

BA-Hauptseminar 15261: Regional Organizations and Conflict Management in the Global South

Freie Universität Berlin, Summer Semester 2020

Wednesdays, 10:00 AM – 12:00 NN via [Webex Meeting Room](#)

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Content

Since the 1990s, regional intergovernmental organizations have emerged at the forefront of international conflict management. These regional organizations have established their peacebuilding units and mandate peacemaking and peacekeeping missions. Second to the United Nations (UN), most of the activities are initiated by regional organizations in the Global South, for example, the African Union (AU) in Africa, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Southeast Asia, and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) in South America, among others.

This seminar examines international organizations' conflict management activities to analyze why and how they form, develop, and engage in peace and security issues. It first discusses keystone concepts from the main International Relations theories and their take on international organizations. Second, the seminar applies the concepts to understanding these organizations' institutions and overall performance in maintaining peace and security. Third, the seminar fosters the examination of the different conflict management tools, such as peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and specific cases where these international organizations employ them. Lastly, the seminar provides an overview of international organizations' interaction with each other and the UN in addressing armed conflicts.

The seminar's focus on organizations in the Global South sheds light on empirics of regional community-building less studied in dominant Europe-based explanations. Such focus facilitates a reflection on the applicability of such explanations to other contexts and the ability of Global South-based studies to contribute to mainstream IR and understanding regional community building at large.

Learning objectives

At the end of the course, students are knowledgeable of the main International Relations theories regarding regional organizations' formation and activities in conflict management. They are also familiar with international conflict management tools and related basic issues in peace and conflict studies. The overall aim is to apply their knowledge of these concepts and tools in understanding and analyzing the conflict management institutional design and activities of regional organizations in Africa, Southeast Asia, and South America.

Requirements

For all participants:

1. **Readings:** Before coming to class, I expect that you have read the two to three mandatory reading assignments indicated in the table on the next pages. The listed readings are mandatory unless otherwise specified.

2. **Active participation:** Students are expected not only to be present but also to ask and answer questions posed in the class. Their contribution should exhibit their knowledge and reflection on the day's readings.

For students aiming for a participation certificate:

3. At the beginning of the course, students aiming for a participation certificate will select three session topics and readings about which they will write a short paper. To obtain the certificate, students must have submitted three papers in total at the end of the semester.
4. At 18.00, on Monday before the selected sessions, students should submit one paper (2-3 pages, double-spaced) containing (a) a meme or comic strip that expresses their impression of the upcoming lesson's readings, (b) an explanation of the meme in relation to the readings, and (c) three questions regarding the upcoming session, based on the readings. Memes and comic strips can be sourced online, cited properly in APA style, or created originally at several meme creator websites. Other assignments, if any, will be specified in the table laying out the weekly course readings. Be prepared to briefly explain your meme in class (approximately 1-2 minutes) as we review some of the submissions.

For students writing a seminar paper:

3. Students aiming to do a seminar paper will be grouped and prepare a 25-minute presentation (40%) on the week's topic. The presentation consists of a synthesis of the required and other readings and empirical analysis either of a regional organization or a specific case of conflict management by a regional organization. Considerations for assessing the presentation are the following:
 - Relevance of the presentation to the topic; use of concepts discussed in the course
 - Contextualization/Background research on the topic and the assigned literature
 - Comprehensiveness of the summary of readings
 - Clarity of the presentation
 - Quality of visuals – use of images, memes, showmanship, etc.
 - Observation of time limit
4. The seminar paper (60%) may be similar or related to the 25-minute presentation. Seminar papers (60%) will focus on one conflict issue (either thematic, such as civil war, or a particular dispute, such as the South China Sea territorial dispute) and analyze the response or lack thereof of the relevant regional organization using the concepts and theories discussed in the seminar. Following the Hauptseminar paper guidelines, the paper should be 6000 (10% more or less) words, including the bibliography, employing APA citation. Considerations for assessing the presentation are the following:
 - Use and innovation of IR concepts discussed in class
 - Richness of research – citing literature discussed in class and beyond
 - Development of the argument – detailed explanation and examples
 - Relevance and quality of the research question and response
 - Author's reflection on the topic, use of concepts, and research experience
 - Structure and clarity of the flow of the paper
 - Grammar and technical writing features (consistent and complete citation; formatting)

5. An outline containing the main research question, identifying the conflict issue and regional organization, and sketching the paper's preliminary structure is due on week six.
6. The deadline for submitting the seminar paper is at 11 PM, Sunday Central European Time, on 31 Jul 2021.

Consultations and availability

If you wish to discuss your presentation and other concerns about the class, I am available for consultations on Wednesdays after class. Please email me in advance to arrange this consultation.

Connectivity and communication (Using Blackboard and Webex)

We will use a mailing list to connect the whole seminar, rendering it easy for every member of this seminar to provide her/his papers to the fellow-students well in advance.

On how to obtain an FU-blackboard account, consult <http://www.cms.fu-berlin.de/lms/studierende/selbstregistrierung/index.html>. On how to subscribe to the FU-blackboard mailing list for this seminar, consult <http://lms.fu-berlin.de/infos/studierende-faq.html>. There will be the possibility of self-enrollment on blackboard subject to the submission of a password. This password will be announced in one of the first seminar sessions.

For those registering via Contact Management System, the registration will be automatic. Only those that were additionally included will have to do it manually.

Instructions for Webex Participation

In these steps & via this Webex link, you can access the virtual seminar room:

<https://fu-berlin.webex.com/fu-berlin-en/j.php?MTID=mf963ded77820b00d68435255e9225fff>

or copy it into your internet browser and confirm it with the return key.

If, contrary to expectations, you are not directed to the virtual seminar room on Webex in this way, please proceed as follows:

1. Start your internet browser.
2. Go to the following URL in your Internet browser: <https://fu-berlin.webex.com>
3. Enter the following meeting ID under "Join meeting": 121 497 2835
4. You will be asked to enter a password. Enter: MVmpmJ5tF72 (pay attention to the upper and lower case!)
5. Confirm with "OK."
6. You can only join this virtual seminar room from Webex if the lecturer has opened it on the day of the course, which should usually happen from 10 AM. If you cannot enter at first, you are too early. Please try again a short time later.

Part I: Setting up the analytical and theoretical lenses

The first four sessions will provide an overview of the administrative and conceptual details of the course. In these sessions, we will recall relevant main concepts in International Relations and their application in understanding regional organizations, particularly their decision to engage in conflict management, the tools they use to manage conflict, and their performance (effectiveness, strengths, and challenges).

<p style="text-align: center;">Session 1: 14 Apr 2021 Course Introduction</p>

Activities:

- Presentation of Course Overview and Requirements
- Opening the list/schedule for participation papers and group presentation

<p style="text-align: center;">Session 2: 21 Apr 2021 Defining Key Concepts: international organizations (IOs), regionalism, conflict resolution tools</p>
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This session aims to provide an overview of theories and the working definitions for the key terms used in the course.

Required Readings:

- Kacowicz, A. M., & Press-Barnathan, G. (2016). Regional Security Governance. In T. A. Börzel & T. Risse (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (pp. 297–322). Oxford University Press.
- Acharya, A. (2016). Regionalism Beyond EU-Centrism. In T. A. Börzel & T. Risse (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (pp. 109–132). Oxford University Press.
- Babbitt, E. F. (2009). The Evolution of International Conflict Resolution: From Cold War to Peacebuilding. *Negotiation Journal*, 25(4), 539–549.

Optional Reading:

- Pevehouse, J., & von Borzyskowski, I. (2016). International Organizations in World Politics. In J. K. Cogan, I. Hurd, & I. Johnstone (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*. Oxford University Press.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course

Session 3: 28 Apr 2021
Theories on IOs I: Realism

This session will unpack the basics of realist theorizing in IR and its implications on studying international organizations. It will zoom in on certain concepts, such as alliances and the hegemonic stability theory, and explore their use in analyzing ASEAN's activities in addressing the South China Sea territorial dispute.

Required Readings:

Chapter 3 Mainstream Theories (2015). In Pease, Kelly-Kate S.: *International organizations*: Routledge, pp. 48-65 only.

Tieku, T. K. (2004). Explaining the clash and accommodation of interests of major actors in the creation of the African Union. *African Affairs*, 103(411), 249–267.

Yee, A. (2011). Maritime territorial disputes in East Asia: A comparative analysis of the South China Sea and the East China Sea. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 40(2), 165–193.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- **Deadline for signing up for group presentations**

Session 4:05 May 2021
Theories on IOs II: Liberalism

This session will examine the fundamental features of liberal theories in IR and how this approaches the study of international organizations. The session will examine the concept of security regimes and international organizations' relations with non-state actors, particularly civil society.

Required Readings:

- Pease, K.-K. S. (2011). Chapter 3 'Mainstream Theories,' In *International organizations*. In K.-K. S. Pease (Ed.), *International organizations* (pp. 43–75). London: Longman/Pearson Education. pp. 65-85 only.
- Haftel, Y. Z. (2007). Designing for peace: regional integration arrangements, institutional variation, and militarized interstate disputes. *International Organization*, 61(1), 217–237.
- Mac Ginty, R., M. Joshi and S. Lee (2019). Liberal Peace Implementation and the Durability of Post-war Peace. *International Peacekeeping* 26(4): 457–86.

- Ramanzini Júnior, H., & Luciano, B. T. (2020). Regionalism in the Global South: Mercosur and ECOWAS in trade and democracy protection. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(9), 1498–1517.

Optional Reading:

- Hendricks, Cheryl; Keita, Naffet (2017): Introduction: Security regimes in Africa: prospects and challenges. *Africa Development* 42 (3), pp. 1–12.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course

<p style="text-align: center;">Session 5:12 May 2021 Theories on IOs III: Constructivism</p>
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This session will discuss the features of constructivism in IR theory and how it approaches the study of international organizations' engagement in peace and security. The class will examine the inter-linkages among the theories and the concept of security communities.

Required Readings:

- Acharya, A. (2007). Comparing regional institutions: an introduction. In A. Acharya & A. I. Johnston (Eds.), *Crafting Cooperation: Regional international institutions in comparative perspective* / edited by Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnett, M., & Finnemore, M. (2004). International Organizations as Bureaucracies. In International Organizations in Global Politics. *Rules for the World* (pp. 16–44). Cornell University Press.
- Risse, T. (2016). The Diffusion of Regionalism. In T. A. Börzel & T. Risse (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (pp. 87–108). Oxford University Press.

Optional Readings:

- Acharya, A. (2004). How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization*, 58, 239–257.
- Bah, Alhaji M. S. (2005). West Africa: From a security complex to a security community. *African Security Review*, 14(2), 77–83.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion

- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course

Part II: Examining the institutional design and performance of international organizations in addressing conflicts

Each of the next three sessions will focus on specific regional organizations. The class, led by the group presentations, is expected to use the knowledge of theories previously discussed to explain the driving force(s) behind regional organization's engagement in conflict management, the kind of peace institutions (agencies, bodies, forums) established under them, and general impressions of how these institutions function in specific conflicts.

Session 6:19 May 2021

The African Union Peace and Security Architecture – The African Union and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs)

This session analyzes the structure and performance of the African Union in conflict management. It also provides an overview of its interaction with its sub-regional organizations, or RECs.

Required Readings:

- Engel, U., & Porto, Joao. G. (2009). The African Union's New Peace and Security Architecture: Toward an Evolving Security Regime? *African Security*, 2(2-3), 82–96.
- Williams, P. D. (2007). From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union's security culture. *African Affairs*, 106(423), 253–279.
- Witt, A. (2018). Studying African interventions 'from below': Exploring practices, knowledges and perceptions. *South African Journal of International Affairs* 25(1): 1–19.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 1 presentation
- **Deadline for the seminar paper outline**

Session 7:26 May 2021
The ASEAN Peace and Security Architecture

This session looks at the Southeast Asian regional organization and analyzes its institutions. The session will probe critiques and explanations regarding the "ASEAN way" of managing conflicts.

Required Readings:

- Rolls, M. (2012). Centrality and continuity: ASEAN and regional security since 1967. *East Asia*, 29(2), 127–139.
- Emmers, R., & Tan, S. S. (2011). The ASEAN Regional Forum and Preventive Diplomacy: Built to Fail? *Asian Security*, 7(1), 44–60.
- Haacke, J. (2009). The ASEAN Regional Forum: from dialogue to practical security cooperation? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 22(3), 427–449.

Optional Reading:

- Soomro, N. N. (2017, 14 Nov). ASEAN's Role in Conflict Management: Active and Effective? Retrieved from <http://theasiadialogue.com/2017/11/14/aseans-role-in-conflict-management-active-and-effective/>.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 2 presentation

Session 8: 02 Jun 2021
The Union of South American Nations

This session examines the role of various regional organizations in Latin America but focusing on the role of UNASUR, as it interfaces with other organizations in the region.

Required Readings:

- Briceño-Ruiz, J., & Ribeiro Hoffmann, A. (2015). Post-hegemonic regionalism, UNASUR, and the reconfiguration of regional cooperation in South America. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Latino-Américaines Et Caraïbes*, 40(1), 48–62.
- Herz, M., Siman, M., & Telles, A. C. (2017). Regional Organizations, Conflict Resolution and Mediation in South America. In M. Suárez, R. D. Villa, & B. Weiffen (Eds.), *Power dynamics and regional security in Latin America* (pp. 123–148). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Weiffen, B., Wehner, L., & Nolte, D. (2013). Overlapping regional security institutions in South America: The case of OAS and UNASUR. *International Area Studies Review*, 16(4), 370–389.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 3 presentation

Part III: Regional Organizations in Action: select cases of peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and conflict prevention

The following four sessions feature regional organizations using four conflict resolution tools: peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and the re-emerging trend of conflict prevention. The last session in this block facilitates the analysis of relations between or among organizations in these activities. Groups are tasked to choose and present a case study of a regional organization using the conflict management tool featured on their assigned day.

<p style="text-align: center;">Session 9: 09 Jun 2021 Peacemaking</p>

This session provides an overview of international peace mediation and the increasing role of regional organizations. The session will analyze a particular mediation process and facilitate a discussion on the pros and cons of having a regional organization as the mediator.

Required Readings:

- Wallensteen, P., & Svensson, I. (2014). Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2), 315–327.
- Nathan, L. (2015). The Peacemaking Effectiveness of Regional Organisations: *Working Papers*. London: Crisis States Research Centre London School of Economics, Global and Regional Axes of Conflict, pp. 1–27.
- Richmond, O. (2018). A genealogy of mediation in international relations: From 'analogue' to 'digital' forms of global justice or managed war? *Cooperation and Conflict* 53(3), 301-349.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 4 presentation

Session 10: 16 Jun 2021

Peacekeeping

This session looks at peacekeeping operations and compares the different capacities of regional organizations to do such missions. The session will analyze the material resources, deployment systems, and norms that guide regional organization's (in)activities in peacekeeping operations.

Required Readings:

- Pacific settlement, collective security and international peacekeeping. (2016). In R. Thakur (Ed.), *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (2nd ed., pp. 29–55). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, P. D. (2009). The African Union's Peace Operations: A Comparative Analysis. *African Security* 2(2-3), 97–118.
- Brast, B. (2015). The Regional Dimension of Statebuilding Interventions. *International Peacekeeping* 22(1): 81–99.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 5 presentation

Session 11: 23 Jun 2021

Peacebuilding

This session introduces the traditional conception of peacebuilding and the main critiques against the current liberal trend in peacebuilding. Such critiques point to dilemmas in implementing peacebuilding programs, which are reflected in many regional organizations' peacebuilding experiences.

Required Readings:

- Barnett, M., Kim, H., O' donnell, M., & Sitea, L. (2007). Peacebuilding: What is in a name? *Global Governance*, 13, 35.
- Lemay-Hébert, N. (2013). Critical Debates on Liberal Peacebuilding. *Civil Wars*, 15(2): 242–52.
- Victor A.O Adetula, Bereketeab, R., & Jaiyebo, O. (2016). Regional Economic Communities and Peacebuilding in Africa: The Experiences of ECOWAS and IGAD (NAI Policy Dialogue No. 12). Retrieved from The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala website: <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1068566/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

Optional Reading:

- United Nations, The Challenge of Sustaining Peace: Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture, 29 Jun 2015, available at <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5724aae44.html>.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 6 presentation

Session 12: 30 Jun 2021

Conflict Prevention

This session presents conflict prevention as a re-emerging trend in conflict management. However, there is no consensus on what it means and what tools (new or existing) it involves. The presenting group is tasked to show the different definitions and tools under conflict prevention and how international organizations are using this term.

Required Readings:

- Ackermann, A. (2003). The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention. *Journal of Peace Research*, 40(3), 339–347. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/3648335.
- Engel, U. (2018). Knowledge production on conflict early warning at the African Union. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 25(1), 117–132. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2018.1417902>.
- Kivimäki, T. (2012). Southeast Asia and conflict prevention. Is ASEAN running out of steam? *The Pacific Review*, 25(4), 403–427.

Optional:

- Atuobi, S. (2010). Implementing the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework: Prospects and Challenges (Policy Brief 3/2010). Retrieved from Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre website: https://issat.dcaf.ch/download/31912/448494/policy_brief_2010_no_3.pdf.
- Lund, M. S. (2009). Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice. In J. Bercovitch, V. A. Kremeniuk, & I. W. Zartman (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook Of Conflict Resolution* (pp. 287–321). London, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.
- Kydd, A. (2010). Rationalist Approaches to Conflict Prevention and Resolution. *Annual Review of Political Science* 13(1): 101–21.
- Ott, L., & Lühe, U. (2018). Conflict Prevention: Connecting Policy and Practice (No. 2). Bern. Retrieved from [swisspeace](https://www.swisspeace.ch/assets/publications/downloads/Wor) website: <https://www.swisspeace.ch/assets/publications/downloads/Wor> king-

Papers/e74e66efe2/Conflict-Prevention-ConnectingPolicy-and-Practice-Working-Paper-18-swisspeace-lisa_ottulrike-luehe.PDF.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 7 presentation

Session 13: 07 Jul 2021

Conflict and Cooperation among International and Regional Organizations

After focusing on particular tools and regional organizations in isolation, this session looks into issues regarding the relations and interaction between regional organizations and the United Nations, the main global organization for international peace and security.

Required Readings:

- Lanz, D., & Gasser, R. (February 2013). A Crowded Field: Competition and Coordination in International Peace Mediation (Mediation Arguments No. 2). University of Pretoria.
- Machado da Silva, Marcos Valle (2017). Interstate Conflict Management in South America: Relevance of Overlapping Institutions. In M. Suárez, R. D. Villa, & B. Weiffen (Eds.), *Power dynamics and regional security in Latin America* (pp. 199–223). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haftel, Y. Z., & Hofmann, S. C. (2019). Rivalry and Overlap: Why Regional Economic Organizations Encroach on Security Organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63(9), 2180–2206.

Optional:

- Campbell, Susanna, and Michael Hartnett. 2005. A Framework for Improved Coordination: Lessons Learned from the International Development, Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, Humanitarian and Conflict Resolution Communities. Edited by The Interagency Transformation and After Action Review Program.

Activities:

- Lecture
- Discussion
- For students aiming at a participation certificate: Meme / Comic paper due on Monday before this course
- Group 8 presentation

Session 14: 14 Jul 2021

Conclusion / Wrap-up