

17.952

**Great Power Military Intervention: Causes, Conduct and Consequences of Military Intervention in Internal Conflicts-Cases from the Post Cold War World**

Spring 2004

Professor Barry Posen

Thursdays, 10:00am - 12:00pm, E51-390

The purpose of this seminar is to examine systematically, and comparatively, great and middle power military interventions into civil wars during the 1990's. These civil wars were high on the policy agenda of western states during the 1990's. Yet, these interventions were usually not motivated by obvious classical vital interests. Given the extraordinary security enjoyed by the great and middle powers of the west in the Cold War's aftermath, these activities are puzzling.

The United States played a significant role in most of the cases. The interventions required the employment of significant military power in actual combat operations, and/or sustained peace enforcement operations, which cost real money. They often resulted in modest casualties for the interveners, and sometimes significant casualties for the objects of their intervention. The interventions were controversial, at least in the United States. These civil wars and the interventions they precipitated required considerable attention from policy makers. They were, in short, not "cheap."

The interventions to be examined are the 1991 effort to protect the Kurds in N. Iraq; the 1993 effort to ameliorate famine in Somalia; the 1994 effort to restore the Aristide government in Haiti, the 1995 effort to end the conflict in Bosnia Herzegovina, and the 1999 Nato war to end Serbia's control of Kosovo. By way of comparison the weak efforts made to slow or stop the 1994 genocide in Rwanda will also be examined.

The seminar approaches these interventions with a range of questions:

- 1.) What were the broad policy arguments in favor of or opposed to these interventions?
- 2.) Who were the principal players arguing for intervention?
- 3.) What is known, or believed, about the basic nature of these civil wars—their causes, dynamics, and implications?
- 4.) What military strategies have outside powers tried to employ to achieve specific results in these civil wars, and which ones have proven most effective?
- 5.) What specific kinds of military force have proven particularly useful in the actual interventions?
- 6.) In each case, do we judge the intervention a success or failure, and how do we explain the success or failure?

These interventions command attention for both theoretical and policy scientific reasons. Theoretically, an examination of these interventions may tell us something about broad trends in international politics. They may shed light on such questions as the nature of "unipolarity," or the erosion of sovereignty norms. An examination of these interventions is also necessary in light of the September 11 attack. All security related discussions now focus on the counter terror war. Were the interventions of the 1990's merely an interlude, while states awaited bigger threats? Or do they tell us something about the future of international politics. From a policy science point of view, these interventions all amounted to "limited wars" for the intervening

powers. What do they tell us about how to conduct limited war? What have they taught us about modern conventional military power? What have they taught us about differences among the military organizations and capabilities of the western powers?

Format: This is a seminar. All who show up for class are expected to participate, whether they are taking the course for credit or not. All should do the reading, or the seminar format cannot work. The Professor will serve as discussion leader. Depending on numbers, one or more students per week will be asked to make a ten-minute presentation outlining the key issues raised in the reading. All students taking the course for credit will present some work during the final class meetings of the semester. Auditors working on related projects are also encouraged to present their work during these final meetings.

Evaluation: Those taking the course for credit can satisfy the requirement for written work in one of two ways: a typical class paper, or, a pair of review essays. The latter requires some explanation. The student will read at least two related books for each of the review essays, for a total of four books. These cannot be the required books on the syllabus.

### **Suggested Paper and Book Review Topics and Questions:**

[Note: related questions are clustered together. This list is suggestive, not exhaustive. Please suggest alternatives.]

-What has been the relative weight of legal, ethical, domestic political, and power political, motives in great power decisions to intervene in civil wars?

-Is Preventive Diplomacy a reasonable policy tool to avoid civil wars, or at least the worst excesses sometimes associated with such wars?

-Can the Early Warning problem for civil wars and their humanitarian excesses be solved?

-How did alliance politics affect decisions to intervene?

-Are there any systematic differences in the ways that different great powers approach civil wars? Why?

-Which types of military force, and what types of military strategy seem to be most useful for intervention into civil wars?

-Is external intervention into civil wars best thought of as a deterrence problem or a coercion problem?

-How well have states integrated the political and military components of their interventions?

-How has the coalition nature of modern interventions affected the conduct or outcome of these interventions?

-What would Cold War and earlier history of great power intervention into civil wars have taught us, had we bothered to examine it in 1990?

-What are the relative merits of neutrality vs. choosing sides for outsiders considering intervention?

-How does domestic politics in the intervener's society affect decisions to intervene?

-Is the notion of an "exit strategy" before one intervenes, sound strategy or fatuous nonsense invented to gull skeptics?

-Do civil wars produce more war crimes or violations of international humanitarian law than other kinds of wars? Are they particularly destructive or vicious?

### **Readings:**

Readings are either in the reading packet, or in the books recommended for purchase. Some are at websites.

### **Books to Buy:**

Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (Yale University Press, 2000).

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

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

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

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

### **Week 1. February 5 Introduction**

### **Week 2. February 12 Key Intervenors and Their Policy Preferences**

#### *US Intervention During the Cold War*

James M. Scott, *Deciding to Intervene: The Reagan Doctrine and American Foreign Policy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 14-39.

#### *United States and Grand Strategy After the Cold War*

Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (1991), pp. 23-33.

Barry Posen, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategies," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/1997), pp. 5-53.

### *United States*

Benjamin Miller, "The Logic of U.S. Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War Era," *Contemporary Security Policy*, vol. 19, no. 3, December 1998, pp. 72-109.

Ivo Daalder, "Knowing When to Say No: The Development of US Policy For Peacekeeping," in William Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp. 35-67.

### *Pro-Intervention*

Chester Crocker, "Engaging Failing States," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82, No. 5, September/October 2003, pp. 32-44.

Tony Smith, "In Defense of Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 73, No. 6, November/December 1994, pp. 34-46.

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

### *Anti-Intervention*

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

Michael Mandelbaum, "Foreign Policy as Social Work," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1996), pp. 16-32.

### *Europe*

Marie-Claude Smouts, "Political Aspects of Peace-Keeping Operations," in Brigitte Stern, ed., *United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations: French Policies* (NY: United Nations University, 1998), pp. 7-39.

### *China*

Bates Gill and James Reilly, "Sovereignty, Intervention and Peacekeeping: The View from Beijing," *Survival*, Volume 42, Number 3, Autumn 2000, pp. 41-60.

## *United Nations*

Adam Roberts, "From San Francisco to Sarajevo: The UN and the Use of Force," *Survival*, Vol. 37, No. 4, Winter 1995-1996, pp. 7-28.

## **Week 3. February 19 Theories of Internal Conflicts: Origins, Nature and Extent**

### *Extent of Internal Conflicts*

Mikael Eriksson, Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg, "Armed Conflict, 1989-2002," *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 40, Issue 5, September 2003, pp. 593-607.

### *Origin of Internal Conflicts*

Steven Van Evera and Daniel Byman, "Why They Fight: Hypotheses on the Causes of Contemporary Deadly Conflict," *Security Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3, Spring 1998, pp. 1-50.

### *Primordial*

Connor Cruise O'Brien, "The Wrath of Ages: Nationalism's Primordial Roots," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 5 (November/December 1993), pp. 142-149.

### *Rotten Elites*

Michael E. Brown, "The Causes of Internal Conflicts," in Michael E. Brown, ed., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 1-31.

### *Thugs*

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

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 159-192.

### *Security Dilemma*

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

### *Nature of Internal Conflicts*

Myron Weiner, "Bad Neighbors, Bad Neighborhoods: An Inquiry into the Causes of Refugee Flows," *International Security* 21:1 (Summer 1996), pp. 5-42.

### *Recommended*

“Major Armed Conflicts,” in *SIPRI Yearbook 2000: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2001). [Reference book at Dewey]

Benjamin Valentino, “Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide,” *Security Studies*, 9, no. 3 (Spring 2000), pp. 1-62.

#### **Week 4. February 26 Doctors, Lawyers, and Journalists**

##### *Early Warning and Preventive Diplomacy*

Richard Betts, *Surprise Attack: Lessons for Defense Planning* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1982), pp. 87-149.

Stephen Stedman, “Alchemy for a New World Order,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1995), pp. 14-21; Michael Lund, “Underrating Preventive Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1995), pp. 160-163, and Atwood and Stedman letters in *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1995), pp. 189-191.

Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr, “Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 5, 1998, pp. 551-579.

William Demars, “Waiting for Early Warning: Humanitarian Action After the Cold War,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1995, pp. 390-410.

Alex De Waal and Larry Minear, “Responses to Demars,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1995, pp. 411-417.

##### *The Role of the Media*

Warren Strobel, “The CNN Effect,” *American Journalism Review*, May 1996, pp. 32-34.

Steven Livingston, *Clarifying the CNN Effect* (Cambridge, MA: John F. Kennedy School of Government, June 1997, 18 pp.

Nik Gowing, *Media Coverage: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention?* (NY: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997), 41 pp.

Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion in Global Civil Society: Political Insurgencies, International Media, and Growth of Transnational Support*, PhD Thesis, MIT, 1997, pp. 11-36.

##### *The Role of Non Government Organizations (NGOs)*

Larry Minear and Philippe Guillot, *Soldiers to the Rescue: Humanitarian Lessons from Rwanda* (Paris: OECD, 1996), pp. 33-51.

Thomas Weiss, "Nongovernmental Organizations and Internal Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 435-460.

### *International Law*

*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), pp. 481-498.

*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), pp. 73-85.

United Nations Charter, Chapters VI and VII

Anne Ryniker, "The ICRC's Position on 'Humanitarian Intervention'," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 83, No. 842, June 2001, pp. 527-532.

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.

Bartram Brown, "Statute of the ICC: Past, Present and Future," in Sarah Sewall and Carl Kaysen, *The United States and the International Criminal Court: National Security and International Law* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), pp. 61-84.

### *Ethics, Morals and Norms*

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

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention," *Survival*, vol. 37, no. 4, Winter 1995-1996, pp. 29-51.

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

## **Week 5. March 4 Strategy and Intervention**

### *Deterrence and Coercion*

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 69-91.

Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 1-86.

Jonathan Shimshoni, *Israel and Conventional Deterrence: Border Warfare from 1953 to 1970* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 5-30.

### *Exit Strategy*

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

### *Typology of Military Interventions*

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

### *Conditions for Success*

Chaim Kaufmann, "Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can be Done and the Other Can't," *Security Studies*, Volume 6, No.1, (Autumn 1996), pp. 62-100.

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, vol. 51, no. 1, Summer 1997, pp. 335-364.

Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* November/December 1994, pp. 20-33.

Taylor Seybolt, "What Makes Humanitarian Military Intervention Effective," Draft Paper (Stockholm: SIPRI, undated), 23 pages.

### *Peacekeeping*

Matts Berdal, "Lessons Not Learned: The Use of Force in 'Peace Operations' in the 1990s," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 2000, pp. 55-74.

“Doctrine, Strategy and Decision-Making for Peace Operations,” in *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* (Brahimi Report), 2000, 11 pages.

## **Week 6. March 11 External Intervention and the Use of Force**

### *Force Projection Requirements and Capabilities*

#### *United States*

Department of Defense, *Annual Report to the President and the Congress* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), pp. 49-88.

James T. Quinlivan, “Force Requirements in Stability Operations,” *Parameters*, Winter 1995-1996, pp. 59-69.

D. Michael Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms: The failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy*, Princeton University Press, 1998, pp.115-132.

William Langewiesche, “Peace Is Hell,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 2001, pp. 51-80.

Thomas K. Adams, *US Special Operations Forces in Action: The Challenge of Unconventional Warfare* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), pp.1-26.

Kelly M. Greenhill, “On Intervention to Deter Deadly Conflict: A Cautionary Prospective Analysis,” *Breakthroughs*, Spring 2001, pp. 36-44.

#### *Europe*

David T. Burbach, “Ready for Action? European Capabilities for Peace Operations,” *Breakthroughs*, Spring 1997, pp. 10-19.

David S. Yost, “The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union,” *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2000, pp. 97-128.

#### *Recommended*

Congressional Budget Office, *Moving U.S. Forces: Options for Strategic Mobility*, February 1997. URL: <http://www.cbo.gov/showdoc.cfm?index=11&sequence=0&from=1>

#### *Military Perspectives on Intervention*

Jay L. Johnson and Charles Krulak, “Forward Presence Essential to U.S. Interests,” *Department of Defense Speeches*, Volume 11, Number 100, 1996.

Phillipe Morillon, “The Military Aspects of Field Operations,” in Brigitte Stern, ed., *United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations: A Guide to French Policies* (NY: United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 83-106.

United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, *Defence Review 2001: Policy Priorities*, 2001, 6 pages.

James S. Corum, "Airpower and Peace Enforcement," *Airpower Journal*, Winter 1996, pp. 10-25.

### Recommended

Brooks L. Bash, "Airpower and Peacekeeping," *Airpower Journal* 9:66-78 Spring 1995.  
URL: <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/bash.html>

Steven Metz, "The Air Force Role in United Nations Peacekeeping," *Airpower Journal*, Winter 1993. URL: <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/metzzz.html>

Adrian Treacher, "A Case of Reinvention: France and Military Intervention in the 1990s," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 23-40.

Rod Thornton, "The Role of Peace Support Operations Doctrine in the British Army," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 41-62.

### *Non-Military Intervention*

#### Sanctions

Elizabeth Rogers, "Economic Sanctions and Internal Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 411-434.

Pape, Robert A., "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security* 22:2 (Fall 1997), 90-136.

Elliott, Kimberly Ann, "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty?" *International Security* 23:1 (Summer 1998), 50-65.

### *Information Warfare*

Jamie F. Metzl, "Information Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6, November/December 1997, pp. 15-20.

## **CASES**

### **Week 7. March 18**

#### **Northern Iraq**

“Northern Iraq, 1991-1996: A Difficult Act to Follow?” in Thomas G. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions: Intervening in Humanitarian Crises* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 43-68.

Lawrence Freedman and David Boren, “Safe Havens' for Kurds in Post-War Iraq,” in Rodley, Nigel S., ed. *To Loose the Bands of Wickedness: International Intervention in Defence of Human Rights* (London: Brassey's, 1993), pp. 43-92.

### Recommended

Gordon Rudd, *Operation Provide Comfort: Humanitarian Intervention in Northern Iraq 1991*, Phd Thesis, Duke University, 1993.

Chris Seiple, *The U.S. Military/NGO Relationship in Humanitarian Interventions* (Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute, 1996).

### **Haiti**

Robert Fatton, "The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of President Aristide" in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Haiti Renewed: Political and Economic Prospects* (Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1997), pp. 136-153.

David Malone, “Haiti and the International Community: A Case Study,” *Survival*, vol. 39, no. 2, Summer 1997, pp. 126-146.

Henry Shelton, “Contingency Operations in an Uncertain World: The Case of Haiti,” *Strategic Review*, Fall 1998, pp. 37-41.

“Haiti, 1991-1996: Why Wait So Long?” in Thomas G. Weiss, *Military-Civilian Interactions: Intervening in Humanitarian Crises* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 167-192.

### **Week 8. April 1 Somalia**

Jon Western, “Sources of Humanitarian Intervention,” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Spring 2002, pp. 112-142.

Robert Oakley and John Hirsch, *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995), pp. 149-173.

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

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

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

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

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

Jonathan T. Howe, "Somalia: Learning the Right Lessons," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Summer 1995, pp. 49-62.

Recommended:

Frontline, *Ambush in Mogadishu*, 2001. URL:  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ambush/>

Theo Farrell, "Sliding Into War: The Somalia Imbroglio and US Army Peace Operations Doctrine," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer 1995, pp. 194-214.

**Week 9. April 8 Bosnia-Croatia**

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

Mark J. Conversino, "Executing Deliberate Force, 30 August-14 September 1995," and Mark C. McLaughlin, "Assessing the Effectiveness of Deliberate Force: Harnessing the Political-Military Connection," in Robert C. Owen, ed., *Deliberate Force: A Case Study in Effective Air Campaigning* (Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, 1998), pp. 131-175 and 189-197.

Recommended

Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995).

Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (Macmillan, 1994).

**Week 10. April 15 Rwanda**

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, pp. 84-108.

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

Presidential Decision Directive 25, *U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations*, May 3, 1994, 12 pp. URL: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd25.htm>

Alain Destexhe, "The Third Genocide," *Foreign Policy*, No. 97, Winter 1994-95, pp. 3-17.

Gerard Prunier, "The Great Lakes Crisis," *Current History*, 96, 610, May 1997, pp. 193-199.

Scott Feil, *Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda*, a report to the Carnegie Commission on the Prevention of Deadly Conflict, 1998, 58 pages.

Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 74-92 and 159-191.

### Recommended

Alison De Forges, "*Leave None to Tell the Story*": *Genocide in Rwanda* (NY: Human Rights Watch, 1999). available at the Human Rights Watch Website. [www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/index.htm](http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/index.htm)

### **Week 11. April 22 Kosovo**

Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (Yale University Press, 2000).

Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, and Lessons Learned* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1-12 and 163-198.

Barry R. Posen, "The War for Kosovo: Serbia's Political-Military Strategy," *International Security* 24:4 (Spring 2000), 39-84.

Adam Roberts, "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' Over Kosovo," *Survival*, Volume 41, Issue 3, Autumn 1999, pp. 102-123.

William Hagen, "The Balkans' Lethal Nationalisms," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 4, July/August 1999, pp. 52-64.

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 5 (September/October 1999), p. 2-8.

Javier Solana, "NATO's Success in Kosovo," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 6 (November/December 1999), pp. 114-120.

James Steinberg, "A Perfect Polemic," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 6 (November/December 1999), pp. 128-133.

*Kosovo Air Operations: Need to Maintain Alliance Cohesion Resulted in Doctrinal Departures*, GAO-01-784, July 27, 2001, 31 pp.

Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe, *Kosovo/Kosova: As Seen, As Told: An analysis of the human rights findings of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission October 1998 to June 1999* (Warsaw: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 1999), pp. 21-30.

Recommended:

Department of Defense, *Report to Congress: Kosovo/Allied Force After Action Review*, January 31, 2000. URL: <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/kaar02072000.pdf>

Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe, *Kosovo/Kosova: As Seen, As Told: An analysis of the human rights findings of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission October 1998 to June 1999*, undated. URL: <http://www.osce.org/kosovo/documents/reports/hr/part1/index.htm>

Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1999).

Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).

**Week 12. April 29 Student Presentations**

**Week 13. May 6 Student Presentations**

**Week 14. May 13 Wrap-Up**