

# Elliott School of International Affairs

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

## Introduction to Conflict Resolution Fall 2020

IAFF 6171 Section 11 | 3.0 Credits | CRN 52389

Online instruction | Synchronous sessions Wednesday, 5.10-6:40pm

Class dates: September 2 to December 14, 2020

**Prof. Paul D. Williams**

Virtual Office Hours: I will remain online between 6.40-7.00pm for issues that can be discussed with other students present. Or, we can arrange a private meeting by appointment. Email: [pauldw@gwu.edu](mailto:pauldw@gwu.edu)

### Course Description

This course provides students with an introduction to the field of conflict analysis and resolution. It is intended to provide a solid foundation for further inquiry and application. The course will introduce students to the major concepts and issues currently animating the field, explore the main strategies for responding to armed conflicts, and help them recognize and critique the assumptions upon which these strategies rest. This is not primarily a “how-to” course nor does it delve extensively into the fields of community and neighbor mediation. Instead, this course considers the “upper end” of the armed conflict spectrum, focusing on inter-state armed conflicts, contemporary civil wars, and other forms of organized violence. At the end of the course students should be acquainted with the nature of conflict resolution as a distinct theoretical and applied field of study and have some understanding of current thinking about major approaches to war prevention, mitigation, settlement, and post-war reconstruction projects. It will be useful for anyone with an interest in conflict resolution and management, including professionals in the fields of diplomacy, journalism, development assistance, humanitarian aid or international peacekeeping who wish to develop their knowledge of this important area. The course will connect theory to practice through discussion, policy analysis, research and case study review of real events.

### Learning Outcomes

At the end of this course, students should be able to:

- understand the major concepts and instruments for preventing, managing and resolving armed conflicts as they relate to international affairs;
- critically analyze these concepts and instruments;

- apply these concepts and instruments to cases of contemporary armed conflict;
- devise their own conflict resolution strategies;
- develop their research, political analysis, written and oral communication skills.

### **Course Workload / Credit Hour Policy**

In a 15-week semester, including exam week, a three-credit graduate course would usually have around 100 minutes of direct/guided instruction, and about 350 minutes of independent work per week. You will spend approximately 2 hours per week engaged in a combination of recorded video lectures and live synchronous sessions, and 1 hour per week participating in discussion exercises (for a total of 37.5 hours of guided instruction for the semester. Homework and other independent work (e.g. readings, course papers, etc.) is estimated at around 75 hours for the semester. In total you are expected to work for at least 112.5 hours over the semester.

### **Technology Requirements**

As an online student, it is necessary to possess baseline technology skills in order to participate fully in the course. Please consult the GW Online website (<https://online.gwu.edu/technical-requirements-and-support>) for further information about recommended configurations and support. If you have questions or problems with technology for this course, please consult the Technology Help link in the left navigation menu in our course in Blackboard.

You should be able to:

- Use a personal computer and its peripherals.
- Use word processing and other productivity software.
- Use the webcam and microphone on your device.
- Use your computer to upload recordings and images to your computer.
- Seek technology help by contacting GW Information Technology (<https://online.gwu.edu/student-support>, 202-994-4948).

If you have any problems with the software in this course, please reference the Technology Help link in the left navigation menu in our course on Blackboard.

### **Course Weekly Schedule**

1. Introduction and Overview (Wednesday 2 September)

#### Part 1: Analysing Armed Conflicts

2. Key Concepts and Definitions (Wednesday 9 September)
3. Measuring Organized Violence (Wednesday 16 September)
4. Understanding Contemporary Armed Conflict (Wednesday 23 September)
5. Gender in Armed Conflict (Wednesday 30 September)

#### Part 2: Responding to Armed Conflicts

6. Prevention (Wednesday 7 October)
7. Mediation (Wednesday 14 October)
8. Coercion (Wednesday 21 October)
9. Peacekeeping (Wednesday 28 October)
10. (Humanitarian) Intervention (Wednesday 4 November)
11. Partition (Wednesday 11 November)

#### Part 3: Endgames and Aftermaths

12. Ending Violent Conflict (Wednesday 18 November)  
**NB. No Class 25 November: Thanksgiving Break**  
 13. Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (Wednesday 2 December)  
 14. Reconciliation and Justice (Wednesday 9 December)

### Course Requirements and Assessment

Attendance and Participation		10%
Mapping Paper	(10pp double-spaced)	25%
Policy Critique Memo	(3pp single-spaced)	25%
Strategy Paper	(15pp double-spaced)	40%

#### Attendance and Participation (10%)

This is a seminar, not a lecture course. Student contributions are thus essential. Students are required to attend all sessions, arrive on time, and have read *at least* the items listed under Essential Reading prior to each session.

#### Mapping Paper (25%) Due Session 7 class

Write a conflict mapping paper for an ongoing armed conflict between a dyad of your choice. See Ramsbotham et al *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016: 103-09) for details of what comprehensive conflict mapping entails. However, given the page limit, please organize your paper to address the following core questions:

- Why is your choice of two primary conflict parties—i.e. your specific “conflict dyad”—important?
- How are these parties organized i.e. where does power lie within them, who calls the shots, how big/powerful are they?
- What are their primary sources of support i.e. their key constituencies both at home and abroad?
- What are the parties fighting about? What are the core incompatibilities between them?
- What are the key trends and patterns of violence?

Warning: Don’t start with a long section of historical background, rather bring in the relevant history as and when it helps you answer these questions.

Your paper should be double-spaced and 10-pages in length (give or take a page), including all footnotes but excluding the Bibliography and any maps, which should be added in an Appendix. Use standard (12-point) font and standard (1-inch) margins. Chicago Manual-style footnotes and Bibliography is preferred. The Chicago Manual Style Citation Quick Guide is available here:

[https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html). Please submit your paper in Microsoft Word format via Blackboard.

#### Policy Critique Memo (25%) Due Session 12 class.

Write a memorandum critiquing a current policy problem related to an ongoing armed conflict and identifying your proposed solution. Your memo may analyse a policy related to any of the six approaches we will study in Part 2 of the course i.e. prevention,

mediation, coercion, peacekeeping, intervention, and partition. You might find it useful to watch Prof. Chris Kojm explain the logic behind such policy memos – on Blackboard.

Address your memo to the National Security Advisor of any government or the relevant decision-maker in an international organization of your choice. The memo must identify a current policy problem (not an imaginary or idealized problem, but the current reality with all its warts). Explain why it is important (in other words, why should the decision-maker bother to read this memo?). Summarize what's wrong with current policy (be specific in identifying the shortcomings). Spell out some options different from current policy (in other words, present ideas about how to make policy better, responding directly to the shortcomings you identify). Aim for policy solutions that are "PAIR" – Practical, Actionable, Innovative, and Realistic. Analyse the pros and cons of those options (be dispassionate and analytical – every option has identifiable risks). Then recommend an option (why is this option better at addressing shortcomings of current policy than the other options; be sure to state how you respond to the "con" arguments of your chosen option and mitigate the risks you identify). Finally, explain how you will implement your option, including assessing the requisite resources and addressing political risks (domestic or international) associated with your recommendation. A good recommendation comes with a strategy to implement it. Please follow this format:

Executive Summary (up to ¼ page written after you finish)

1. Policy Problem
  - a. What is the problem with the policy you are going to analyse? It might be useful to think in terms of goals/methods/resources of the policy you're critiquing.
2. Why Important?
  - a. What differences does it make (to security/political/economic/humanitarian interests)?
3. Shortcomings of current policy (Sections 1-3 together ½ page)
  - a. Why do we need a change in policy?
4. Options (1 ½ pages)
  - a. Option A
    - i. Pros
    - ii. Cons
  - b. Option B
    - i. Pros
    - ii. Cons
  - c. [Maybe Option C]
    - i. [Pros]
    - ii. [Cons]
5. Recommendations (up to ½ page)
  - a. Advocacy
  - b. Response to Counterarguments
6. Implementation (up to ½ page)
  - a. Politics
    - i. Domestic

- ii. International
- b. Money / Resources

Your memo must be no more than three (3), 12-point typed, single-spaced, pages in length. If the memo exceeds three pages, the grade will be reduced. There is no need to include footnotes, references or a bibliography. Please submit your paper in Microsoft Word format via Blackboard.

**Strategy Paper (40%) Due 5pm (EST) Monday December 14, 2020.**

Write a strategy paper explaining how to resolve an ongoing dyadic armed conflict of your choice. Do not approach this as paper as an attempt to think how your conflict zone can be turned into utopia overnight. Instead, write your most persuasive argument—supported by evidence of its feasibility—about how the conflict could be moved in a less destructive direction and/or how violence might be reduced in the medium- to long-term. You might consider adopting one of the following approaches, depending which is most appropriate for your chosen conflict. However, feel free to experiment with other approaches.

1. Advocate for a particular final outcome and justify how we might get there. For example, you may argue that rebel group X deserves its own state and set out the arguments (and rebut the counter-arguments) as to how this could be done. Or that rebel group X needs to be defeated and here's how to do it in a way that will produce sustainable peace.
2. If your conflict has recently witnessed a peace agreement but the incompatibilities between the parties have not yet been fully resolved, assess the contents of the peace agreement, highlight its main strengths and weaknesses, explain why it failed to get fully implemented, and propose ways of overcoming those obstacles this time around.
3. If your conflict is still a "hot war," make your paper an argument about how to start a mediation process and deliver a peace agreement. In this case, you should consider: When would be a ripe moment for mediation/negotiation? Why would the parties benefit from negotiation? Who should mediate? And how might the process move forward in practical terms?

It is sometimes useful to think of proposals in terms of short-term (next six months), medium-term (2-5 years) and long-term (10 years) measures. Your paper should be double-spaced and 15-pages in length (give or take a page), including all footnotes but excluding the Bibliography. Use standard (12-point) font and standard (1-inch) margins. Chicago Manual-style footnotes and Bibliography is preferred. The Chicago Manual Style Citation Quick Guide is available here:

[https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html)

Please submit your paper in Microsoft Word format via Blackboard.

**Grading Scale / Late Submission of Papers and Incompletes**

*Excellent*

*Good*

*Needs  
Improvement*

*Low Pass*

*Fail*



A 96%-100%	B+ 87%-89%	B- 80%-83%	C 74%-76%	F Under 70%
A- 90%-95%	B 84%-86%	C+ 77%-79%	C- 70%-73%	

- Other symbols that may appear include *AU*, Audit; *I*, Incomplete; *IPG*, In Progress; *W*, Authorized; Withdrawal; *Z*, Unauthorized Withdrawal; *CR*, Credit; *NC*, No Credit. <http://bulletin.gwu.edu/university-regulations/>
- Late papers will be penalized one-third of the grade per working day (from A to A-, from A- to B+, etc.). Save and print your work regularly as you write. Problems with technology are not an acceptable reason for late work.
- An Incomplete may be given if a student, for reasons beyond the student's control, is unable to complete the work of the course, and if the instructor is informed of, and approves, such reasons before the date when grades must be reported. An Incomplete can only be granted if the student's prior performance and class attendance in the course have been satisfactory. Any failure to complete the work of a course that is not satisfactorily explained to the instructor before the date when grades must be turned in will be graded F, Failure. Incomplete work must be completed within the designated time period agreed upon by the instructor, student, and school, but no more than one calendar year from the end of the semester in which the course was taken. To record the exact expectations, conditions, and deadlines of the Incomplete please use the Elliott School's Incomplete Grade Contract: <http://go.gwu.edu/incompletecontractgraduate> The completed and signed contract is to be submitted to the Academic Affairs and Student Services Office. All students who receive an Incomplete must maintain active student status during the subsequent semester(s) in which the work of the course is being completed. If not registered in other classes during this period, the student must register for continuous enrollment status. For more information regarding Incompletes please review the relevant sections in the University Bulletin: <http://bulletin.gwu.edu/universityregulations/#Incompletes>

## Netiquette

Please observe the following rules of netiquette for communicating online:

- Remain professional, respectful, and courteous at all times.
- Remember that a real human being wrote each post and will read what you write in response. It is easy to misinterpret discussion posts. Let's give the benefit of the doubt.
- If you have a strong opinion on a topic, it is acceptable to express it as long as it is not phrased as an attack. Please be gracious with differing opinions.
- When upset, wait a day or two prior to posting. Messages posted (or emailed) in anger are often regretted later.
- Proofread and use the spell check tool when you type a post. It makes the post easier to read and helps your readers understand what you are saying.

I reserve the right to delete any post that is deemed inappropriate for the discussion forum, blog, or wiki without prior notification to the student. This includes any post containing language that is offensive, rude, profane, racist, or hateful. Posts that are

seriously off-topic or serve no purpose other than to vent frustration will also be removed.

## Course Materials and Weekly Schedule

### Introductory Texts for Purchase

There are no textbooks that cover all the issues discussed in this course. However, if you are new to this field of study, I recommend two introductory books. They can be purchased from a variety of online stores such as [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com) and [www.barnesandnoble.com](http://www.barnesandnoble.com):

Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 2016). ISBN-13: 978-0745687223. The best single overview of the field that sets out the case for what the authors call cosmopolitan conflict resolution. See <http://www.polity.co.uk/ccr/>

Matthew Levinger, *Conflict Analysis: Understanding Causes, Unlocking Solutions* (US Institute of Peace Press, 2013). ISBN 978-1-60127-143-3. A good overview of the principal analytic techniques involved in conducting conflict assessments. This is a useful book to purchase if you plan on actually conducting conflict assessments in your subsequent career.

### Relevant Scholarly Journals

You should monitor at least the following academic journals, all of which contain relevant articles. Depending on your own interests, you will also need to monitor the relevant area studies journals. GW Libraries subscribe to these:

<i>Cooperation &amp; Conflict</i> <i>Current History</i> <i>Foreign Affairs</i> <i>Foreign Policy</i> <i>International Affairs</i> <i>International Negotiation</i> <i>International Organization</i>	<i>International Peacekeeping</i> <i>International Security</i> <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> <i>Journal of Global Security Studies</i> <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> <i>Review of International Studies</i>	<i>Security Dialogue</i> <i>Security Studies</i> <i>Stability</i> <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> <i>Strategic Comments (IISS)</i> <i>Survival (IISS)</i> <i>Washington Quarterly (ESIA)</i> <i>World Politics</i>
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### Relevant General Blogs

- Political Violence @ a Glance <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/>
- International Peace Institute, Global Observatory <https://theglobalobservatory.org/>
- The Monkey Cage <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/>
- War on the Rocks <https://warontherocks.com>

Particularly for your chosen conflict, you will need to keep up-to-date with contemporary events by sifting the quality international press e.g. *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *International Herald and Tribune*, *The Economist* etc.

### **Session 1 (2 September): Introduction and Overview**

- Overview of the course and your role in it.

#### Introductory Reading

Pettersson, T. & M. Öberg, "Organized Violence 1989-2019," *Journal of Peace Research*, 57:4 (2020): 597-613.

Kleinfeld, R., *Savage Order: How the world's deadliest countries can forge a path to security* (Pantheon, 2018), Introduction.

Please familiarize yourself with two conflict databases:

- Uppsala Conflict Data Program <https://ucdp.uu.se>
- ACLED <https://acleddata.com/#/dashboard>

### **PART 1: ANALYSING ARMED CONFLICTS**

#### **Session 2 (9 September): Key Concepts and Definitions**

- How important is it that we agree on the vocabulary of conflict resolution?
- What are the main goals of conflict resolution?
- What are the key points of contention within the field?
- What do we mean by: 1) conflict; 2) the conflict cycle; 3) peace; and 4) violence?

#### Essential Reading

Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 1.

Galtung, J. "Violence, Peace and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research*, 6:3 (1969): 167-91.

If you're unsure of the meaning of any terms, you'll probably find short definitions of them in USIP's *Peaceterms* (USIP Press, 2011),

<https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/files/peaceterms.pdf>

#### **Session 3 (16 September): Measuring Organized Violence**

- How should we quantify organized violence and warfare?
- What are the major trends in organized violence? Is it declining?
- What are the major trends in warfare? Is it declining?
- I will give a short lecture summarizing how the Uppsala Conflict Data Program measures armed conflict and produces its database: <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/> and briefly explain ACLED's different approach: <https://acleddata.com/#/dashboard>

#### Essential Reading: Is Warfare Declining?

- Pinker, S., *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence has Declined* (Penguin, 2011), Preface.
- Mousseau, M., "The End of War: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony Are Leading to Perpetual World Peace," *International Security*, 44:1 (2019): 160-96. **[Skim this article.]**
- Braumoeller, B., *Only The Dead: The Persistence of War in the Modern Age* (Oxford UP, 2019), Introduction.
- Fazal, T. & P. Poast, "War Is Not Over: What the Optimists Get Wrong About Conflict," *Foreign Affairs*, 98:6 (2019): 74-83.

### Recommended Reading

- Late in each year, Issue 4 or 5, the *Journal of Peace Research* publishes a very useful article that analyses the latest developments in armed conflict according to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program.
- Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 3.
- Geneva Declaration, *Global Burden of Armed Violence 2015: Every Body Counts* (Cambridge UP, 2015), Executive Summary and chapter 2.  
<http://www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/global-burden-of-armed-violence/global-burden-of-armed-violence-2015.html> and  
[http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/GBAV3/GBAV3\\_Ch2\\_pp49-86.pdf](http://www.genevadeclaration.org/fileadmin/docs/GBAV3/GBAV3_Ch2_pp49-86.pdf)
- Seybolt, T. et al (eds.), *Counting Civilian Casualties* (Oxford UP, 2013).

### **Session 4 (23 September): Understanding Contemporary Armed Conflict**

- What are the main functions of warfare?
- What causes groups to fight?
- What are the different pathways to civil war?
- What are the main elements of the "new wars" thesis and how persuasive are they?

### Essential Reading

- Keen, D., *Complex Emergencies* (Polity, 2008), 11-24.
- Byman, *Keeping the Peace* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), chapter 2.
- Kaldor, M., *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Polity, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 2012), Preface, Introduction and Afterword.

### Recommended Reading

- Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 4.
- Levinger, *Conflict Analysis* (USIP Press, 2013), chapter 2.
- Mueller, J. "The Banality of Ethnic War," *International Security*, 25:1 (2000), 42-70.
- Keen, D., "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *International Affairs*, 88:4 (2012): 757-77.
- Kaldor, M., "Inconclusive Wars: Is Clausewitz still relevant in these global times," *Global Policy*, 1:3 (2010): 271-81.

- Kaufman, S.J., "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Violence," *International Security*, 30:4 (2006): 45-86.
- Mello, P., "In search of new wars: the debate about the transformation of warfare," *European Journal of International Relations*, 16:2 (2010): 297-309.
- Melander, E., M. Oberg & J. Hall, "Are 'New Wars' More Atrocious? Battle Severity, Civilians Killed and Forced Migration Before and After the End of the Cold War," *European Journal of International Relations*, 15:3 (2009), 505-36.

### **Session 5 (30 September): Gender in Armed Conflict**

- How does gender affect the onset and dynamics of armed conflict?
- How does gender affect the dynamics of conflict management?
- What are the main obstacles to implementing the UN's "women, peace and security" agenda?
- What are the major barriers to women's participation in peace processes and peace operations?

#### Essential Reading

- Cohn, C. (ed.), *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* (Polity Press, 2012), chapter 1.
- Swaine, A., "Women, Peace and Security" in P.D. Williams & M. McDonald (eds.), *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Routledge, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 2018). [On Blackboard]
- Kuehnast, K., "Gender and armed conflict" in C. de Jonge Oudraat & M.E. Brown (eds), *The Gender and Security Agenda* (Routledge, 2020), pp.28-46.
- Krause, J., W. Krause & P. Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace," *International Interactions*, 44:6 (2018): 985-1016.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386>

#### Recommended Reading

- Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 13.
- Sjoberg, L., *Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a feminist theory of war* (Columbia UP, 2013). At [https://wrlc-gwu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01WRLC\\_GWA/1j51gk4/alma99185916590504107](https://wrlc-gwu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01WRLC_GWA/1j51gk4/alma99185916590504107)
- Henshaw, A.L. "Why Women Rebel: Greed, Grievance, and Women in Armed Rebel Groups," *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 1:3 (2016): 204-19.
- O'Reilly, M. et al, *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes* (IPI, June 2015), <https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf>
- Cohen, D.K. et al, *Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward* (USIP Special Report 323, 2013), <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/SR323.pdf>
- Wood, E.J., "Conflict-related sexual violence and the policy implications of recent research," *International Review of the Red Cross*, (2015),

<http://campuspress.yale.edu/elisabethwood/files/2011/10/wood-IRRC-2015-conflict-related-sexual-violence-1ru655w.pdf>

*Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: Global Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325* (UN Women, 2015), esp. Exec. Summary & chapters 6-8.

<http://www.unwomen.org/~media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf>

*Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit for Peacebuilders* (Conciliation Resources, Dec. 2015), <http://www.c-r.org/downloads/CR%20Gender%20Toolkit%20WEB.pdf>

Ghittani et al, *ELSIE Initiative for Women in Peace Operations* (2018),

<https://www.dcaf.ch/elsie-initiative-women-peace-operations-baseline-study>

Karim, S. & K. Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?" *International Interactions*, 39:4 (2013): 461-88.

## **PART 2: RESPONDING TO ARMED CONFLICT**

### **Session 6 (7 October): Prevention**

- What are the different meanings of "prevention" when applied to armed conflict?
- What are the central challenges in preventing armed conflicts?
- Why is conflict prevention generally under-resourced?
- What lessons should be learned from preventative actions in Macedonia (1992) and the south Sudanese referendum (2011)?
- Is building resilience the answer?

#### Essential Reading

Call, C.T. & S.P. Campbell, "Is Prevention the Answer?" *Daedalus*, 147:1 (2018): 64-77.

Levinger, M. *Conflict Analysis* (USIP Press, 2013), chapter 3.

Williams, P.D. with A.J. Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 2021), chapter 6.

Temin, J. & L. Woocher, *Learning from Sudan's 2011 Referendum* (USIP Special Report, March 2012), at <http://www.usip.org/publications/learning-sudan-s-2011-referendum>

#### Recommended Reading

Stares, P., "The Future of Conflict Prevention," in C. Crocker et al (eds.), *Managing Conflict in a World Adrift* (USIP Press, 2015), pp.459-74.

Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 5.

Nathan, L. et al, *Capturing UN Preventive Diplomacy Success: How and Why Does It Work?* (UN University, May 2018), at <https://cpr.unu.edu/capturing-un-preventive-diplomacy-success-how-and-why-does-it-work.html>

Zartman, I. William, *Preventing Deadly Conflict* (Polity, 2015).

Bellamy, A.J. & A. Lupel, *Why We Fail: Obstacles to the Effective Prevention of Mass Atrocities* (IPI, June 2015), <http://www.r2pasiapacific.org/docs/Publications/IPI-E-pub-Why-We-Fail.pdf>

Carnegie Corporation, "Executive Summary," *Preventing Deadly Conflict* (1997), <http://wwics.si.edu/subsites/ccpdc/frpub.htm>

### **Session 7 (14 October): Mediation**

- What is mediation?
- Which actors make the best mediators?
- Why would conflict parties want to invite mediators? Why would mediators want to mediate?
- When is the best time to mediate?
- What are the main challenges facing mediators, and how do they generate leverage?

#### Required Reading

Zartman, I.W. & S. Touval, "International Mediation" in C. Crocker et al (eds.), *Leashing the Dogs of War* (USIP Press, 2007), pp.437-54.

Crocker, C., F.O. Hampson & P. Aall, *Taming Intractable Conflicts* (USIP, 2004), esp. chapter 5. [NB. This is a very useful source for your mapping & strategy papers.]

Zartman, I.W., "The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments," *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 1:1 (2001): 8-18, [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/TimingofPeaceInitiatives\\_Zartman2001.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/TimingofPeaceInitiatives_Zartman2001.pdf)

Duursma, A., "African Solutions to African Challenges: The Role of Legitimacy in Mediating Civil Wars in Africa," *International Organization*, 74:2 (2020): 295-330.

#### Recommended Reading

Gowan, R. & S.J. Stedman, "The International Regime for Treating Civil War, 1988-2017," *Daedalus*, 147:1 (2018): 171-84.

Lt Gen L. Sumbeiywo, *To Be A Negotiator* (Zurich: Centre for Security Studies, 2008), [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ToBeaNegotiator\\_Sumbeywo2009.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ToBeaNegotiator_Sumbeywo2009.pdf)

Zartman, I.W. and A. De Soto, *Timing Mediation Initiatives* (USIP, 2010), <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/Timing%20Mediation%20Initiatives.pdf>

Wanis-St John, A., "Back Channel Negotiation: Bargaining in the Shadows," *Negotiation Journal*, 22:2 (2006), 119-44.

[http://www.aupeace.org/files/Wanis\\_BackChannelNegotiation.pdf](http://www.aupeace.org/files/Wanis_BackChannelNegotiation.pdf)

Smith, A.L. and D.R. Smock, *Managing a Mediation Process* (USIP, 2008), [http://www.usip.org/files/file/managing\\_mediation\\_process.pdf](http://www.usip.org/files/file/managing_mediation_process.pdf)

Brahimi, L. and S. Ahmed, *In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation* (NYU Center for International Cooperation, May 2008), [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SevenDeadlySinsofMediation\\_BrahimiAhmed2008.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SevenDeadlySinsofMediation_BrahimiAhmed2008.pdf)

Burgess, H. and G. Burgess, *Conducting Track II Peacemaking* (USIP, 2010), [http://www.usip.org/files/resources/PMT\\_Burgess\\_Conducting\\_TrackII.pdf](http://www.usip.org/files/resources/PMT_Burgess_Conducting_TrackII.pdf)  
Wanis-St John, A. and D. Kew, 'Civil Society and Peace Negotiations', *International Negotiation*, 13 (2008), 11-36, at <http://www.aupeace.org/files/Wanis,%20Kew,%20CivSocPaxNeg%20JIN%2013.1.pdf>

### **Session 8 (21 October): Coercion**

- What are the differences between deterrence and compellence?
- How can an actor make their threat of force appear credible to an adversary?
- When can military coercion work?
- What are the main drawbacks of using military coercion?

#### Essential Reading

Byman, D. & M. Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might* (Cambridge UP, 2002), esp. chapter 1.  
Art, R.J. & P.M. Cronin, "Coercive Diplomacy" in C. Crocker, F. Osler Hampson & P. Aall (eds.), *Leashing the Dogs of War* (USIP Press, 2007), pp.299-318.  
Biddle, T.D., "Coercion Theory: A Basic Introduction for Practitioners," *Texas National Security Review*, 3:2 (2020): 95-109.  
Freedman, L. & S. Raghavan, 'Coercion' in P.D. Williams & M. McDonald (eds), *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Routledge, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 2018), pp.191-205.

#### Recommended Reading

Schelling, T., *Arms and Influence* (Yale University Press, 1966), esp. chapter 1.  
Art, R.J. and P.M. Cronin (eds.), *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy* (US Institute of Peace Press, 2003), Introduction and Conclusion.  
Byman, *Keeping the Peace* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), chapter 3.  
Jentleson, B.W. & C.A. Whytock, "Who "Won" Libya? The Force-Diplomacy debate and its Implications for Theory and Policy," *International Security*, 30:3 (2005/06), 47-86.  
Freedman, L., *Deterrence* (Polity/Blackwell, 2004), esp. chs 2, 7 and 8.  
Wilen, N. & P.D. Williams, 'The African Union and coercive diplomacy: The case of Burundi', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56:4 (2018): 673-96.  
George, A.L., *Forceful Persuasion - Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* (USIP Press, 1992), Introduction and Conclusion.  
Jervis, R., "The Confrontation between Iraq and the US: Implications for the Theory and Practice of Deterrence," *European Journal of International Relations*, 9:2 (2003), 315-37.  
Ganguly, S. and M.R. Kraig, "The 2001-2002 Indo-Pakistani Crisis: Exposing the limits of coercive diplomacy," *Security Studies*, 14:2 (2005) 290-324.

### **Session 9 (28 October): Peacekeeping**

- What are the basic principles of UN peacekeeping? Are they still relevant today?

- What are the limits of traditional, observation missions as instruments of conflict management?
- To what extent have UN “stabilization” operations changed the nature of UN peacekeeping?
- Should UN peacekeeping operations go “back to basics”?

### Essential Reading

Koops, J.A. et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (Oxford UP, 2015), Introduction. At [https://wrlc-gwu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01WRLC\\_GWA/1j51gk4/alma99185891535104107](https://wrlc-gwu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01WRLC_GWA/1j51gk4/alma99185891535104107)

Williams, P.D. with A.J. Bellamy, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Polity Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 2021), Introduction, chapters 7 “Observation” and 10 “Stabilization.”

Guehenno, J-M., “The United Nations and Civil Wars,” *Daedalus*, 147:1 (2018): 185-96.

### Key UN Documents on Peace Operations

Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (#HIPPO), *Uniting Our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People* (16 June 2015):

<http://futurepeaceops.org/project/uniting-our-strengths-for-peace-politics-partnerships-and-people-report-of-the-high-level-independent-panel-on-united-nations-peace-operations-2015/>

Gen. Carlos dos Santos Cruz et al, *Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers* (UN, Dec. 2017): <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/improving-security-of-united-nations-peacekeepers-independent-report>

UN DPKO, *UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* (UN DPKO/DFS, 2008), especially pp.6-43. At

[http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbps/Library/Capstone\\_Doctrine\\_ENG.pdf](http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbps/Library/Capstone_Doctrine_ENG.pdf)

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations [The Brahimi Report] (UN: 21 August 2000), esp. Executive Summary:

[http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305)

UN DPKO, *A New Partnership Agenda* (UN: DPKO New Horizons non-paper, July 2009): <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/newhorizon.pdf>

Boutros-Ghali, B., *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: UN, 1992): <http://www.un-documents.net/a47-277.htm>, And the Supplement Feb. 1995:

<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/50/plenary/a50-60.htm>

### Recommended Reading

There are numerous relevant articles in *International Peacekeeping journal*

<https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/finp20/current>

C. de Coning & M. Peter (eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (Palgrave, 2019), freely available at [https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/2019\\_Book\\_UnitedNationsPeaceOperationsIn.pdf](https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/2019_Book_UnitedNationsPeaceOperationsIn.pdf)

M. Peter, ‘Between Doctrine and Practice: The UN Peacekeeping Dilemma,’ *Global Governance*, 21:3 (2015): 351-70.

Tardy, T., “A Critique of Robust Peacekeeping in Contemporary Peace Operations,” *International Peacekeeping*, 18:2 (2011), 152-67.

Johnstone, I., "Managing Consent in Contemporary Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping*, 18:2 (2011), 168-82.

### **Session 10 (4 November): (Humanitarian) Intervention**

- When should outsiders intervene in other people's wars? Which outsiders?
- What counts as a "humanitarian" intervention?
- Should "humanitarian" intervention always be on the side of the weak?
- How long should "humanitarian" interventions last?
- How has the "responsibility to protect" principle changed the debate?

#### Essential Reading

Bellamy, A.J., *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defense* (Oxford UP, 2015), Introduction.  
Paris, R., "The 'Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention," *International Peacekeeping*, 21:5 (2014): 569-603.  
Welsh, J.M., "The Responsibility to Protect after Libya and Syria," *Daedalus*, 145:4 (2016): 75-87.

#### Recommended Reading

Welsh, J.M. "The Security Council and Humanitarian Intervention" in V. Lowe et al (eds.), *The United Nations Security Council and War* (Oxford UP, 2008), 535-62.  
Seybolt, T., *Humanitarian Military Intervention* (Oxford UP/SIPRI, 2007), pp.46-95.  
[Summary of the key cases from the 1990s] Free here:  
<http://books.sipri.org/files/books/SIPRI08Seybolt.pdf>  
Evans, G. "Reacting to Crises: When is it right to fight?" in G. Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Brookings Institution, 2008), chapter 6.  
*The Responsibility to Protect* (Report of the ICISS, Dec. 2001), esp. Synopsis and chapters 1-2. At <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>  
Welsh, J.M. (ed.), *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2004), esp. Introduction and chapters 1-4.  
Holzgrefe, J.L. and R.O. Keohane (eds.), *Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge UP, 2003).  
Weiss, T.G., *Humanitarian Intervention* (Polity Press, 2007; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 2012).  
Bellamy, A.J. "The responsibility to protect and the problem of military intervention," *International Affairs*, 84:4 (2008): 615-39.

### **Session 11 (11 November): Partition**

- How should we understand the concepts of sovereignty, secession, and self-determination?
- When should new states be admitted into international society? Or into the United Nations?
- Once large-scale violence has started, is "ethnic unmixing" the only viable solution to ethnic wars? If so, who should decide the new borders and supervise population transfers?
- What are the major problems with partitions as a solution to ethnic wars?

### Essential Reading

- Kaufman, C., "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security*, 20:4 (1996), 136-75.
- Byman, *Keeping the Peace* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), ch. 7.
- Fearon, J.D., "Separatist Wars, Partition and World Order," *Security Studies*, 13:4 (2004), 394-415.

### Recommended Reading

- Downes, A.B., "More Borders, Less Conflict? Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Civil Wars," *SAIS Review*, 26:1 (2006): 49-61.
- Sambanis, N., 'Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the theoretical Literature,' *World Politics*, 52:4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Sambanis, N. and J. Schulhofer-Wohl, "What's in a line? Is partition a solution to civil war?," *International Security*, 34:2 (2009): 82-118.
- R.E. Hassner and J. Wittenberg, "Barriers to Entry: Who Builds Fortified Boundaries and Why?," *International Security*, 40:1 (2015): 157-90.
- Kumar, R., "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, 76:1 (1997), 22-34.
- Kaufmann, C., "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century," *International Security*, 23:2 (1998): 120-156.
- Kuperman, A.J., "Is Partition Really the Only Hope? Reconciling Contradictory Findings About Ethnic Civil Wars," *Security Studies*, 13:4 (2004): 314-49.
- Laitin, D.D., "Ethnic Unmixing and Civil War," *Security Studies*, 13:4 (2004): 350-65.
- Byman, D.L., "Divided They Stand: Lessons about Partition from Iraq and Lebanon," *Security Studies*, 7:1 (1997): 1-29.
- Herbst, J., "Let them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice" in R. Rotberg (ed.), *When States Fail* (Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 302-318.
- Rynhold, J., "Israel's Fence: Can Separation Make Better Neighbours?" *Survival*, 46:1 (2004): 55-76.

## **PART 3: ENDGAMES AND AFTERMATHS**

### **Session 12 (18 November): Ending Violent Conflict**

- How do most armed conflicts end?
- How should most armed conflicts end?
- How effective are negotiated settlements at ending armed conflicts?
- How should spoilers be dealt with (and by whom)?

### Essential Reading

- Toft, M.D., "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory," *International Security*, 34:4 (2010): 7-36.
- Nathan, L. & M.D. Toft, "Correspondence," *International Security*, 36:1 (2011): 202-210.
- Howard, L.M. and A. Stark, "How civil wars end: The international system, norms, and the role of external actors," *International Security*, 42:3 (2017/18): 127-71.

Stedman, S.J., "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security*, 22:2 (1997): 5-53. [Skim the case studies.]

### Recommended Reading

Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 7.

C. Bell, *What we talk about when we talk about political settlements* (PSRP Working Paper 1, Sept. 2015), <http://www.politicalsettlements.org/files/2015/09/20150901-PSRP-Concepts-Working-Paper-1-1.pdf>

Cochrane, F., *Ending Wars* (Polity, 2008), chapters 3-4.

Luttwak, E., "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, 78:4 (1999), 36-44.

Greenhill, K.M. and S. Major, 'The Perils of Profiling: Civil war spoilers and the collapse of intrastate peace accords', *International Security*, 31:3 (2006-07), 7-40.

Clapham, C., 'Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking', *Journal of Peace Research*, 35:2 (1998), 193-210.

*Legitimacy and Peace Processes: From Coercion to Consent* (ACCORD, Issue 25, April 2014), <http://www.c-r.org/sites/c-r.org/files/Accord25WEB.pdf>

Stedman, S.J. et al (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars* (Lynne Rienner, 2002), Conclusion.

Downes, A.B., 'The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars', *Security Studies*, 13:4 (2004), 230-79.

Collier, P. et al., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (World Bank/Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. Overview and Chapter 5.

### **Session 13 (2 December): Peacebuilding and Statebuilding**

- How can stable peace be established in societies after armed conflict?
- What assumptions have underpinned the liberal conception of peacebuilding? What are the main problems with these assumptions?
- What should be the appropriate relationship between international and local authorities in reconstruction efforts?
- Is peacebuilding a form of neo-imperialism?

### Essential Reading

Paris, R., *At War's End* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), Preface (p.ix).

Paris, R., "Saving liberal peacebuilding," *Review of International Studies*, 36 (2010): 337-65.

Barnett, M., "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War," *International Security*, 30:4 (2006), 87-112.

De Coning, C., "Adaptive Peacebuilding," *International Affairs*, 94:2 (2018): 301-17.

### Recommended Reading

*The Challenge of Sustaining Peace* (Report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture, June 2015), Executive Summary

<http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pdf/150630%20Report%20of%20the%20AG%20on%20the%202015%20Peacebuilding%20Review%20FINAL.pdf>

- Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapters 8-9.
- Richmond, P. & R. MacGinty, "Where now for the critique of the liberal peace?," *Conflict & Cooperation*, 50:2 (2015): 171-89.
- Paris, R. and T. Sisk (eds.), *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding* (Routledge, 2009).
- Berdal, M. and R. Caplan (eds.), *The Politics of International Administration*, Special Issue of *Global Governance*, 10:1 (2004).
- Chesterman, S., *You, The People: The UN, Transitional Administration and State Building* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Caplan, R., *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

### **Session 14 (9 December): Reconciliation and Justice**

- Does there have to be a trade-off between peace and justice after violent conflict?
- What is the relationship between different meanings of reconciliation?
- Should strategies of justice be based on the logic of appropriateness, consequences or emotions?
- What role(s) should (a) trials, (b) truth commissions, and (c) amnesties play in promoting reconciliation and justice?

#### Essential Reading

- Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2016), chapter 10.
- Vinjanmuri, L. "The Distant Promise of Negotiated Justice," *Daedalus*, 146:1 (2017): 100-112.
- Kersten, M., *Justice in Conflict* (Oxford University Press, 2016), chapter 2.
- Mani, R., "Rebuilding an Inclusive Political Community after War," *Security Dialogue*, 36:4 (2005): 511-26.

#### Recommended Reading

- Dancy, G., "Deals with the Devil? Conflict Amnesties, Civil War, and Sustainable Peace," *International Organization*, 72:2 (2018), 387-421.
- Zvogbo, K., "Demanding Truth: The Global Transitional Justice Network and the Creation of Truth Commissions," *International Studies Quarterly*, OnlineFirst, 8 July 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaa044>
- Snyder, J. and L. Vinjanmuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security*, 28:3 (2003-04), 5-44.
- Kersten, M., *Justice in Conflict* (Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Martins, M.S. & J. Bronsther, "Stay the hand of justice? Evaluating claims that war crimes trials do more harm than good," *Daedalus*, 146:1 (2017): 83-99.
- Kerr, R. & E. Mobekk, *Peace and Justice: Seeking Accountability After War* (Polity, 2007), esp. ch.1.
- De Greiff, P., "Theorizing Transitional Justice," *Nomos*, 51 (2012): 31-77.
- Lederach, J.P., *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (USIP Press, 1997).

D. Scheffer, *All The Missing Souls: A Personal History of the War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton UP, 2012). Introduction at <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/9520.html>

Hayner, P.B., *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions* (Routledge, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 2010). Introduction at:

<http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415806350/>

AU Panel of the Wise, *Peace, Justice and Reconciliation in Africa* (New York: IPI, 2013), at <http://www.ipinst.org/publication/policy-papers/detail/384-peace-justice-and-reconciliation-in-africa.html>

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Although it is unlikely that we will ever need to shelter in place, it is helpful to know what to do just in case. No matter where you are, the basic steps of shelter in place will generally remain the same.

- If you are inside, stay where you are unless the building you are in is affected. If it is affected, you should evacuate. If you are outdoors, proceed into the closest building or follow instructions from emergency personnel on the scene.
- Locate an interior room to shelter inside. If possible, it should be above ground level and have the fewest number of windows. If sheltering in a room with windows, move away from the windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary.
- Shut and lock all windows (for a tighter seal) and close exterior doors.
- Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able. (University staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible).
- Make a list of the people with you and ask someone to call the list in to UPD so they know where you are sheltering and who is with you. If only students are present, one of the students should call in the list.
- Await further instructions. If possible, visit GW Campus Advisories <http://campusadvisories.gwu.edu/> for incident updates or call the GW Information Line 202-994-5050.
- Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

## **Evacuation**

An evacuation will be considered if the building we are in is affected or we must move to a location of greater safety. We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds. In the event of an evacuation, please gather your personal belongings quickly (purse, keys, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Every classroom has a map at the door designating both the shortest egress and an alternate egress. Anyone who is physically unable to walk down the stairs should wait in the stairwell, behind the closed doors. Firemen will check the stairwells upon entering the building.

Once you have evacuated the building, proceed to our primary rendezvous location: the court yard area between the GW Hospital and Ross Hall. In the event that this location is unavailable, we will meet on the ground level of the Visitors Parking Garage (I Street entrance, at 22nd Street). From our rendezvous location, we will await instructions to re-enter the School.

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