent history the international system has seen important crises which have emanated from the disintegration of the bipolar framework, from ethnic-religious rivalries, leadership ambitions, power politics, search for natural resources, and economic-strategic interests. In today's interdependent world, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, poverty, militant fundamentalism, pandemics and environmental dangers present significant new challenges. At the same time, the power and relevance of non-state actors has increased and the efficiency of existing inter-governmental institutions has been called into question. Within this new global complexity, both crisis diplomacy and the possible anticipation of crises have become increasingly complicated.

As a result, there have been intensified concerns about global security, integration, and interaction in the presumably not any longer 'uni-polar' world. These developments have also given rise to new challenges in dealing with local and regional problems, conflict, or actual war. Issues such as the specific causes of crises, the role of leadership and negotiators, outside power interests, crisis management instruments, as well as the geopolitical context of the crisis scenario are of interest. The seminar will analyze two specific clusters of international crises, their origins, development, as well as, potential suggestions for amelioration.

The seminar schedule is divided into four parts: the first and second parts, which make up the introductory section, provide for debate of the fundamentals of related concepts in international diplomacy, historic examples, relevant theoretic dimensions, experiences in negotiations, crisis mechanisms and instruments, and prepare for the case studies. Part three focuses on two

selective case-studies of crisis-diplomacy: Afghanistan (building on LISD's extensive involvement) followed by two sessions on the Caucasus – one dealing with Georgia, and self-determination, sovereignty, etc.; one analyzing diplomatic activities post-Soviet Union and crisis diplomacy in the cases of frozen conflicts in the macro region. Iraq, Iran and the Balkans will be followed by matters such as environmental and health crises, and we shall try to develop models for appropriate crisis diplomacy and anticipatory strategies in the emerging international order. A role play and simulation is planned for the final session.

Course Requirements

Student participation is critical since this seminar has a strong “cooperative” dimension. Students should have a background in international relations and/or political science (an introductory course or equivalent).

It is important to *attend all seminars* and *complete the required readings* before the appropriate seminar. As of the second week, each session will be introduced by *student presentations* consisting of two or three students with introductory handout(s) (circulated the day before class) and presentation — additional individual research will be rewarded. The presenters will meet with wfd and rpf prior to their presentations for *privatissima*. Course grades will be based upon in-class presentations, active seminar participation, and a final take home paper due on Dean's Date (30%, 20%, 50%).

Readings

Some readings are on reserve in Stokes Library. Other assigned reading will be on reserve at WWS Library (Wallace Building) or on *E-Reserve*.

Materials can also be borrowed from the LISD Library.

Readings called *Presentation Materials* should be considered for the preparation of in-class presentations; *Background Reading* is optional and can be utilized for assistance for the presentations and take home examination.

E ... e-reserve
W... Stokes Library - Wallace Hall

Additional Information

Students who are scheduled to make presentations are invited to join Professors Danspeckgruber and Finn in a *privatissimum* on Tuesdays for a lunch discussion of the weekly materials. Meetings will be held in 012 Bendheim at 12:30pm - or by arrangement.

SEMINAR SCHEDULE

VERS. 9/17

I. INTRODUCTION

1. September 17, 2008

*Introduction, Crisis, "Private Diplomacy", and Course Overview
International Background, Crisis Management, the actors*

II. MODERN CRISIS DIPLOMACY

2. September 24, 2008

The Mechanisms of Crisis Diplomacy

III. CASE STUDIES

3. October 1, 2008

Kosovo

4. October 8, 2008

Afghanistan – Stability and security in the region

Guest: Prof. William Maley, Chair, Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy

5. October 15, 2008

The Caucasus: Sovereignty, Ethnicity, Energy

Guest: Oksana Antonenko, IISS Program Director, Russia and Eurasia

6. October 22, 2008

*Instruments for Crisis Management:
the ICC, the International Criminal Court*

Guest: Ambassador Christian Wenaweser, President ASP of ICC

7. November 5, 2008

The Iraqi Operation

– *U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East*

8. November 12, 2008

A Nuclear Iran ?

9. November 19, 2008

Frozen Conflicts in the Caspian and Black Sea Regions

10. November 26, 2008

Other potential crises and their management

Health (HIV/Aids, SARS), Natural disaster, et.al.

11. December 3, 2008

The Conduct of Crisis Diplomacy -

Globalization, Cyber, the Role of Values and Religion

IV. SUMMARY AND PROJECTION

12. December 10, 2008

Lessons and Propositions – A Simulation and Role-Play

LECTURE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

I. INTRODUCTION

1. September 17, 2008

Introduction, Crisis, “Private Diplomacy”, and Course Overview
International Background, Crisis Management, the Actors

Required Reading

Baran, Zeyno. “Fighting the War of Ideas.” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2005

Barston, R.P. *Modern Diplomacy*. 2nd ed. London ; New York : Longman, 1997.

Chapter 1 – The Changing Nature of Diplomacy, pp. 1-8

Chapter 2 – Foreign Policy Organisation, pp. 9-31

Chapter 3 – Foreign Policy Orientations, pp. 32-43

Hall, Ian and Nicholas Rengger. “The Right that failed? The ambiguities of conservative thought and the dilemmas of conservative practice in international affairs.” *International Affairs*. Vol. 81, No. 1 (January 2005), pp.69-82

Lebow, Richard Ned. “Fear, interest and honour: outlines of a theory of International Relations.” *International Affairs*. Vol. 82, No. 3 (May 2006)

Mazower, Mark. “An international civilization? Empire, internationalism and the crisis of the mid-twentieth century.” *International Affairs*. Vol. 82, No. 3 (May 2006)

Background Reading

Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth, “American Primacy in Perspective,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2002, Vol. 81, No. 4, pp. 20-42.

Diamond, Louise and John McDonald, *Multi Track Diplomacy*, 3rd edition, Kumarian Press, 1996.

Craig, Gordon A. and Alexander George. *Force and Statecraft – Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, Third Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

Hoffmann, Stanley. “Clash of Globalizations,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2002, Vol. 81, No. 4, pp. 104-114.

Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory—Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Chapter 2 - Varieties of Order: Balance of Power, Hegemonic, and Constitutional, pp. 21-49

Kissinger, Henry. *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: towards a diplomacy for the 21st century*. New York : Simon & Schuster, 2001.

Nicholson, Sir Harold. *Diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Chapter 1 - Origins of Organized Diplomacy, pp. 9-33

Chapter 2 - The Development of Diplomatic Theory, pp. 34-55

Nye, Joseph S. *Understanding International Conflicts*, Third Edition. New York: Longman, 2000.

Is there an enduring logic of conflict in world politics?, pp. 1-29.

Nye, Joseph S. "The American National Interest and Global Public Goods," *International Affairs* 78, No. 2, 2002, pp. 233-244.

Walt, Stephen M. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998, pp. 29-46.

"Universal Values, Specific Policies: A conversation with Henry Kissinger." *The National Interest*, No. 84 (Summer 2006)

II. MODERN CRISIS DIPLOMACY

2. September 24, 2008

The Mechanisms of Crisis Diplomacy

Required Reading

Ray Barcott, James Peacock, Roberto J. Gonzalez, Najde Al-Ali and Laura A. McNamara, "Anthropology in Conflict: An Exchange," *Survival*, vol 50, no. 3, June-July 08, pp. 127-162

Barston, R.P. *Modern Diplomacy*. 2nd ed. London ; New York : Longman, 1997.
Chapter 6 – Diplomatic Styles and Methods, pp. 103-129
Chapter 12 – Diplomacy and Mediation, pp. 215-225

Bellamy, Alex J. "No pain, no gain? Torture and ethics in the war on terror." *International Affairs*, Vol. 82, No.1 (January 2006)

Craig, Gordon A. and Alexander George, *Force and Statecraft—Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*. 3rd ed. New York : Oxford University Press, 1995.
Coercive Diplomacy, pp. 196-213
Crisis Management, pp. 214-228
Problems of Ethical and Moral Restraints on the Use of Force in Foreign Policy, pp. 258-274

Finn, Helena K. "The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audiences." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 6 (November/December 2003): 15-20.

Goodwin, Deborah. ed., *Negotiation in International Conflict – Understanding Persuasion*, Frank Cass, London, 2002.
Chapter 2 – Negotiation in Three Dimensions: Managing the Public Face of International Negotiation, by Robin Brown, pp. 17-30
Chapter 3 – Breaking the Impasse: Negotiation and Mediation Strategies, by Brad McRae, pp. 31-44
Chapter 5 – Inequity in Outcome: Who Really 'Wins' in a Military Negotiation?, by Deborah Goodwin, pp. 73-86

Gottemoeller, Rose, "The Evolutions in Sanctions in Practice and Theory," *Survival*, vol 49, no. 4, Winter 2007-08, pp. 99-110.

Howard, Michael. "What's in a Name." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 1 (January/February 2002): 8-13.

Neumann, Peter. R., "Negotiating with Terrorists," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1., pp. 128-138.

Lauren, Paul Gordon. ed., *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy*, 1979
 Chapter 5 – "Theories of Crisis Decision Making", by Ole R. Holsti, pp. 99-136
 Chapter 8 - "Theories of Bargaining with Threats of Force: Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy", by Paul Gordon Lauren, pp. 183-211

Record, Jeffrey, "The use and abuse of history: Munich, Vietnam, and Iraq," *Survival*, vol 49, no. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 163-180

Peacemaking in International Conflict—Methods and Techniques. Eds. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen. United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997
 Chapter 3 – "Negotiating in the International Conflict", by Daniel Druckman, pp. 81-124

Presentation Material

Albright, Madeleine K. "Bridges, Bombs, or Bluster?" *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2003

Roberts, Adam, and Zaum, Dominik, "Selective Security—War and the UN Security Council since 1945," *Adelphi Paper 395*, IISS, London, Routledge, 2008

Baker, James A, III., *Politics of Diplomacy—Revolution War and Peace, 1989-1992*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995.
 Chapter 16 – Building the Coalition, pp. 275-299
 Chapter 17 – All Necessary Means, pp. 300-328
 Chapter 19 – The Last, Best Chance for Peace, pp. 345-365

Eichenberg, Richard C. "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes toward the Use of Force by the United States, 1990-2003," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Summer 2003, pp. 110-141.

Hanhimaeki, Jussi. *The Flawed Architect—Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, 2004. (available as e-book)
 Chapter 3 – Bombs and Back Channels, pp. 32-54
 Chapter 4 – Progress and Promise, pp. 55-67
 Chapter 5 – Negotiating in the Shadow of War, pp. 68-91
 Chapter 6 – Crisis and Opportunities, pp. 92-115

Background Reading

"A postwar system of security," "The Cold War as International System," "From Détente to the End of the Cold War," "The Evolving International System," "Negotiation" (13), "Détente" (18), "Epilogue" in Gordon A. Craig and Alexander George, *Force and Statecraft—Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, pp. 87-152, 163-179, 214-228, 245-257, 285-293.

Bush, George and Brent Scowcroft. *A World Transformed*. New York: Knopf, 1998.

Desch, Michael C. "Culture Clash," *International Security*, Summer 1998, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 141-170.

- Edelstein, David M. and Ronald R. Krebs. "Washington's Troubling Obsession with Public Diplomacy." *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Summer 2002): 7-17.
- Foot, Rosemary. "Chinese strategies in a US-hegemonic global order: accommodating and hedging." *International Affairs*, Vol. 82, No.1 (January 2006)
- The Hydra of Carnage: the international linkages of terrorism and other low-intensity operations : the witnesses speak*. Eds. Uri Ra'anana, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Richard H. Shultz, Ernst Halperin and Igor Lukes. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1986.
- Iklé, Fred Charles. *How nations negotiate*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
- Hutchings, Robert L. *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War*, Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
Chapter 3 – The Diplomacy of German Reunification, pp. 90-142
- Kissinger, Henry A. *Crisis – The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises*, Simon & Schuster, 2003
- Schraeder, Peter, Stephen Hook, and Bruce Taylor. "Clarifying the Foreign Aid Puzzle: A Comparison of American, Japanese, French and Swedish Aid Flows." *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No.2 (January 1998): 294-323.
- Selth, Andrew. *Against Every Human Law—The Terrorist Threat to Diplomacy*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1988.
- Turbulent Peace – The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, ed. Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2001.
Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power and Conflict Management in the Information Age." pp. 353-64

III. CASE STUDIES

3. October 1, 2008

Kosovo

Required Reading

- Antonenko, Oksana, "Russia and the Deadlock over Kosovo," *Survival*, vol. 49, no. 3, Autumn 2007, pp. 91-106.
- Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang, "Kosovo's Independence -- Limit its potentially devastating effects by offering EU membership to Kosovo and Serbia," LISD Commentary, www.princeton.edu/lisd, March 2008
- Gowan, David, "Kosovo's Moment, Serbia's Chance," *Survival*, vol. 50, no. 2, 2008, pp. 5-10.
- Power, Samantha, "A Problem from Hell": *America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
Chapter 12 – Kosovo: A Dog and a Fight, pp. 443-473
- Serwer, Daniel and Yll Bajraktari. "Kosovo: Ethnic Nationalism at Its Territorial Worst." Special Report 172. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. August 2006.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr172.pdf>
- Weller, Marc. "The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo," *International Affairs* 75, 2 (1999), pp. 211-251.

Winning the peace: an American strategy for post-conflict reconstruction. Ed. by Robert C. Orr. Washington, D.C. : CSIS Press, 2004.

Chapter 12 - Kosovo: Learning to Leverage "Liberator" Status, by Bathsheba N. Crocker, pp.193-209

Presentation Material

LISD Kosovo Materials

Kosovo Report, by the Independent International Commission on Kosovo. Oxford University Press, 2000

Chapter 1 – The Origins of the Kosovo Crisis, pp. 33-64

Chapter 2 – Internal Armed Conflict: February 1998 – March 1999, pp. 67-83

Chapter 3 – International War Supervenes: March 1999 – June 1999, pp. 85-97

Chapter 4 – Kosovo under United Nations Rule, pp. 99-127

Chapter 5 – The Diplomatic Dimension, pp. 131-161

Chapter 9 – The Future Status of Kosovo, pp. 259-279

Bass, Warren. "The Triage of Dayton," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1999, pp. 124-130.

Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang. "Kosovo – Conceptual Challenges, Practical Problems, Possible Future Lessons," UN Association of the United States of America, UNAUSA, December 1999

<http://www.unausa.org/site/pp.asp?c=fvKRI8MPJpF&b=476123>

Gvosdev, Nikolas K. "Kosovo and Its Discontents." *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2006

Joseph, Edward P. "Back to the Balkans." *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2005

Kupchan, Charles. "Independence for Kosovo." *Foreign Affairs*. Vol.84, Iss.6 (Nov/Dec 2005)

Marsh, Christopher and Nikolas K. Gvosdev. "China's Yugoslav Nightmare." *The National Interest*, No. 84 (Summer 2006)

Solana, Javier. "NATO's Success in Kosovo." *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1999

Background Reading

Daalder, Ivo H. and Michael E. O'Hanlon. *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000

Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang. "Sub-regional Crisis and Potential Lessons for Future Self-Determination Conflicts: The Case of Kosovo." In *Security in a Globalized World: Risks and Opportunities*, ed. Laurent Goetschel, 119-36. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999.

4. October 8, 2008

Afghanistan – State and Security , and the region

Required Reading

Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang, with Finn, Robert, P., eds., *Building State and Security in Afghanistan*, Woodrow Wilson School/LISD, Princeton University 2007.

Finn, Robert, "Afghanistan's Present and Future," American Academy, Berlin, 3/17/08. See <http://www.princeton.edu/lisd/publications>

LISD – Afghanistan State and Security Building publications,
esp. *Liechtenstein Colloquium Report*, Vol. III., 2008

Jones, Seth, "Pakistan's Dangerous Game," *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Spring, 2007, pp. 15-34.

Rashid, Ahmed. *Descent Into Chaos: The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, Viking, New York, 2008, Chaps. 1, 4, 5.

Rashid, Ahmed, *Taliban: Islam, oil and the new great game in Central Asia*. Yale University Press, Nota Bene, 2001.

Chapter 10 – Global Jihad: The Arab-Afghans and Osama bin Laden, pp.128-140

Chapter 13 – Romancing the Taliban 2: The Battle for the Pipelines and the USA and the Taliban 1997-99, pp. 170-182

Rubin, Barnett, "Saving Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1., pp. 57-78.

Winning the peace: an American strategy for post-conflict reconstruction. Ed. by Robert C. Orr. Washington, D.C. : CSIS Press, 2004.

Chapter 15 – Afghanistan: The Chimera of the "Light Footprint", by Milan Vaishnav, pp. 244-262

Presentation Materials

Ajami, Fouad. "The Sentry's Solitude," *Foreign Affairs*, November / December 2001, Vol. 80, No. 6, pp. 2-16.

Atal, Subodh. "The New Great Game." *The National Interest*, No. 81 (Fall 2005)

Bearden, Milton. "Afghanistan—Graveyard of Empire," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2001, Vol. 80, No. 6, pp. 17-30.

Crescent of crisis: U.S.-European strategy for the greater Middle East. Eds. Ivo Daalder, Nicole Gnesotto, and Philip Gordon. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2006.

Proposals for Improved Stability in Afghanistan, by Barnett R Rubin, pp. 145-163

Afghanistan: Elements of Transatlantic Nation-Building Strategy, by Michael Schmunk, pp. 163-181

Gannon, Kathy. "Afghanistan Unbound," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2002, Vol. 81, No. 3, pp. 35-46.

Judah, Tim. "The Taliban Papers," *Survival*, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, pp. 69-80.

Mishra, Pankaj. "The Afghan Tragedy," *The New York Review of Books*, January 17, 2002, pp. 43-48.

O'Hanlon, Michael. "A Flawed Masterpiece," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2002, Vol. 81, No. 3, pp. 47-63.

Robichaud, Carl. "Remember Afghanistan? A Glass Half Full, On the Titanic." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Spring 2006)

Saikal, Amin. *Modern Afghanistan*, I.B.Tauris, London 2004.

Background Reading

Rashid, Ahmed, *Descent Into Chaos*, Viking, N.Y., 2008. pp. 3-24, 125-145, 171-219, 240-265, 317-338, 349-404.

Coll, Steve. *Ghost Wars—The secret history of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden*. Penguin, 2004

Dupree, Louis. *Afghanistan, Second Impression*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

Woodward, Bob. *Bush at War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.

5. October 15, 2008

The Caucasus: Sovereignty, Ethnicity, Energy

Guest: Oksana Antonenko, Program Director, Russia and Eurasia
IISS, London

Background Reading

Croissant, Cynthia, *Azerbaijan: Oil and Geopolitics*, Nova, Commack, N.Y. 1998. HD 9576.A982C76 1998. first part.

Goltz, Thomas, *Azerbaijan Diary*, M. S. Sharpe, Armonk, N.Y., 1998. DK697.6 G65 1998

Levine, Steven, *The Oil and the Glory*, Random House, New York, 2007. HD 9576 C372 L46 2007

Starr, S. Frederick and Cornell, Svante E., eds.: *The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline: Oil Window to the World*. Especially pp. 17-38 <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/BTC.htm>

Required Reading

Karagiannis, Emmanuel, *Energy and Security in the Caucasus*, Routledge, New York, 2002
HD 9576 C3832K39 2002

Minsk Group Website: <http://www.osce.org/item/21979.html>

Michael A. Reynolds, "Russia and Georgia at War," LISD Commentary, August 2008,
www.princeton.edu/lisd/commentary

Presentation Materials

Conference: Resolving Conflict in the Caucasus and Moldova: Perspectives on next steps.
U.S. National Intelligence Council, 2002.

ONLINE:http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/websites/www.cia.gov/www.cia.gov/nic/PDF_GIF_confreports/resolveconflict/cr_resolvingconflict.pdf
pp.1-26

Jamestown Foundation Eurasia Daily Monitor: Conservative think tank with many useful
articles on the Caucasus and Central Asia. <http://www.jamestown.org/edm/>

EURASIANET Azerbaijan. Many articles relating to Azerbaijan:
<http://eurasianet.org/resource/azerbaijan/index.shtml>

EURASIANET Armenia: Many articles relating to Armenia:
<http://eurasianet.org/resource/armenia/index.shtml>

EURASIANET: Georgia: Many articles relating to Georgia:
<http://eurasianet.org/resource/georgia/index.shtml>

6. October 22, 2008

***Instruments for Crisis Management:* the International Criminal Court, ICC, etc.**

Guest: Ambassador Christian Wenaweser
Permanent Representative of the Principality of Liechtenstein
To the United Nations, New York

Required Reading

Goldsmith, Jack L. "The Self-Defeating International Criminal Court," *The University of Chicago Law Review*. (Winter 2003) Vol.70, No.1, pp. 89-104

Melvern, Linda. "The Security Council: Behind the scenes." *International Affairs*, Vol. 77,
No.1 (January 2001):101-11.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie and David Bosco, "Plaintiff's Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79,
No. 5, 2000, pp. 102-116.

The United States and the International Criminal Court. Eds. Sarah Sewall and Carl Kaysen.
Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

- Chapter 1 – “The United States and the International Criminal Court: An Overview”, by Sarah Sewall, Carl Kaysen and Michael P. Scharf, pp. 1-27
 Chapter 2 – “The Evolution of the ICC: From the Hague to Rome and back again”, by Leila Nadya Sadat, pp. 31-59
 Chapter 4 – “The Statute of the ICC: Past, Present and Future”, by Bartram S. Brown, pp. 61-84
 Chapter 14 – “The ICC and the Future of the Global Legal System”, by Abram Chayes and Anne-Marie Slaughter, pp. 237-247

Presentation Material

- Broomhall, Bruce. *International Justice and the International Criminal Court: Between Sovereignty and the Rule of Law*. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2003.
 Part II Practice, pp. 63-127
- Peck, Connie. *The United Nations as a Dispute Settlement System: improving mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflict*. The Hague; Boston, MA: Kluwer Law International, 1996.
 Chapter 2 – The UN as a Dispute Settlement System, pp. 10-23
 Chapter 3 – The Entrapping Nature of Conflict Escalation, pp. 24-44
- Politi, Mauro and Giuseppe Nesi, *The International Criminal Court and the Crime of Aggression*, Ashgate, Burlington, VT, 2004.
 Chapter 13 - “The ICC and the Security Council on Aggression: Overlapping Competencies?”, by Paula Escarameia, pp. 133-143
 Chapter 14 - “The ICC and the Security Council: About the Argument of Politicization”, by Marja Lehto, pp. 145-149
- Steiner, Barry H. *Collective Preventive Diplomacy—A Study in International Conflict Management*, State University of New York Press, 2004.
 Chapter 2 – Insulation and Intervention: A Conceptual Overview, pp. 23-40
 Chapter 3 – Forging Great Power Consensus, pp. 41-62

Background Reading

- Andreas, Peter. “Redrawing the Line—Borders and Security in the Twenty-first Century,” *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Fall 2003, pp. 78-111.
- Nardin, Terry. “International political theory and the question of justice.” *International Affairs*. Vol. 82, No. 3 (May 2006)
- Penttilae, Risto E.J. *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security*, Adelphi Paper 355, IISS, Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*. Available at: <http://www.icc-cpi.int> Go to “About the Court” and download the Statute.

7. November 5, 2008

The Iraqi Operation – U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Middle East

Required Reading

Biddle, Stephen. "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon." *Foreign Affairs*. (March/April 2006)

Bremmer, Ian. "A Civil Provocation." *The National Interest*, No. 84 (Summer 2006)

Carpenter, Ted Galen and Innocent, Malou, "The Iraq War and Iranian Power," *Survival*, vol 49, no. 4, Winter 2007-08, pp. 67-82.

Crescent of crisis: U.S.-European strategy for the greater Middle East. Eds. Ivo Daalder, Nicole Gnesotto, and Philip Gordon. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2006.

Trying to Reconstitute the Iraqi State: What Role for Europe?, by Toby Dodge, pp. 123-141

Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang, "Three Critical Concerns for the Macro Middle East," LISD Commentary, www.princeton.edu/lisd/commentary, June 2008

Dobbins, James, "Who lost Iraq?", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 5, September/October 2007, pp. 61-74.

Dunn, Michael. "The United States, the United Nations and Iraq: 'multilateralism of a kind'," *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, Nr. 2, 2003, pp. 257-277.

Freedman, Sir Lawrence. "War in Iraq: Selling the Threat," *Survival*, Vol. 46, Nr. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 7-50.

Glennon, Michael J. "Why the Security Council Failed." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003

Record, Jeffrey. "Threat Confusion and its Penalties," *Survival*, Vol. 46, Nr. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 51-72.

"What to Do in Iraq: A Roundtable." Larry Diamond, James Dobbins, Chaim Kaufmann, Leslie H. Gelb, and Stephen Biddle. *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2006)

Presentation Materials

LISD Materials

Buzan, Barry and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez. "'International Community' after Iraq." *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, No.1 (January 2005). Chatham House

Cordesman, Anthony H. "American Strategic and Tactical Failures in Iraq: An Update." Center for Strategic and International Studies. *Working Draft for Outside Comment*. Aug. 8, 2006 http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/060808_iraqfailures.pdf

Dalacoura, Katerina. "US democracy promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: a critique." *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5 (October 2005). Chatham House

Dobbins, James. "Preparing for Nation-Building." *Survival*. Vol. 48, No. 3 (Autumn 2006)

The Iraq war reader: history, documents, opinions. Ed. Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York : Touchstone Books, 2003.

Part Two: Aftermaths of the Gulf War

"We have Saddam Hussein Still Here", by Andrew and Patrick Cockburn, pp.91-100

Why We Didn't Go to Baghdad, by George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, pp. 101-102

Part Five: Sanctions and Inspections

A Backgrounder on Inspections and Sanctions, by Sarah Graham-Brown and Chris Toensing, pp. 165-173

Part Six: New Storms Brewing

An Open Letter to President Clinton "Remove Saddam From Power", pp. 199-201

Televised Address to the Nation: "The costs of inaction must be weighed against the price of inaction", by President Bill Clinton, pp.205-209

Part Eight: The Bush Doctrine

What To Do About Iraq, by Robert Kagan and William Kristol, pp. 243-249

Remarks at West Point "New Threats Require New Thinking", by President George W. Bush, pp. 268-271

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IV. SUMMARY AND PROJECTION

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Lessons and Propositions

A Simulation and Role Play