

**GOVERNMENT 315**  
**UNDERSTANDING CIVIL WARS:**  
**INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES**

Professor Kelly M. Greenhill  
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Fall 2005

Course Description: For the better part of the twentieth century, international security scholars and practitioners focused on the causes and consequences of war and peace *between* countries, particularly the prospects for conflict between the great powers. Nevertheless, since 1945 the vast majority of conflicts have been *within* countries rather than between them. This course surveys competing theories about the causes, conduct, and conclusion of the dominant brand of conflict in the world today and examines how the international community deals with these (enduring and often seemingly intractable) conflicts. Topics examined include conflict prevention, conflict mediation, military intervention, peace implementation, peacekeeping and peace enforcement, and refugee crisis management. The course combines theories from international relations and conflict resolution with case studies of recent and ongoing conflicts. The class has four goals:

- 1) to introduce students to competing theories of the causes (and catalysts) of internal conflicts, to aid them in...
- 2) better understanding the tough choices that policy-makers face when they contemplate or undertake conflict intervention, as well as better evaluate the consequences of actions taken and alternatives eschewed;
- 3) recognizing underlying ethical issues that are embedded in the decisions and actions of policy-makers and practitioners in the field of conflict management; and
- 4) identifying strategies and policy options for dealing with current and future conflicts, by drawing upon lessons from past conflicts and interventions.

Required Texts: Significant portions of the following books are required reading:

Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2001).

Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens, *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002).

Robert C. DiPrizio, *Armed Humanitarians: US Interventions from Northern Iraq to Kosovo* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Sarah Kenyon Lischer, *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil Wars, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Additional readings will be available on-line via the "Blackboard" or links on the Web.

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

**I. THE CAUSES AND CONDUCT OF INTERNAL CONFLICT**

**WEEK ONE**

**September 6            Introduction and Overview of Course**

No required reading

## **September 8                      Conflict and its Management in the Post-Cold War World**

Mikael Eriksson, Peter Wallensteen, and Margareta Sollenberg, "Armed Conflict, 1989-2003," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 40, no. 5 (2004), pp. 625-636.

Chapter 9: State Making, State Breaking, and State Failure (Ayoob); and Chapter 32: War Making and Peace Making: The UN's Post-Cold War Record (Doyle) in *Turbulent Peace*

## **WEEK TWO                                      Causes of Internal Conflict I**

### **September 13 and 15                      Structural and Political Factors**

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, vol.35, no.1 (1993), pp. 27-47.

Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Spring 1994), pp. 5-39.

Chapter 11: Minorities and Nationalists: Managing Ethnopolitical Conflict in the New Century (Gurr); and portion of Chapter 13: Ethnic and Internal Conflicts: Causes and Implications (Brown), pp. 209-217 and notes; also SKIM ONLY Chapter 8: Democratic Transitions and War: From Napoleon to the Millennium's End (Mansfield and Synder) in *Turbulent Peace*

Jeffrey Herbst, "Responding to State Failure in Africa," *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Winter 1996-97), pp. 120-144.

## **WEEK THREE                                      Causes of Internal Conflict II**

### **September 20 and 22                      Economic/Social and Cultural/Psychological Factors**

Chapter 10: Economic Causes of Civil Conflict (Collier); and a portion of Chapter 13: Ethnic and Internal Conflicts: Causes and Implications (Brown), pp. 217-223 and notes in *Turbulent Peace*

Saul Newman. "Does Modernization Breed Ethnic Political Conflict?" *World Politics*, vol. 43, no. 3 (April 1991), pp. 451-78. *Please skim only pp. 451-middle of 455. Read more closely the rest of the piece, paying specific attention to the theories proposed by each of the authors covered (e.g., Walker Connor argues that increased inter-group exposure → increased inter-group competition → increase in conflict.)*

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993) and "Response: If Not Civilizations, What?—Paradigms of the Post-Cold War World," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 1 (November/December 1993). *(Huntington's article is required; the responses are recommended.)*

Review discussions of group identity in Posen and Van Evera and the potential dangers of nationalism in Van Evera.

*Recommended:*

John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," *International Security*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000), pp. 42-70.

## II. EXTERNAL INTERVENTION

### WEEK 4

#### September 27      Prevention

Chapter 15: Preventive Statecraft (Jentleson) in *Turbulent Peace*

Stephen John Stedman, "Alchemy for A New World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, pp. 14-20; and Michael Lund, "Underrating Preventive Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1995), pp. 160-163.

Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2004).

#### *Recommended:*

Alexander L. George and Jane E. Holl, *The Warning-Response Problem and Missed Opportunities in Preventive Diplomacy: A Report to the Carnegie Commission on Deadly Conflict* (May 1997).

URL: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/pubs/warn/frame.htm>

William Demars, "Waiting for Early Warning: Humanitarian Action After the Cold War," *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 8, no. 4 (1995), pp. 390-410.

#### September 29      Case Study: Rwanda

Chapter 16: Implementing the Arusha Peace Agreement on Rwanda (Khadiagala) in *Ending Civil Wars*.

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 288, no. 2 (September 2001), pp. 84-108; URL: <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2001/09/power.htm>

Alan Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2001); and Alison Des Forges, et al. responses to Kuperman.

Chapter 4: Rwanda: Operation Support Hope in *Armed Humanitarians*

#### *Recommended:*

Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke (with Bruce Jones) *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience*, Study 2: Early Warning and Conflict Management, Executive Summary, Introduction, Chapters 1-4 and 7. URL:

<http://www.reliefweb.int/library/nordic/book2/pbo21.html>

Alison De Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (NY: Human Rights Watch, 1999).

### WEEK FIVE

#### October 4      Mediation

M.A. Kleiboer, "Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 41 (1996), pp. 360-389. URL: [http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-0027\(199606\)40:2<360:USAFOI>2.0.CO;2-N](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-0027(199606)40:2<360:USAFOI>2.0.CO;2-N)

Chapters 26: International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era (Touval and Zartman) and 30: Is More Better?: The Pros and Cons of Multiparty Mediation (Crocker, Hampson and

Aall) in *Turbulent Peace*.

Stephen John Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2 (fall 1997), pp. 5-53.

## **October 6 Case Study: Bosnia (the Dayton Peace Agreement)**

Melanie Greenberg and Margaret McGuinness, "From Lisbon to Dayton: International Mediation and the Bosnia Crisis," in *Words Over War*, pp. 35-75.

Chapter 18: From Missed Opportunities to Overcompensation: Implementing the Dayton Agreement on Bosnia (Cousens) in *Ending Civil Wars*.

Summary of the Dayton Agreement:

URL: <http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/bosnia/dayton.html>

Warren Bass, "The Triage of Dayton," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 5; and/or International Crisis Group, *Is Dayton Failing?: Bosnia Four Years After the Peace Agreement* (October 28, 1999), Introduction (pp. 1-2) and Conclusions and Policy Options (pp. 50-55); URL: <http://www.crisisweb.org/home/index.cfm?id=1524&l=1>

*If interested in military intervention aspects of the conflict, read also Chapter 6: Bosnia: Operation Deliberate Force in *Armed Humanitarians**

*Also recommended:*

Edward P. Joseph, Back to the Balkans, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 1 (Jan/Feb2005).

*Recommended for those interested in learning more about the BiH negotiations:*

(US perspective) Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (NY: Random House, 1998).

(European perspective) David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey* (NY: Harcourt Brace, 1995).

## **WEEK SIX**

**October 11 MIDTERM (This will be a closed-book exam, administered only in class.)**

**October 13 NO CLASS—Holiday**

## **WEEK SEVEN**

**October 18 NO CLASS—October Break**

**October 20 Military Intervention**

Chapters 16: The Curse of Inconclusive Intervention (Luttwak); 17: The Debate about Intervention (Hoffmann); 18: The Delusion of Impartial Intervention (Betts); and 19: Using Forces: Lessons and Choices (Haass) in *Turbulent Peace*

Presidential Decision Directive 25, *US Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations*, May 3, 1994; may be found in Appendix in *Armed Humanitarians* or at:

<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd25.htm>

Excerpts from *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002:

IV. Work with others to Defuse Regional Conflicts, available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss4.html>; and IX. Transform America's National Security Institutions to Meet the Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century: available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss9.html>

*Recommended for those interested in an analysis of what it takes to launch an intervention from a military perspective:*

Kelly M. Greenhill, "Mission Impossible?: Preventing Deadly Conflict in the African Great Lakes Region," *Security Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1 (autumn 2001), pp. 77-124.

## WEEK EIGHT

### October 25 Case Study: Somalia

Thomas Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions: Intervening in Humanitarian Crises* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 69-96.

Chapter 3: Somalia: Operation Restore Hope in *Armed Humanitarians*

Readings by Crocker, Bacevich, Joyce, Cuny and Allard from the PBS Frontline program, *Ambush in Mogadishu*; URL:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ambush/readings/>

Interviews w/Abshir, Clarke, Haad, Howe, Montgomery, Oakley, and Zinni; URL: [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ambush/interviews/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ambush/interviews/)

*Recommended:*

Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 4 (spring 2002), pp. 112-142.

Mark Bowden, *Blackhawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (Washington, DC: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1999); and *Ambush in Mogadishu*, Program #1704; URL:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ambush/etc/script.html>

### October 27 Case Study: Kosovo

Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, and Lessons Learned* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), *Skim* Chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7; URL: <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/thekosovoreport.htm>

Chapter 7: Kosovo: Operation Allied Force in *Armed Humanitarians*

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 5 (September/October 1999), p. 2-8; and Javier Solana, "NATO's Success in Kosovo," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 6 (November/December 1999), pp. 114-120.

*Recommended:*

Kelly M. Greenhill, "The Use of Refugees as Political and Military Weapons in the Kosovo Conflict," in *Yugoslavia Unraveled: Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Intervention* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), pp. 205-42.

The War in Europe; <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/kosovo/>

OSCE, *Kosovo/Kosova: As Seen, As Told: An analysis of the human rights findings of the OSCE*

*Kosovo Verification Mission October 1998 to June 1999.*; URL:  
<http://www.osce.org/kosovo/documents/reports/hr/part1/index.htm>

Alan Little, *Moral Combat: NATO at War*, transcript of a BBC2 special, broadcast on March 12, 2000; URL:  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript\\_12\\_03\\_00.txt](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt)

## **WEEK NINE**

### **November 1 Case Study: Iraq**

“Iraq,” in *America’s Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003), pp. 167-221.

Edward N. Luttwak, “The Logic of Disengagement,” and James Dobbins, “Iraq: Winning the Unwinnable War,” both in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 1 (January/February 2005).

Barry R. Posen, “Fighting Blind in Iraq,” *New York Times*, June 7, 2005.

#### *Recommended:*

Chaim Kaufmann, “Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War,” *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 1 (summer 2004).

### **November 3 Contagion Effects and Other Obstacles to the Resolution of Internal Conflicts**

Chapter 2: Political Incentives for the Spread of Civil War in *Dangerous Sanctuaries*

Stuart Hill and Donald Rothchild, “The Contagion of Political Conflict in Africa and the World,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 30, no. 4 (December 1986), pp. 716-35.

David Keen, *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*, Adelphi Paper 320 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1998), Chapters 2 and 3.

Review Stedman, “Spoilers.”

#### *Recommended:*

James Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 1 (February 2003), pp. 75-89.

## **WEEK TEN**

### **November 8 The Arms Trade as an Obstacle to Peace**

Guest Speaker: Dr. Denise Garcia, Harvard University will speak about the research in her forthcoming book on the role of the trade in small arms in fueling and exacerbating internal conflicts, and on emerging international norms aimed at dealing with this problem.

Peter Landesman, “Arms and the Man,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 17, 2003.

Additional readings TBA

**November 10            The Paradox of Humanitarian Action—Case Study: Eastern Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo**

Chapter 1: Refugee Crises as Catalysts of Conflict (skim); and Chapter 4: From Refugees to Regional War in Central Africa in *Dangerous Sanctuaries*

Howard W. French, *A Continent for the Taking: The Tragedy and Hope of Africa* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), Chapter Seven: Where Peacocks Roam, pp. 125-49.

*Recommended:* Chapter 5: The Rwandan Refugee Camps in Zaire in *Condemned to Repeat*

**III. AFTER THE FIGHTING STOPS**

**WEEK ELEVEN**

**November 15            Peace Implementation**

Chapter 41: Obstacles to Peace Settlements (Licklider) and Chapter 45: Wilson's Ghost: The Faulty Assumptions of Post-conflict Peacebuilding (Paris) in *Turbulent Peace*

Chapter 3: Strategy and Transitional Authority (Doyle); Chapter 4: The Challenges of Strategic Coordination (Jones) **OR** Chapter 12: Building Local Capacity: From Implementation to Peace-building (Prendergast and Plumb); and Chapter 6: Disarmament and Demobilization (Spear) in *Ending Civil Wars*

David M. Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail, *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 1 (summer 2004).

*Recommended:*

Chapter 20: Liberia—A Warlord's Peace (Adebajo) in *Ending Civil Wars*; and Howard W. French, *A Continent for the Taking: The Tragedy and Hope of Africa* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), Chapter Five: Greater Liberia: pp. 88-110; and 170-88.

**November 17            Case Study: Cambodia**

Chapter 17: Implementing Cambodia's Peace Agreement (Peou) in *Ending Civil Wars*

David Chandler, "Cambodia's Historical Legacy; David Ashley, *Between War and Peace, 1991-1998*"; and Dylan Hendricksen, "Institutions Versus Personalities: International Peacebuilding Dilemmas". URL: <http://www.c-r.org/accord/index.htm?accser/series.htm>

Review Stedman, "Spoiler Problems..."

**WEEK TWELVE**

**November 22            Truth, Justice, & Reconciliation; Case Study: S. African TRC**

Chapters 47: The Rule of Law in the Post-conflict Phase: Building a Stable Peace (Kritz) and 49: Civil Society and Reconciliation (Lederach) in *Turbulent Peace*.

Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Principles and Pragmatism in Strategies of International

Justice,” *International Security* (winter 2003/2004).

Jonathan D. Tepperman, “Truth and Consequences,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 81, no. 2 (March/April 2002).

*Recommended:*

Gary J. Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 3-36, 276-285.

Chapter 9: Human Rights and Sustainable Peace (Putnam) in *Ending Civil Wars*

**November 24**                      **NO CLASS—Thanksgiving Holiday**

### **WEEK THIRTEEN**

**November 29**                      **Student Presentations**

**December 1**                        **Student Presentations**

### **WEEK FOURTEEN**

**December 6**                      **UN Reform, the Growth of Private Military Firms, and the Future of International Intervention in Internal Conflict**

Guest Lecturer: Sebastian von Einsiedel, member of the staff of the UN Secretary General’s Panel on High-Level Threats

*The Report of the UN Secretary General’s High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change; PDF file downloadable from URL: <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>*

P.W. Singer, “Outsourcing War,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2005).

**December 8**                      **Conclusions and Policy Implications**

Chapter 22: Policy Implications in *Ending Civil Wars*

Chapter 6: The Risks of Humanitarian Responses to Militarized Refugee Crises in *Dangerous Sanctuaries*

Chapter 8: Conclusions (skim); and Postscript: The Aftermath of 11 September 2001 in *Armed Humanitarians*.

*Recommended:*

Chapter 6: Humanitarian Action in a Second Best World in *Condemned to Repeat?*

## Policy Presentation Assignment

### Scenario:

It is some point in the post-Cold War period (1991 → today). You are part of a (State Department, Defense Department, National Security Council, or...?) team that has been tasked with crafting a piece of US government policy on how to respond to a budding or existing international crisis/internal conflict. Relying on your knowledge of IR theory and specific cases—as well as the array of practical knowledge and skills you have acquired over the course of this term—you and your team will make a brief presentation to the President, his advisors, and his staff, recommending a course of action to deal with this conflict.

### Ground Rules:

Each team will comprise 4-5 people; team assignments will be made later in the semester, based upon areas of interest and expertise. Both the (proto-) conflict to be examined and the nature of your proposed response (e.g., political, military, hard, soft, etc.) are up to you and your team to decide. However, some possibilities include the following: any of the cases we examine in class; the Middle East peace process; the civil wars in Colombia or Sri Lanka; the conflict over Kashmir; and the violence in the Darfur region of western Sudan. Some policy responses include: a decision to intervene militarily (or not to do so) in a country that seems ripe for collapse; a proposal for the creation of a truth and reconciliation commission; an initiative to mediate an on-going conflict (or a recommendation not to do so); a suggestion for how to reintegrate a refugee population living in exile; or, even, a new approach to a peace settlement in the context of a very old conflict. The conflicts are myriad; the potential responses are even greater; the choice is yours.

As the President is a busy person, you and your team will have only fifteen (15) minutes to make your case. Given the brevity of your presentation, not everyone will be expected to speak. Your team may make your case however you choose—including the use of PowerPoint slides, briefing papers, or simple oration—it is your call. But time is limited, so choose your points carefully, keep your presentation brief, and limit accompanying materials to a few pages, should you decide to use them. The President's team (i.e., the rest of the class) will then have another 15-20 minutes to ask questions of—and request clarification from—your team.

This assignment has no single right answer. Your team will be graded not on quantity, but rather on the quality of your proposal. Also, evidence that you have assimilated and integrated the knowledge you have gained in class and from the readings will be rewarded. The assignment has been designed to allow you to apply what you have learned in a creative way to a real world situation; have fun with it!

Note: While the choice of topic and proposed policy are left to the discretion of your team, each team *is expected to consult with me in office hours* about their choices before moving forward. This will also help to ensure that your team's topic is specific and narrow enough to be presented within the time constraints demanded by the President's tight schedule.