

University of Rochester
Department of Political Science
IR 233W Internal Conflict and Military Intervention
Spring 2013
MWF 11 a.m.-11:50 a.m.
Lattimore 431

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About this course: This course examines great power military intervention in internal conflicts since World War II. It focuses on great power intervention because of its policy relevance in an era when the United States considers non-state actors such as insurgents and the terrorists who mingle with them, along with the so-called ungoverned spaces that sometimes shelter them, to pose its most immediate national security threat. The larger theoretical relevance involves the uses and limitations of military force for states attempting to change the behavior of other states and non-state actors. The course also explores pressing policy questions: Under what conditions can states hope to effectively intervene militarily in internal conflicts, and what tools are available to do so? Understanding what policy options are available for interveners and understanding determinants of success and failure is important to states attempting to assure their own security and to states and international organizations hoping to prevent or end bloodshed within conflict-ridden states.

Educational goals: Build students' analytical abilities; develop students' ability to present a logically consistent argument that accords with the available evidence; to find and use evidence effectively; to analyze others' use of evidence and logic; to analyze world events and state policies through a social science lens; to increase students' understanding of states' foreign policy choices in order to build their ability to act as responsible and informed citizens; to increase their ability to assess certain types of potential national security threats and to understand the tools available to meet these threats.

Course requirements: Students are expected to have read and considered the material prior to the class for which it is assigned, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Students are expected to attend all classes. No late assignments will be accepted without documentation of a medical or personal emergency. Throughout the course, students are required to develop and submit a series of assignments that culminate in a final paper. Students are expected to lead class discussions and provide useful feedback on others' work. Assignments turned in late without documented evidence of an emergency will be dropped one full grade for every day they are late, starting on the day the assignment is due. The assignments are discussed in more detail below.

Should I make any changes in the syllabus or assignments, I will notify students through the Blackboard system. Students should feel free to email or meet with me to discuss class material and assignments.

Academic Integrity: Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action (<http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII>). Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with severely, which means that your grade will suffer and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty.

Additional Resources: I encourage students to use the university's resources. The Writing Center, other tutoring, and the Department of Political Science librarian are all here to work with you. Note that the Writing Center apparently requires a professor's approval to work on a class assignment with you, so plan ahead.

The Office of the Dean, through the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning and the College Center for Academic Support, provides tutoring. Students wanting information may go to CCAS in Lattimore 312, 275-2354.

The College Writing Program offers tutoring on written assignments.
<http://writing.rochester.edu/help/index.html>

Valuable information on research and writing is at http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=3869&this_pageID=59. Resources also appear on a page within the Blackboard course.

The Department of Political Science reference librarian, Ann Marshall, is a terrific resource. Contact her at amarshall@library.rochester.edu.

Books Suggested for Purchase

Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Andrew Bennett and Alexander L. George, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005)

Taylor B. Seybolt, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Tony Jeapes, *SAS: Operation Storm: Secret War in the Middle East* (London: Greenhill Books, 2006 (reprint)). OUT OF PRINT but available from various vendors online. Don't pay a lot.

Benjamin C. Schwarz, *American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and El Salvador* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1991).

Ivo Daalder and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2001).

Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton University Press, 2010)

All other material is available online, either on Blackboard or in the public realm. Assigned books will be on reserve in the library. Scholarly articles are available through the library's online resources.

Course Requirements

In this class you will write a research paper based on scholarly theories, arguments, and evidence from within and outside class. It requires you to conduct your own research (the department librarian and I are happy to consult with you), to plan ahead, to present your work in progress in order to strengthen it with further revisions, to write and rewrite your work incorporating feedback as well as the knowledge and understanding you gain throughout the term, and to produce a thoughtful, polished final paper. It is a lot of work. Do not take these assignments lightly and do start early. There are hard deadlines throughout the semester and your final grade will suffer if you miss them.

1. **Twenty-page final paper:** Write a clear, succinct, focused comparative analysis of the outcome of two post-WWII interventions into internal conflicts. What was the internal problem, what was the external threat, what response was chosen, by whom, why, what was the outcome, and how well did it match the interveners'('s) goals.

Your written work must be succinct, well written, and clearly focused. You must make a clear, logical, strong argument and support it with directly relevant evidence. You must draw on scholarly theories from class and outside it. You must include empirical research that goes beyond class material. You must use a standard citation format. You must use correct spelling, grammar, syntax, and word choice. Clarity and precision of expression count. Accuracy of theories and evidence counts. You must format your work properly. No fiddling with margins or font size; use the standard settings. Pay attention to the scope of theories and the definitions used. If you cite Wikipedia, you will receive a failing grade on the assignment. There are many differences between formal writing, on the one hand, and informal spoken and online-style speech, on the other. I expect you to use formal writing and speech in your papers and presentations.

Assignments culminating in the final paper are:

a) **Prospectus** (12% of final grade): Five paragraphs. What is your topic? Why do we care about this topic? What is the conventional wisdom on this topic? Why do you think the conventional wisdom is wrong? What is your research question and how will you go about answering it? In addition, it must be clear that the project

is one you can accomplish in 20 pages and 14 weeks. **DUE FEBRUARY 25 in my email inbox by start of class.**

Presentations February 13, 18, 20, 22

b) **Outline (12% of final grade):** This outline shows the structure of your paper and the argument and evidence you plan to present. The outline should clearly indicate your research question and preliminary answer based on initial research. Your argument should be clear and logical. Key terms should be clearly and succinctly defined. The evidence presented should pertain directly to the research question. **DUE MARCH 8 in my email inbox by start of class.**

c) **Literature review (12% of course grade):** The literature review summarizes what we know now about your topic and identifies gaps in our knowledge that your research will fill. What are the key arguments and dominant viewpoints in the scholarly literature today? Van Evera discusses the literature review in greater detail. **DUE MARCH 22 in my email inbox by start of class.**

d) **Argument (12% of course grade):** This document is a draft of the main body of your paper, the meat of it. It includes your argument and evidence. It does not include the introduction, literature review, or conclusion. **DUE APRIL 15 in my email inbox by start of class.**

Presentations April 1, April 8, April 10, April 12

e) **Final, polished draft of 20-page paper (32% of course grade):** This is the complete, polished, professional looking final draft of your paper, with every element rewritten to reflect the feedback you have received over the course of the term. **FINAL PAPER DUE 9 a.m., Monday, May 6, in my inbox.**

Presentations April 22, April 24, April 26, April 29

For your papers:

- i) Methodology: pay attention to definitions, scope of theories and types of conflicts
- ii) Theoretical analysis: use theories from class to understand and analyze cases
- iii) Empirical analysis: use empirical evidence to understand and analyze actors' policy choices
- iv) Policy analysis: lay out and consider interests and costs for key actors, discuss how these drive choices
- v) Style and formatting: Clear writing, correct grammar, syntax, and spelling, accurately typed and proofread, standard formatting
- vi) Logically coherent argument
- vii) Effective presentation of evidence, with attention to any limitations in what claims the evidence will bear

2. Class participation, including constructive comments on others' work, and presentations on your prospectus, argument, and final paper (20% of course grade).

Make sure your comments and questions in discussions are based on familiarity with the class material, are focused on the topic at hand, and are civil and constructive. I will let you know what your preliminary, informal participation grade is about halfway through the term.

There are no lectures in this class. You are responsible for making sure you understand the material and asking questions to help you do so, and for leading class discussions. At the beginning of each class, students will be called on to begin the discussion of the readings, including their assessment of it and their elicitation of other students' analyses of the work. Students will be called on at random throughout class sessions; so come prepared. Class participation includes questions, comments, and analysis, but no opinions, based on the course reading. You are also expected to provide kind, thoughtful, constructive feedback to your classmates on their work in the discussions that follow presentations. Assessing others' work will improve your own.

Each presentation will be a well planned, well organized, succinct discussion of the project element you are focusing on. The point of asking you to present on your work as you develop it is to give you the opportunity to hone your verbal presentation skills, your verbal clarity, your ability to make and present a focused argument, and your to follow a verbal argument to analyze its logic and evidence. The presentations will also help you identify strengths and weaknesses in your projects as you go along and further develop your work for your final draft.

In analyzing class material and your colleagues' work, there are many questions you may ask and there are a variety of ways in which to lead the discussion. What is the author's topic? Argument? Evidence? What are the author's assumptions? Does the evidence match the theoretical argument? Is the argument logically consistent? What is the author's critique of the conventional wisdom, i.e., what is the author's contribution to knowledge? What is the scope of the author's theory or argument? Are there counter-arguments to that posed by the author? What did you not understand in the material? What is new to you in the material? How does it fit together with or challenge other material we are reading?

We will discuss how to read scholarly work, research and write essays, and do presentations. Feel free to discuss your thoughts and class material with others, but you will be graded solely on the work you present.

Written assignments are due to me by email by the due date and time. Remember to put your name on your work.

Course Outline

I. The Problem

Internal conflict/weak states/failed states

II. Causes

a. Material, nonmaterial, systemic

b. Why causation matters: diagnosis and prescription

II. So What?

- a. Internal costs: human, economic, and environmental
- b. External threats: spread of conflict, refugee flows, terrorist havens, criminal states and networks

III. Intervention as the Solution

- a. Neo-trusteeship, shared sovereignty
- b. Humanitarian military intervention
- c. Peacemaking and peacekeeping
- d. Counterinsurgency
- e. State building
- f. Invasion and occupation

IV. Case Studies

- a. Kosovo
- b. Dhofar, Oman
- c. El Salvador
- d. Iraq
- e. Afghanistan

V. Final class

- a. What do we know?
- b. What do we need to know?
- c. How can we try to find out?

Class Schedule

I may modify or update this schedule and the readings pending developments. We will start each class with student briefs on the assigned material. Be ready!

Introduction

What is the problem?

Internal conflict/revolution/rebellion/civil war/insurgency/state failure/weak states/rogue states

Wednesday, January 16: Overview and Discussion

- a) Course structure, requirements, goals, and overview of content
- b) Questions
- c) What do we know: What is internal conflict? Does it threaten other states? Which ones? How? What is intervention? What is success and for whom?

For this class, read:

Lotta Harbom and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2009," *Journal of Peace Research* 47:4 (2010), pp. 501-509.

Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21:3 (Winter, 1996-1997), pp. 5-53

Skim The National Security Strategy of the United States, May 2010. link available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/05/27/a-blueprint-pursuing-world-we-see>

Skim U.S. Department of Defense, Quadrennial Defense Review, February 1, 2010. <http://www.defense.gov/QDR/>

Friday, January 18: Overview and Discussion

Robert I. Rotberg, ed. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2003), Chapter 1 (click on link for sample chapter). Online at <http://www.brookings.edu/press/Books/2003/statefailureandstateweaknessinatimeofterror.aspx>

Harry Eckstein, ed. *Internal War: Problems and Approaches* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), Introduction, "Toward The Theoretical Study Of Internal War."

Additional reading:

Harvey Waterman. "Political Order and the 'Settlement' of Civil Wars." In *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*, ed. Roy Licklider (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

Robert I. Rotberg, "Disorder in the Ranks: A different take on just what makes a "failing" state," "The Failed State Index 2009," and "FAQ and Methodology," *Foreign Policy* June 22, 2009. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/06/22/2009_failed_states_index_disorder_in_the_ranks

Jeffrey Herbst, "Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice, Implications for Policy," chapter 14 in Robert I. Rotberg's *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 302-319.

Stathis Kalyvas, "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars. A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54 (2001), pp. 99-118.

Nicholas Sambanis, "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (2004), pp. 814-58.

Why They Fight

**Incomplete modernization, poverty, relative deprivation, repression, occupation,
lack of democracy, democratization, religion, ideology ...**

Why do we care about causation?

Monday, January 21 NO CLASSES

Wednesday, January 23: Causes of Conflict, Why it Matters

For this class, read:

Stephen Walt, "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2005 8, pp. 23-48.

Francis J. Gavin, "International Affairs of the Heart," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 7:2 (September 2012), pp. 1-8. <http://yalejournal.org/2012/09/international-affairs-of-the-heart/>

Friday, January 25: Causes of Conflict, Why it Matters

Steven Van Evera and Daniel Byman, "Why They Fight: Hypotheses on the Causes of Contemporary Deadly Conflict," *Security Studies* 7:3 (Spring 1998), pp. 1-50

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005. Chapters 3 and 4.

Steven Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997. Chapter 2, pp. 49-55, and appendix on how to write a paper.

Monday, January 28: Causes of Conflict, Why it Matters

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35:1 (1993), pp. 27-47

Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?," *Comparative Politics* 5:3 (April 1973), pp. 425-447

Additional reading:

Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:1 (March 2003), pp. 85-99.

Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97:3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361.

Nicholas Sambanis, "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45:3 (June 2001), pp/ 259-282.

Neil DeVotta, "Illiberalism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," *Journal of Democracy* 13:1 (January 2002), pp. 84-98.

Patrick M. Regan and Daniel Norton, "Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars," *Journal Of Conflict Resolution* 49:3 (June 2005), pp. 319-336

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," review, *International Organization* (Fall 2000), pp. 845-877.

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (February 2003), pp. 75-90.

Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Inequality and Insurgency," *American Political Science Review* 81:2 (June 1987), pp. 426-451.

Nelson Kasfir, "Domestic Anarchy, Security Dilemmas and Violent Predation: Causes of Failure," in *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Richard Rotberg, ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Michael L. Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization* 58:1 (2004), pp. 35-67.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Ann Hironaka, *Neverending Wars: The International Community, Weak States, and the Perpetuation of Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). Chapter 7, "The Logic of Twentieth-century Civil Wars."

Fawaz Gerges, *The Far Enemy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009 (2nd ed)). Chapter 3: The rise of Transnationalist Jihadis and the Far Enemy.

Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

Mao Tse-tung, *Mao Tse-tung* (New York: New American Library, 1962), ed. Anne Fremantle.

Vo Nguyen Giap, *People's War People's Army* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961).

Ernesto Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare*, with case studies by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

Osama bin Laden, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (New York: Verson, 2005), Bruce Lawrence, ed.

Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

Daniel Byman, *The Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2008), Chapter 1, "The Faces of the Adversary."

Internal Conflict as an External Threat

**Bloodshed, pain, death, destruction of property, economic disaster, contagion, bad neighborhoods, refugees, disease, criminal networks and states, terrorist havens
Or not.**

Wednesday, January 30: The Threat and Spread of Internal Conflict

António Guterres, "Millions Uprooted," *Foreign Affairs* 87:5 (Sep/Oct2008), pp. 90-99.

Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May Be Less Dangerous Than Many Think," *International Security* (Fall 2008), pp. 7-45.

Friday, February 1: The Threat and Spread of Internal Conflict

Patrick Stewart, "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?" *Washington Quarterly* 29:2 (Spring 2006), pp. 27-53.

"Fixing Failed States: A Dissenting View," by Justin Logan and Christopher A. Preble, *The Handbook on the Political Economy of War* (2011). [Click on link to download PDF]

Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78:4 (Jul/Aug 1999), pp. 36-44.

Additional reading:

Judy Batt and Dov Lynch, "What is a 'Failing State' and When Is It a Security Threat," Paper delivered at ISS Seminar on *Failing States and the EU's security agenda*, November 8, 2004.

<http://www.iss.europa.eu/nc/actualites/actualite/browse/37/article/what-is-a-failing-state-and-when-is-it-a-security-threat/>

Idean Salehyan and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War," *International Organization*, 60:2 (April 2006), pp. 335-366.

James C. Murdoch and Todd Sandler, "Civil Wars and Economic Growth: Spatial Dispersion," *American Journal of Political Science* 48:1 (January 2004), pp. 138-151.

International Intervention

Obligation or Pandora's box?

Options for intervention, and objections:

Neo-trusteeship, shared sovereignty

Humanitarian military intervention

**Peacemaking, peacekeeping
State building
Counterinsurgency
Invasion and occupation**

Monday, February 4: The Uses and Costs of Force

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 2006, 4th edition), Chapter 6, "Interventions."

Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power," *International Security* 4 (Spring 1980), pp. 4-35.

Wednesday, February 6: The Uses and Costs of Force

Alan Kuperman, "Suicidal Rebellions and the Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethnopolitics* 4:2 (June 2005), pp. 149-173.

Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Chester A. Crocker ed., (Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2001), pp. 285-295.

Gideon Rose, "The Exit Strategy Delusion," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 77, No. 1, January/February 1998, pp. 56-67.

Friday, February 8: The Uses and Costs of Force

Taylor Seybolt, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure*, Chapters 1 and 2

Additional reading:

Stephen J. Solarz and Michael O'Hanlon, "Humanitarian Intervention: When is Force Justified?" *Washington Quarterly* 20 (1997), pp. 3-14.

Michael Walzer, *Arguing About War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), Chapter 1, "The Triumph Of Just War Theory (and the Danger of Success)," and Chapter 5, "The Politics of Rescue."

Barry M. Blechman and Tamara Cofman Wittes, "Defining Moment: The Threat and Use of Force in American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 114:1 (Spring 1999), pp. 1-30.

Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008).

John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," *International Security* 25:1 (Summer 2000), pp. 42-70.

Chester Crocker, "Engaging Failing States," *Foreign Affairs* 82:5 (September/October 2003), pp. 32-44.

The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Ontario, 2001), II, VII-XXI, pp. 69-85.

Barry Posen, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategies," *International Security*, 21:3 (Winter 1996/1997), pp. 5-53.

Stephen Van Evera, "Assessing U.S. Strategy in the War on Terror," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 607:1 (September 2006), pp. 10-26.

Barry R. Posen, "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters," *International Security* 21:1 (Summer 1996), pp. 72-111.

James Kurth, "Lessons from the Past Decade," *Orbis* (Fall 2001), pp. 569-578.

Ariel E. Levite, Bruce W. Jentleson, and Larry Berman, eds. *Foreign Military Intervention: The Dynamics of Protracted Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

Patrick M. Regan, *Civil Wars and Foreign Powers: Outside Intervention in Intrastate Conflict* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

Carl Kaysen and Geroge W. Rathjens, "Send in the Troops: A U.N. Foreign Legion," *Washington Quarterly* 20:1 (Winter 1997), pp. 207-228.

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948 in Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, *Documents on the Laws of War* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 179-188.

The Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949. URL:
<http://www.icrc.org/IHL.nsf/52d68d14de6160e0c12563da005fdb1b/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5?OpenDocument>

Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), 8 June 1977 in Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, *Documents on the Laws of War* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1967) in Malcolm Evans, ed., *Blackstone's International Law Documents, Third Edition* (London: Blackstone Press, 1991).

United Nations Charter, Chapters VI and VII

Medill National Security Zone, "Laws of War 101."
<http://nationalsecurityzone.org/site/101-law-of-war-intro/>

Ralph Peters, "In Praise of Attrition," *Parameters* (Summer 2004), pp. 24-32.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/04summer/peters.htm>.

Stephen John Stedman, "The New Interventionists," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72 (1993), pp. 1-16.

Tony Smith, "In Defense of Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, 73:6 (1994), pp. 34-46.

Michael Mandelbaum, "Foreign Policy as Social Work," *Foreign Affairs* 16:32 (1996).

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention," *Survival* 37:4 (Winter 1995-1996), pp. 29-51.

Terrence Lyons and Ahmed Samatar, *Somalia: State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995).

Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security* 26:4 (Spring 2002), 112-142.

Chester Crocker, "Lessons of Somalia," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1995), 2-8.

John R. Bolton, "Wrong Turn in Somalia," *Foreign Affairs* (January-February 1994), 56-66.

Mark Bowden, *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (NY: New American Library, 2001).

David D. Laitin, "Somalia: Civil War and International Intervention," in *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*, Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Jonathan T. Howe, "Somalia: Learning the Right Lessons," *The Washington Quarterly*, 18:3 (Summer 1995), 49-62.

Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1996), 70-85.

Robert Oakley and John Hirsch, *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995).

Monday, February 11: The Uses and Costs of Force

Taylor Seybolt, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure*, Chapter 3

Wednesday, February 13: PROSPECTUS PRESENTATIONS

Friday, February 15: NO CLASS

Monday, February 18: PROSPECTUS PRESENTATIONS

Wednesday, February 20: PROSPECTUS PRESENTATIONS

Friday, February 22, PROSPECTUS PRESENTATIONS

**Monday, February 25: The Uses and Costs of Force
PROSPECTUSES DUE IN MY INBOX BY START OF CLASS**

Taylor Seybolt, *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure*, Chapters 6, 7, and 8

Wednesday, February 27: Intervener and the Intervened

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Neo-Trusteeships and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* (Spring 2004) pp. 5-43.

Pierre Englebort and Denis M. Tull, "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa," *International Security* 32:4 (Spring 2008), pp. 106-139.

Friday, March 1: Intervener and Intervened

Jonathan Hill, "Beyond The Other? A Postcolonial Critique Of The Failed State Thesis," *African Identities* 33:2 (October 2005), pp. 139-154.

William Langewische, "Peace Is Hell," *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 2001, pp. 51-80.

Monday, March 4: Intervener and Intervened

Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48:2 (2004), pp. 269-292.

I. William Zartman, "The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments," *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1:1 (September 2001), pp. 8-18.

Additional reading:

Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations" (Brahimi Report), online at www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/docs/part1.htm.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *International Security* (Fall 2004), pp. 85-121.

Jarat Chopra and Thomas G. Weiss, "Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics & International Affairs* 6 (1992), pp. 95-117.

Caglar Dolek, "The Myth of 'Failed State' in Africa: A Question," *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, April 29, 2008.

Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Steven L. Burg and Paul Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*, (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2001).

Ivo Daalder, "Knowing When to Say No: The Development of U.S. Policy For Peacekeeping," in William Durch, ed., *U.N. Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

Chaim Kaufmann, "Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can be Done and the Other Can't," *Security Studies* 6:1 (1996), pp. 62-100.

Chaim Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century," *International Security* 23:2 (Fall 1998), pp. 120-157.

Roy Licklider, ed., *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51:1 (Summer 1997), pp. 335-364.

Jeffrey Herbst, "Responding to State Failure in Africa." *International Security* 21:2 (1996), pp. 120-144.

Virginia Page Fortna, "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization* 57:2 (2003), pp. 337-372.

Daniel Byman and Taylor Seybolt, "Humanitarian Intervention and Communal Civil Wars," *Security Studies* 13:1 (2003), pp. 33-78.

Wednesday, March 6: Counterinsurgency and State-building

The U.S. Army-Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24, University of Chicago edition. Chapter 1, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency."

D. Michael Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988). Chapter 5, pp. 104-132

Friday, March 8: Counterinsurgency and State-building OUTLINES DUE BY START OF CLASS IN MY INBOX

Paul Dixon, "'Hearts and Minds?' British Counterinsurgency Strategy from Malaya to Iraq," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:3 (June 2009), pp. 353-381

Karl Hack, "'Iron Claws on Malaya': The Historiography of the Malayan Emergency," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 30:1 (March 1999), pp. 99-125

Additional reading:

Andrew Mack, "'Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars,'" *World Politics* 27:2 (January 1975), pp. 175-200.

Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security* 22:2 (Fall 1997), pp. 54-89.

Edward Luttwak, "Dead End – Counterinsurgency Warfare as Military Malpractice," *Harper's Magazine*, February 2007, pp. 33-42.

Huw Bennett, "The Other Side of the COIN: Minimum and Exemplary Force in British Army Counterinsurgency in Kenya," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 18:4 (December 2007), pp. 638-664.

Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1942-1976* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 2006).

Daniel Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya: Counterinsurgency, Civil War, and Decolonization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Alexander B. Downes, "Introduction: Modern Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Comparative Perspective," *Civil Wars* 9:4 (December 2007), pp. 313-323.

Alexander B. Downes, "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy," *Civil Wars* 9:4 (December 2007), pp. 420-444.

Frank Hoffman, "Neo-Classical Insurgency?" *Parameters* (Summer 2007), pp. 71-87.

John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup With a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. Originally published in 2002).

Bernard Fall, "The Theory and Practice of Counter-insurgency," *Military Review*, April 1965.

David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964).

Sir Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences From Malaya and Vietnam* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966).

Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1964). <http://www-cgsc.army.mil/carl/resources/csi/trinquier/trinquier.asp>.

Charles Wolf Jr., "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: New Myths and Old Realities," (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, July 1965). <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/P3132-1/>.

David Kilcullen, "Counter-Insurgency Redux," *Survival* 48:4 (Winter 2006-2007), pp. 111-130.

Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

James L. Payne, "Deconstructing Nation Building," *The American Conservative*, October 24, 2005, pp. 13-15.

James Dobbins, et. al., "America's Role in Nation Building: From Germany to Iraq," RAND, 2003.

Francis Fukuyama, "Nation-Building 101," *The Atlantic Monthly* (January/February 2004), Vol. 293, No. 1, pp. 159-162.

Marina Ottoway, "Think Again: Nation Building," *Foreign Policy* (September-October 2002), pp. 16-24.

Monday, March 11-Friday, March 15 NO CLASSES

Monday, March 18: Invasion and Occupation

David M. Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29:1 (2004), pp. 49-91.

Michael Ignatieff, "Why Are We In Iraq? (And Liberia? And Afghanistan?)," *The New York Times Magazine*, September 7, 2003.

CASES

Questions for all cases:

Who are the key actors within the state?

What is the type of conflict?

What is/are the cause(s) of the conflict?

What are the key actors' interests and goals?

What constraints do they face?

What are their strategies, and do they change?

Who are the key actors outside the state?

What are their interests and goals?

What constraints do they face?

What are their strategies, and do they change?

What is the outcome of the conflict and of the intervention?

How close did it come to meeting the goals of the key actors within the state and the key external actors?

Wednesday, March 20: Dhofar, Oman

Tony Jeapes, *SAS: Operation Storm: Secret War in the Middle East* (London: Greenhill Books, 2006).

Additional reading:

Geraint Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised: The Counterinsurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965-1975," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:2 (April 2009), 271-305.

John Akehurst, *We Won a War: The Campaign in Oman 1965-1975* (Salisbury, Wiltshire: Michael Russell, 1982).

Calvin H. Allen Jr., and W. Lynn Rigsbee II, *Oman Under Qaboos: From Coup to Constitution 1970-1996* (London: Frank Cass, 2000, 2001 reprint).

David C. Arkless, *The Secret War: Dhofar 1971/1972* (London: William Kimber & Co. 1988).

Friday, March 22: Kosovo

LITERATURE REVIEW DUE IN MY INBOX BY START OF CLASS

Ivo Daalder and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2001) CHAPTERS TO BE ASSIGNED

Monday, March 25: Kosovo

Ivo Daalder and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2001) CHAPTERS TO BE ASSIGNED

Additional reading:

Javier Solana, "NATO's success in Kosovo," *Foreign Affairs* 78:6 (Nov/Dec 1999), 114-120.

Adam Roberts, "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' Over Kosovo," *Survival* 41:3 (Autumn 1999), 102-123.

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War Against Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1999).

Alexander L. George, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1991).

Alexander L. George, David K. Hall, and William E. Simons, *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy: Laos, Cuba, Vietnam* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971).

Robert J Art and Patrick Cronin, eds. *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy* (United States Institute of Peace).

Wednesday, March 27: El Salvador

Benjamin C. Schwarz, *American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and El Salvador* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1991). <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R4042/>

Friday, March 29: El Salvador

Douglas J. Macdonald, *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). Chapter 3, "The Perils and Paradoxes of Reformist Intervention."

Additional reading:

Wood, Elisabeth. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Forging Democracy From Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Andrew J. Bacevich, James D. Hallums, Richard H. White, and Thomas F. Young, *American Military Policy in Small Wars: The Case of El Salvador* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988).

Todd Greentree, *Crossroads of Intervention: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency Lessons From Central America* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008).

Monday, April 1: ARGUMENT PRESENTATIONS

Wednesday, April 3 NO CLASS

Friday, April 5 NO CLASS

Monday, April 8: ARGUMENT PRESENTATIONS

Wednesday, April 10: ARGUMENT PRESENTATIONS

Friday, April 12: ARGUMENT PRESENTATIONS

Monday, April 15: Iraq*
ARGUMENT DUE BY START OF CLASS IN MY INBOX

Richard Haass, "Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World," *Washington Quarterly* 26:3 (Summer 2003), pp. 137-148.

Philip H. Gordon, "Bush's Middle East Vision," *Survival* 45:1 (Spring 2003), pp. 155-165.

Wednesday, April 17: Iraq*

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2003).

Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), Chapter 7.

Friday, April 19: Afghanistan*

Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 255-350

Rory Stewart, "Afghanistan: What Could Work," *The New York Review of Books* 57:1 (January 14, 2010).

*Readings may be updated with developments

Additional reading:

Stephen Biddle, "The Difference Two Years Makes," *The American Interest*, Autumn (September/October) 2011, pp. 40-49.

The Associated Press, "Text of President Bush's Address to the Nation Monday," October 7, 2002.

George W. Bush, "State of the Union Address," Office of the Press Secretary, January 28, 2003.

Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26:1 (Summer 2001), pp. 93-128.

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

Bob Woodward, *Obama's Wars* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010).

Nir Rosen, *Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World* (New York: Nation Books, 2010).

Mark Kukis, *Voices From Iraq: A People's History, 2003-2009* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Peter Van Buren, *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2011).

Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2004), pp. 34-57.

Brigadier Nigel Alwyn-Foster, British Army. "Operation Iraq Freedom Phase IV: The Watershed the U.S. Army Still Needs to Recognise?" *Military Review* (November-December 2005).

Andrew J. Bacevich, "No Exit: America Has an Impressive Record of Starting Wars but a Dismal One of Ending Them Well," *The American Conservative*, February 1, 2010.

U.S. State Department, Federal Information and News Dispatch, Inc., "Haass: U.S. Has Responsibility to Promote Democracy in Muslim World; State's Haass says U.S. will be more actively engaged in effort," December 4, 2002.

Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2002.

Zbigniew Brzezinski and James Harding, "Legitimacy of American leadership' eroded," *The Financial Times*, March 4, 2003.

The Guardian (London), "What would you do?: You don't want war. But how do we stop Saddam doing this again?: In recent weeks, it has become the hawks favorite riposte to mounting anti-war sentiment. But should critics of military action have to answer it? And, if so, can they offer any real alternative? We asked 30 high-profile opponents of the war to tackle the question," February 27, 2003.

Michael Ignatieff, "Second, Sober Thoughts," *The Toronto Star*, March 26, 2004.

Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs* 85:2 (March-April 2006).

Bruce Hoffman, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq," RAND, June 2004.

Steven Metz, "Learning from Iraq: Counterinsurgency in American Strategy," Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, January 2007.
<http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>

Joseph Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011).

Lieutenant General David W. Barno, "Fighting 'The Other War': Counterinsurgency Strategy in Afghanistan, 2003-2005," *Military Review* (September-October 2007).

Seth G. Jones, "Pakistan's Dangerous Game," *Survival* 49:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 15-32.

David Rohde and David E. Sanger, "How a 'Good War' in Afghanistan Went Bad," *The New York Times*, August 12, 2007.

Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale, 2000).

Seth G. Jones, "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad," *International Security* 32:4 (Spring 2008), pp. 7-40.

Monday, April 22: FINAL PRESENTATIONS

Wednesday, April 24: FINAL PRESENTATIONS

Friday, April 26: FINAL PRESENTATIONS

Monday, April 29: FINAL PRESENTATIONS

Wednesday, May 1: Where are we? What have we learned? What can intervention achieve? Under what conditions? What don't we know? How can we try to find out?

FINAL PAPER DUE 9 a.m., Monday, May 6, in my inbox.