

**Armed Conflict and the Politics of Humanitarian Action**  
(Human Rights Course 21200/31200 Cross Listed)

Class Meetings: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 3:00-4:20 PM  
Class Room: Social Science 105  
Prof. Andreas E. Feldmann  
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Office Hours: Mondays 3:00-5:00 PM

**I.- Subject:** This course attempts to help students to enhance their understanding of the conditions that have historically fueled internal violence and civil wars. Beyond merely analyzing the economic, social, and political conditions prompting armed conflict; however, this course seeks to review some of the societal consequences this phenomenon brings about (e.g., massive population uprooting) as well as the tactics employed by belligerents (e.g., targeting of civilians and relief workers). Additionally, this class examines the characteristics and complexities of humanitarian work. The course is divided into two main sections. The first and most broad one discusses the nature, root sources, characteristics, and consequences of armed conflict. Crucial issues and concepts examined include the root sources of armed conflict, the conduction of hostilities and the treatment of civilians by armed parties, complex humanitarian emergencies (CHEs), international humanitarian law (IHL), and different types of population uprooting [i.e., refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs)]. The second part of the course briefly examines the characteristics, problems, and contradictions of humanitarian work during armed conflict. The course examines the features and role played by relevant intergovernmental and nongovernmental international relief organizations including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), among others.

**II.- Course Requirements:** Students are expected to participate in weekly discussion sessions on the assigned material. Grades will be determined as follows:

- Class participation (25 % of grade)
- Two take-home exams (30% of the grade each)
- Examinations on current affairs (15%) (three in total).

**III.- Participation:** The course will be conducted as a seminar and therefore students' continual attendance is required. Excessive unexcused absences (more than three in the quarter) will lower the final grade. To improve class discussion, for each session students have to write a brief comment (one or two paragraphs maximum) posing questions or/and commenting issues regarding the assigned material. Comments have to post on chalk two hours prior to each session.

**IV.- Current Affairs Quizzes:** During the quarter three short quizzes will be held to test students' familiarity with current affairs, in particular those relevant to the material being covered during the course. The following news websites are strongly recommended:

BBC WORLD SERVICE: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news>  
THE ECONOMIST: [http:// www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)  
NEW YORK TIMES: <http://www.nytimes.com>  
CABLE NEWS NETWORK: [http://.www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com)

Other Relevant Links on the web include:

United States Committee for Refugees <http://www.refugees.org>  
International Committee of the Red Cross <http://www.icrc.org>  
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees <http://www.unhcr.ch>  
United Nations Humanitarian Affairs <http://www.un.org/ha/>  
Medicines Sans Frontiers/Doctors Without Borders <http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org>  
International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies <http://www.ifrc.org>  
Oxfam <http://www.oxfam.org/eng/>  
International Institute for Strategic Studies: <http://www.iiss.org>

**VI. -Required Texts:** All readings will be placed on *electronic reserve*. No purchase of books is required.

**Late Policy:** Barring an extraordinary excuse, all late papers will be marked a grade down for each day following the due date.

### Course Schedule

#### ***Week One: Introduction to the nature of warfare and its study by social sciences***

##### *Class 1 (Jan 4)*

Eriksson, Mikael, and Peter Wallensteen. 2004. "Armed Conflict, 1989-2003." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (5): 625-37.

Levy, Jack, Thomas C. Walker and Martin S. Edwards. 2001. "Continuity and Change in the Evolution of Warfare." *In War in a Changing World*, edited by Zeev Maoz and Azar Gat. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 15-49.

International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2004. *Strategic Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-18.  
Available at: [http://www3.oup.co.uk/stsurv/hdb/Volume\\_104/Issue\\_01/](http://www3.oup.co.uk/stsurv/hdb/Volume_104/Issue_01/)

##### *Class 2 (Jan 6)*

Von Clausewitz, Karl. 1976. *On War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 75-89.

Walzer, Michael. 1977. *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, pp. 3-33.

Doyle, Michael. 1997. *Ways of War and Peace. Realism, Liberalism and Socialism*. New York: Norton Press, pp. 15-37.

#### **Week Two: The Causes and Nature of Armed Conflict**

##### (Jan 11)

Howard, Michael. 1984. *The Causes of War and Other Essays* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp., 7-22.

Brown, E. Michael. 1996. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp., 1-30.

Levy, Jack S. 2001. "Theories of Interstate and Intrastate War: A Levels of Analysis Approach." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, eds. Chester A Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press pp., 3-28.

(Jan 13)

Ayoob, Muhammed. 2001. "State Making, State Breaking and State Failure." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by Chester A Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press. pp., 127-142.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 2001. "Minorities and Nationalists: Managing Ethnopolitical Conflict in the New Century." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by Chester A Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press. pp., 163-188.

Williams, Robin. M. Jr. 2003. *The Wars Within: Peoples and States in Conflict*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 34-63.

### ***Week Three: New Trends in Armed Conflict.***

(Jan 18)

Holsti, K.I. 1999. "The Coming Chaos? Armed Conflict in the World's Periphery. In *International Order and the Future of World Politics*, eds. T.V. Paul and John A. Hall, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 283-310.

Münkler, Harfried. 2003. "The Wars of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." *International Review of the Red Cross* 85 (March): 7-21.

Case Study: Bosnia-Herzegovina

Kaldor Mary. 1999. *New and Old Wars*. Cambridge Polity Press, pp. 31-68

(Jan 20)

Keen, David. 1998. "The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars" *Adelphi Paper Series*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, pp. 9-79.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2001. "New" and "Old" Civil Wars: Valid Distinctions? *World Politics World Politics* 54 (1): 99-118.

### ***Week Four: Complex Humanitarian Emergencies and International Intervention***

(Jan 25)

Kent, Randolph. 1987. *Anatomy of Disaster Relief*. London: Pinter Publishers, pp. 1-12.

Väyrynen, Raimo. 2000. Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Concepts and Issues. In *War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies*, eds. Wayne E. Nafziger, Francis Stewart, and Raimo Väyrynen. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Vol. I), pp. 43-84

#### Case Study Afghanistan

Rubin, Barnett R..2000. "Afghanistan: The Last Cold-War Conflict, the First Post-Cold-War Conflict." In *War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies*, eds. Wayne, Nafziger E. Francis Stewart, and Raimo Väyrynen. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Vol. II), pp. 23-52.

International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2004. *Strategic Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 244-9.  
Available at: [http://www3.oup.co.uk/stsurv/hdb/Volume\\_104/Issue\\_01/pdf/197.pdf](http://www3.oup.co.uk/stsurv/hdb/Volume_104/Issue_01/pdf/197.pdf)

(Jan 27)

MacFarlane, Neil S. 2002. "Intervention in World Politics." *Adelphi Paper Series*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, pp. 13-18,-48-83.  
(Placed on reserve, Regenstein Library)

MacFarlane, Neil S. and Thomas Weiss. 2000. "Political Interest and Humanitarian Action." *Security Studies* 10: 1: 112-42.

Case Study Darfur

Slim, Hugo. 2004. "Dithering Over Darfur? A Preliminary Review of the International Response." *International Affairs* 80 (5) 811-29.

### **Week Five: The Protection of Civilians and the Role of Occupying Powers**

(Feb 1)

Slim, Hugo. 2003. "Why Protect Civilians? Innocence, Immunity and Enmity in War." *International Affairs* 79 (3): 481-503.

Chipman, Don. 2003. "Osama bin Laden and Guerrilla War." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26 (3) 163-8.

Walzer, Michael. 1977. *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, pp. 176-96

Recommended:

Szekely, Ora. 2003. Literature Review: A Typology of Theories on the Targeting of Civilians in Civil War.

(Feb 3)

Von Glahn, Gerhard. 1986. *Law Among Nations*. New York: Macmillan Publishers, pp. 681-715

Case Study Iraq.

International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2004. *Strategic Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 162-72. [http://www3.oup.co.uk/stsurv/hdb/Volume\\_104/Issue\\_01/pdf/157.pdf](http://www3.oup.co.uk/stsurv/hdb/Volume_104/Issue_01/pdf/157.pdf)

Human Rights Watch. 2003. *Off Target: The Conduct of War and Civilian Casualties in Iraq*.  
Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/usa1203/> (selected pages)

Rieff, David. 2003. "Blueprint for a Mess." *The New York Times Magazine* (November 2): 1- 9.

First Take-home exam. Due on Monday, February 7

## **Week Six: Population Displacement and International Security**

(Feb 8)

Loescher, Gil. 1993. *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-31.

Cohen Roberta and Francis Deng. 1998. *Masses in Flight*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 15-39.

Dowty, Alan and Gil Loescher 1996. "Refugee Flows as Grounds for International Action." *International Security* 21 (1): 43-72

(Feb 10)

Case Study: Rwandan Refugee Camps in Zaire

Terry, Fiona. 2002. *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp, 155-214

Loescher Gil and James Milner. 2003. "The Missing Link: The Need for Comprehensive Engagement in Regions of Refugee Origin" *International Affairs* 79 (3): 595-618

## ***Week Seven: The International Relief System: Characteristics, Shortcomings and Challenges***

(Feb 15)

Kent, Randolph. 1987. *Anatomy of Disaster Relief*. London: Pinter Publishers, pp., 33-63.

Weiss, Thomas and Cindy Collins. 2000. *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention*. Boulder. CO.: Westview Press, pp., 39-69.

Roberts, Adam. 1999. "The Role of Humanitarian Issues in International Politics in the 1990s." *International Review of the Red Cross* 83: 9-43

(Feb 17)

Roberts, Adam. 1996. *Humanitarian Action in War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, pp. 7-88.

Terry, Fiona. 2002. *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp, 17-54

Recommended:

Barnett. Michael. What is the Future of Humanitarianism? *Global Governance* 9 (3): 401-17.

## ***Week Eight: The United Nations and Humanitarian Action.***

(Feb 22)

Weiss, Thomas, David P. Forsythe, and Roger A. Coate. 2004. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 178-191.

Doyle, Michael W. 2001. "War Making and Peace Making: 'The United Nations' Post-Cold War Record." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by Chester A Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, pp., 529-560.

Barnett, Michael. 2002. *Eyewitness to Genocide. The United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1-21.

Recommended:

Cohen, Roberta, Francis Deng. 1998. *Masses in Flight*. Washington: Brookings Press, pp., 143-68

(Feb 24)

Loescher, Gil. 2001. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp., 1-19, 348-380.

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53 (4): 699-732.

### **Week Nine: The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Strengths and Perils of Neutrality.**

(Mar 1)

Forsythe, David. 1977. *Humanitarian Politics: The International Committee of the Red Cross*. Baltimore; Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1-26.

Kent, Randolph. 1998. "Footing the Aid Bill." *Red Cross, Red Crescent: the International Magazine of the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*. 2:2-7.

Bugnion, François. 2003. *The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Protection of War Victims*. Oxford: Macmillan Publishers., pp 804-838.

Gassmann, Pierre. 2001. "Persuading Belligerents to Comply with International Norms. In *Civilians in War*, edited by Simon Chesterman." Boulder, CO.: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 67-92.

(Mar 3)

Von Glahn, Gerhard. 1986. *Law Among Nations* (5<sup>th</sup> ed). New York: Macmillan, pp. 608-25.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests and Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp., 69-88.

ICRC. 2003. IHL: Answers to your Questions.

Available at:

[http://www.icrc.org/web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwplList2/Humanitarian\\_law:IHL\\_in\\_brief?OpenDocument#listanchor3](http://www.icrc.org/web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwplList2/Humanitarian_law:IHL_in_brief?OpenDocument#listanchor3)>

Recommended:

Bugnion, François. 2003. *The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Protection of War Victims*. Oxford: Macmillan Publishers., pp., 923- 945.

## ***Week Ten: NGOs Working in Armed Conflict***

*Class 1* (March 8)

Duffield, Mark. 1997. "[NGO Relief in War Zones: Towards an Analysis of the New Aid Paradigm.](#)" *Third World Quarterly* **18** (3): 527-543.

Natsios, Andrew. 1996. "NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation." In *NGOs, the UN and Global Governance*, edited by Thomas Weiss and Leon Gordenker. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp., 67-82.

Cohen Roberta and Francis Deng. 1998. *Masses in Flight*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 187-212.

Brauman Rony. 1993. "The Médecins Sans Frontières." In *A Framework for Survival: Health Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance in Conflicts and Disasters*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 202-220.

### Recommended

Aall, Pamela, Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G. Weiss. 2000. *Guide to IGOs and the Military in Peace and relief Operations*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 87-180. (\*\*)

(\*\*) Important for those interested in learning about the different types of non-governmental organizations working on humanitarian issues (Potential employers?).