

LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR



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LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD

*Edited by Chester A. Crocker,
Fen Osler Hampson,
and Pamela Aall*

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FOREWORD

Richard H. Solomon
President, United States Institute of Peace

For those of us who came of age during the Cold War, the pace and complexity of change in today's world are at best confusing, at worst overwhelming. More than fifteen years after the end of the MAD confrontation between East and West, we find ourselves constantly surprised by new international challenges to our security and economic well-being, uncertain of their causes, and apprehensive of their consequences. Looking back five, ten, or even fifteen years, we now begin to see patterns in the unfolding of events, but those designs that we do see are only beginning to shape the policies and institutions that might help us deal with the post-post-Cold War and post-9/11 era now enveloping the world.

If historians are having a hard time deciphering the course of events since the breakup of the Soviet Union, would-be prognosticators are faced with an impossible task. Back in the early 1990s, talk of the future centered on "the new world order" that would emerge out of the wreckage of the Cold War. We hoped for an international system of multilateral organ-

izations that would regulate the constructive interplay of democracies across the globe. By the middle of the 1990s, with the international community learning the meaning of "global chaos" and "ethnic cleansing" and the renewed meaning of "genocide," the future appeared to consist of an unending series of ethnic or religiously fueled conflagrations and of desperate efforts by hastily assembled crews of international firefighters to dampen the flames and—just perhaps—begin to rebuild devastated societies. At the start of the new millennium, the international terrain shifted again, not least in the United States, where intervention in other people's conflicts and nation-building efforts became subordinated to a post-9/11 preoccupation with homeland defense and the war against international terrorism.

The attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center, and subsequent terrorist atrocities in Bali, London, and Madrid, profoundly changed the mood and the security agenda not only in Washington but in capitals on five continents. Henceforth, the newly declared

“war on terrorism” began to take precedence over all other international concerns and activities. Interventionism gained new legitimacy, justified by the new national security concerns. Nation building, too, gained new relevance in an era of failed states hijacked by religious extremists bent on murderous destruction on a global scale. Furthermore, once the Taliban and their al Qaeda allies had been driven from power in Kabul and chased back into caves and villages in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the U.S. government was emboldened to embark upon a campaign of “preemptive war.” Soon, GIs were struggling to stabilize Baghdad. Talk of the future now centered—depending on one’s perspective—either on hopes of installing democratic regimes and constitutions across the Middle East or on fears of a widening “imperial overreach.”

And today—it is late in 2006 as these words are written—the scene is changing once again: Will the Iraq experience bring on a new period of isolationism (a new type of Vietnam syndrome) or entrap the United States in a “long war” in the tumultuous Muslim world? The only thing that one might safely predict is the warm reception that scholars and students will accord this volume. In an age of chaos and uncertainty, breadth and depth of knowledge are at a premium. If the future must remain shrouded in the fog of current conflicts, it is all the more important that we have a wide-ranging and well-grounded understanding of the recent past and of the present so that we can better adjust to and cope with what seems likely to lie ahead. And such an understanding is exactly what is offered by the editors and authors of *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*.

This volume challenges us to reflect deeply on the interplay of war and peace, coercive power, and diplomatic imagination. It provides wide-ranging analyses of the sources of contemporary international conflict and of the means available by which that conflict can be prevented, managed, or resolved. Furthermore,

each chapter is written by an author or authors not only expert in the subject matter but also distinguished by their ability to be both analytically incisive and evenhanded. To be sure, readers will encounter strong arguments and opinions in the pages of this book, but they will not be misled by distortions, nor ensnared by tendentiousness, nor blinded by rhetoric. To the contrary, they will discover reliable facts and figures, revealing interpretations, and readable, unambiguous prose.

Leashing the Dogs of War is the third volume of its kind in recent publications from the United States Institute of Peace Press. And not entirely coincidentally, the other two also appeared at turning points on the road that has led us from the fall of the Berlin Wall to the rise of global terrorism. The first of the trio, *Managing Global Chaos*, appeared in 1996, its title reflecting the humanitarian crises and ethnic violence that sprang forth in the Balkans, Africa, and the Caribbean. Dreams of a new world order were already fading by 1996, and there was a new and acute awareness of the feeble state of many societies and of the daunting complexity of conflicts rooted, as the editors commented, in a “rich brew of ethnonationalism, religion, socioeconomic grievances, environmental degradation, collapsed states, globalized markets, and geopolitical shifts.”

The successor to *Managing Global Chaos* was *Turbulent Peace*, which was published five years later, in 2001—but before September 11. Its carefully chosen title reflected a cautious optimism—optimism both that the frequency and intensity of intercommunal conflict were declining and that diplomats and policymakers were learning some useful lessons about conflict management and peacemaking—that is, how third parties have some potential to manage or limit conflict and sometimes to reach negotiated settlements and make them stick. At the same time, however, the volume editors were under no illusions about the fragility of many recent settlements, the vulnerability of

many regions to destabilizing shocks, and the lethal intractability of numerous hot conflicts.

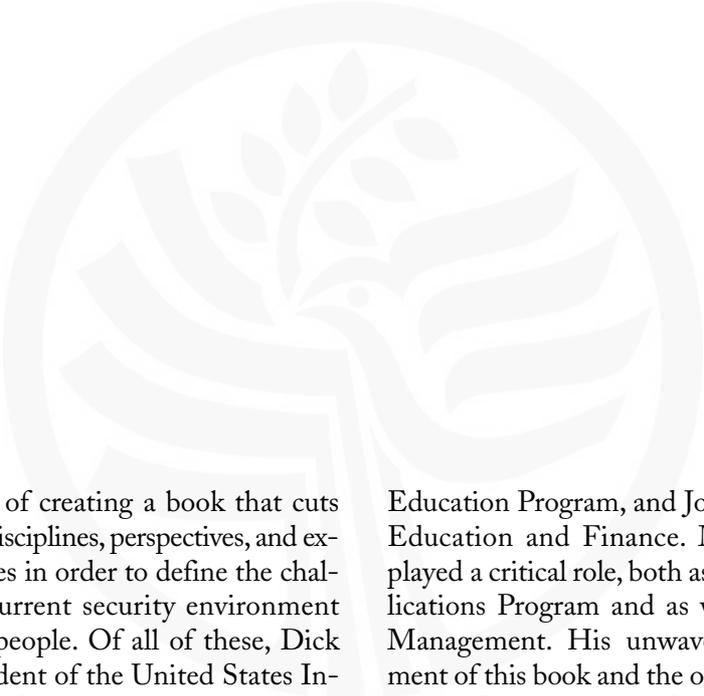
The title of the present volume is in many ways the bleakest of the three. Use of the word *War* makes plain that the world is no longer at peace, even a turbulent peace; the dogs of war are now rampant. Yet, despite its title and like its predecessors, *Leashing the Dogs of War* is fundamentally an optimistic book. It recognizes that the global environs are both conflict-ridden and often bloody, and it harbors no illusions that murderous enmity will suddenly give way to universal comity. But it does believe—indeed, its *raison d'être* is to advertise—that something can be done to moderate, reduce, and even resolve specific conflicts. In fact, its central message is not that *something* can be done, but that *many things* can be done, and that the test of the skilled peacemaker is to decide which tools will work best on which conflicts and in which combinations. The book also suggests, when taken as a whole, that we can expect to witness war-fighting and peace-making at the same time, sometimes by the same states and other actors.

This same optimism and this same concern—not to predict the future, but to learn from the past about how to bring peace to the present—permeate all the works supported and published by the United States Institute of Peace since its creation in 1984. Given the close associations between the volume's editors and the programs of the Institute, this concurrence

should surprise no one. Chester A. Crocker, the architect while assistant secretary of state of the plan that brought democracy to Namibia, is a member of the Institute's board of directors and was for many years board chairman. Fen Osler Hampson, professor of international affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, was a peace fellow at the Institute in 1993-94. Pamela Aall is vice president of the Institute's Education Program. The three of them have jointly edited or authored no fewer than six books published by the Institute's Press.

These books have won many plaudits and a wide readership. *Managing Global Chaos* and *Turbulent Peace* have enjoyed an especially large audience among professors and students of international affairs, conflict resolution, and related disciplines, and *Leashing the Dogs of War* will surely continue the tradition. Indeed, many of the young men and women now building their careers within, for example, diplomatic corps, humanitarian and relief agencies, and intergovernmental organizations will have the opportunity to make practical use of the lessons that can be learned from the experts convened in print by Crocker, Hampson, and Aall. The United States Institute of Peace intends that those lessons will prove useful to the next generation of peacemakers as they work to rein in the dogs of war and constrain the conflicts on which they feed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



The task of creating a book that cuts across disciplines, perspectives, and experiences in order to define the challenges of the current security environment engages many people. Of all of these, Dick Solomon, president of the United States Institute of Peace, deserves special recognition for encouraging us to capture the complex field of conflict management and for giving us the opportunity to do so not just once, but three times, for this volume has two predecessors, *Managing Global Chaos* and *Turbulent Peace*. Thanks also go to the chapter authors, who grappled not only with their own areas of expertise but also with the defining question of this book: Is it possible to be at war and act as a peacemaker at the same time? This is a difficult question and we appreciate their willingness to consider it.

We were wonderfully aided by many people at the United States Institute of Peace, especially Ethan Schechter, Raina Kim, Joseph Sany, Lindsey Ensor, and Jeff Helsing in the

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Marie Marr, Kay Hechler, and all their colleagues in the Publications Program have performed the miracle of producing a first-class volume from the many worthy but quite diverse chapters that we delivered to them. Once again, Nigel Quinney is at the center of this effort and his superb editorial judgment is reflected throughout the volume. He is an exceptional editor and we are lucky to have him as our collaborator.

CONTRIBUTORS

Chester A. Crocker is the James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and former chairman of the board of directors of the United States Institute of Peace. From 1981 to 1989 he was assistant secretary of state for African affairs; as such, he was the principal diplomatic architect and mediator in the prolonged negotiations among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa that led to Namibia's transition to democratic governance and independence, and to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. He is the author of *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood* and coauthor (with Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall) of *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*. He is also coeditor of *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*; *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*; *African Conflict Resolution: The U.S. Role in Peacemaking*; *Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict*; and *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*. He is an adviser on strategy and negotiation to U.S. and European firms.

Fen Osler Hampson is professor of international affairs at and director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. He is the author of five books, including *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail*, and coeditor of twenty others, including *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*; *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*; *Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict*; and *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*. His recent books include *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder* and *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases* (with Chester A. Crocker and Pamela Aall). Hampson was a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in 1993–94. He is chair of the Human Security Track of the Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy, a joint initiative of the governments of Finland and Tanzania.

Pamela Aall is vice president of education at the United States Institute of Peace. Before joining the Institute, she worked for the President's

Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, the Institute of International Education, the Rockefeller Foundation, the European Cultural Foundation, and the International Council for Educational Development. She is also president of Women in International Security. She is coeditor of *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*; *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*; *Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict*; and *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*. She is coauthor of *Guide to IGOs, NGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations* (with Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G. Weiss) and *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases* (with Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson).



Mohammed Ayoob is University Distinguished Professor of International Relations, James Madison College and the Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, and coordinator of the Muslim Studies Program, Michigan State University.

Robert J. Art is Christian A. Herter Professor of International Relations, Brandeis University.

Graham Brown is economics research officer for Southeast Asia at the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) at the University of Oxford.

Michael E. Brown is dean of the Elliott School of International Affairs and professor of international affairs and political science at the George Washington University.

Diana Chigas is codirector of the Reflecting on Peace Practice project at CDA-Collaborative Learning Projects, and professor of practice at the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

Paul Collier is professor in the Department of Economics, Oxford University, and direc-

tor of the Centre for the Study of African Economies.

Martha Crenshaw is Colin and Nancy Campbell Professor of Global Issues and Democratic Thought, Department of Government, Wesleyan University.

Patrick M. Cronin is director of Studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, and a former director of Research at the United States Institute of Peace.

Paul F. Diehl is Henning Larsen Professor of Political Science and University Distinguished Teacher/Scholar at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Sir Lawrence Freedman is professor of war studies and vice principal (Research) at King's College London.

Nils Petter Gleditsch is research professor at the Centre for the Study of Civil War at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), editor of the *Journal of Peace Research*, and professor of international relations at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim.

Ted Robert Gurr recently retired as Distinguished University Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park, and founding director of the Minorities at Risk Project.

Bruce W. Jentleson is professor of public policy and political science at the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University.

Margaret P. Karns is professor of political science at the University of Dayton.

Geoffrey Kemp is director of Regional Strategic Programs, The Nixon Center.

Charles King is chairman of the faculty and Ion Ratiu Associate Professor in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

Stephen D. Krasner is deputy director of the Stanford Institute for International Studies

and director of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State.

Louis Kriesberg is Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Maxwell Professor Emeritus of Social Conflict Studies, and founding director of the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts at Syracuse University.

Neil Kritz is associate vice president of the United States Institute of Peace and director of its Rule of Law Program.

Jack S. Levy is Board of Governors' Professor, Rutgers University, and president-elect of the International Studies Association.

Andrew Mack is director of the Human Security Centre, Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia.

David M. Malone is assistant deputy minister for global issues in the Canadian Foreign Service.

Edward D. Mansfield is Hum Rosen Professor of Political Science and director of the Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics, University of Pennsylvania.

Kimberly Marten is professor and chair, Department of Political Science, Barnard College, Columbia University.

David Mendeloff is assistant professor of international affairs and director of the Centre for Security and Defence Studies at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Karen A. Mingst is Lockwood Chair Professor in the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce and professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Kentucky.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. is Distinguished Service Professor, Harvard University.

Michael O'Hanlon is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution and a visiting lecturer at Princeton University.

Marina Ottaway is the director of the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat is senior fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced Studies of Johns Hopkins University and adjunct professor at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

Robert I. Rotberg is director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and president of the World Peace Foundation.

Daniel Serwer is vice president of the Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations and the Centers of Innovation at the United States Institute of Peace.

Jake Sherman is a former political affairs officer in the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.

Jack Snyder is Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Relations, Department of Political Science, Columbia University.

Paul B. Stares is vice president of the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention at the United States Institute of Peace.

Frances Stewart is professor of development economics and director of the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) at the University of Oxford.

Patricia Thomson is the executive vice president of the United States Institute of Peace.

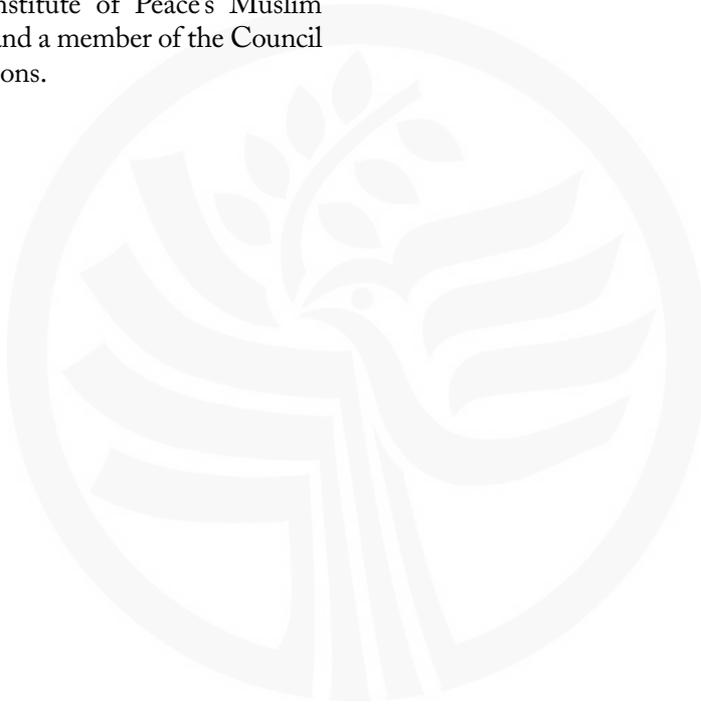
Saadia Touval is Professorial Lecturer in the Conflict Management Program and a visiting fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Sir Brian Urquhart is former under secretary-general of the United Nations.

Ruth Wedgwood is the Edward B. Burling Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, and director of the Program on International Law and Organizations, at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Mona Yacoubian is a special adviser to the United States Institute of Peace's Muslim World Initiative and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

I. William Zartman is Jacob Blaustein Professor of International Organizations and Conflict Resolution, and director of the Conflict Management Program, at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.



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