CIVIL CONFLICT AND TERRORISM

PUAF 699K
Spring 2015
Tuesday 1:30-4:00
Room 1107 Van Munching Hall

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Office hours by appointment

Course Description

Generally Recommended Texts


Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World, by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela R. Aall (editors), United States Institute of Peace Press (January 2007).


Counterinsurgency Field Manual, by The U.S. Army and Marine Corps, with John A. Nagl (Foreword), David H. Petraeus (Foreword), James F. Amos (Foreword), and Sarah Sewall (Introduction), University of Chicago Press (July 4, 2007).

Weekly reading assignments will be available on Canvas

Assignments and Grading

Course participants are required to write an essay (10%), produce a co-written presentation and research paper (50% -- broken out 20% and 30%), complete a final examination (30%), and actively participate in each class meeting (10%).
Essay. At the end of part I of the class (February 17), a question will be assigned relating to the material covered up to that point. An essay of about 1500 words (about 3 single spaced pages) will be due at the following class meeting (February 25).

Research Paper and Presentation. The middle section of the class will involve the examination of seven prominent cases that have shaped the policies of the US and the UN with respect to intervention in civil conflicts. Discussion of these cases will feature initial class presentations by small teams of students 2 or 3) followed by the submission of a joint paper on the order of 6000 words (about 12 single spaced pages). Reflecting the fact that most actual policy work is collaborative in nature, both the presentation and the associated paper will be developed jointly and the students will share the same grade. The presentation will be on the order of 45 minutes long (with all members presenting a part) and will provide the basis for the class discussion that follows. The paper for all the presentations will be due on April 22.

Final Examination. At the conclusion of the last class meeting, participants will be handed and emailed a final examination, due one week later (4:00pm on May 19). Participants will be expected to return an essay of approximately 1,500 words that utilizes the scope of material covered during the course.

Schedule of Classes and Weekly Reading Assignments

PART 1 – Aggregate Understanding of Civil Violence and Terrorism

(1) January 27: Introduction & Background

The course will focus on civil conflict as an international security policy problem of emerging prominence following the end of the Cold War. It will review how conceptual understanding and policy practice have been reacting to the substantial changes in context associated with the process of globalization. It is important to begin the review, however, with some consideration of the historical legacy that has generated the conceptual assumptions, political attitudes, established doctrines and operational practices that form the foundation from which policy development has been occurring. The word policy refers to all of these determinants of government action.

As summarized in Violent Politics, civil conflict and associated acts of terrorism in the entire historical experience prior to 1991 were primarily concerned with establishing stable, universally accepted sovereign rule over designated territory. Violence in many instances, including within the United States itself, is now seen as having been an integral and perhaps necessary means of achieving the internal consensus on which stable sovereign rule is necessarily based. That assessment suggests considerable tolerance of internal violence from the international community if it is not immediately and seriously affected, and tolerance was the presumption of major countries in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War period. Over the past two decades, however, that presumption
has been partially reversed as major governments have found themselves impelled to intervene in a series of internal conflicts that have produced civilian fatalities, humanitarian emergencies and refugee flows in combinations serious enough to destabilize the governments involved and threaten their surrounding regions.

The instances of primary global significance are those that have involved the United States for the practical reason that during the period in question only the United States has had the military support assets necessary to undertake significant international intervention over substantial distance. Interventions in Bosnia, Somalia, Kosovo and Afghanistan and the failure to intervene in Rwanda have produced a record of experience from which lessons have been drawn, and a partially formed doctrine of justification has emerged. As this has occurred the independent analytic community has intensified its efforts to understand the determinants and implications. Neither the analytic nor the operational effort can reasonably be considered to have mastered the problem, however. Both have been burdened by the Iraq and Afghanistan situations, both of which became seminal instances of internal violence as a result of American invasions undertaken for other reasons.

In examining the current problem against the historical background, several fundamental questions arise:

- Are there circumstances where internal violence is justified as a necessary means of forming viable consensus?
- Can those instances be distinguished from others where internal violence indefinitely prevents the emergence of stable government?
- Has legitimate sovereign jurisdiction been largely established throughout the world or are fundamental revisions of jurisdiction still conceivable?
- Is the process of globalization increasing the broader significance of internal violence?

No Readings for first session

(2) **February 3: Globalization and Its Implications**

The term globalization refers to increases in the range, scope, magnitude and velocity of human interactions that have occurred over recent decades. It is particularly apparent in financial and commodity markets. The determining features are primarily spontaneous, and the consequences exceed the scope of control of sovereign governments, thereby posing major problems of international coordination. Governments are apparently being compelled to act beyond the scope of their authority and effective power in order to
assure the safety and productive performance of their societies. The institutional means for doing so are inadequately developed.

There are reasons to believe that the process is changing the scale and character of the primary security threat from the large organized assaults of principal historical concern, which were designed to contest control of sovereign territory, to the smaller but more widely distributed forms of violence encountered in internal conflicts. The central questions are whether globalization is naturally enhancing or eroding the preservation of legal standards through which social violence is normally controlled and what the scope of either effect can be expected to be. To the extent that globalization generally strengthens universal legal standards and that the exceptions are localized, international tolerance of internal violence would be encouraged. If the spontaneous process serves to undermine legal standards, however, then defense of those standards in localized instances could emerge as a vital international security interest significant enough to enable the general coordination of policy.

Readings:

Peace and Conflict 2012, Executive Summary, CIDCM

Leashing the Dogs of War:
  pp. 3-13, Crocker et al, “Introduction”
  pp. 17-32, Levy, “International Sources of Interstate and Intrastate War”
  pp. 67-81, Crenshaw, “Terrorism and Global Security”

  pp. 17-53, “Our Crowded Planet”

Worlds Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality, Branko Milanovic, Princeton University Press, 2005:
  pp. 7-11, “The Three Concepts of Inequality Defined”
  pp. 101-127, “High Global Inequality: No Trend?”
  pp. 139-148, “The Three Concepts of Inequality in Historical Perspective.”

Illicit, Moises Naim, New York, Anchor Books 2006
  pp. 12-37, “Global Smugglers Are Changing Your World.”

Conceptual attempts to understand the determinants of civil violence extend deep into history. Aristotle addressed the topic as did a number of philosophy’s most notable figures. The conflicting accounts of Thomas Hobbes, who argued that violence is endemic in human nature, and of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who contended that it is generated by social inequality, is one of the more prominent unresolved arguments in the evolution of human thought. That distinction is reflected in contemporary accounts which attribute violence to an inherent impulse for personal profit (greed theory) or alternatively to social inequities arising from ethnic, religious or class distinctions (grievance theory). That question of fundamental determination affects judgments about what the natural, longer term trend can be expected to be under the circumstances of globalization.

Aggregate measures of violence since the end WW II indicate a factor of 3 increase from 1960 to 1990 almost entirely associated with civil (internal) conflicts and a corresponding decrease since 1990 back down to the level that prevailed in 1960. That observation appears to reflect proxy battles that were encouraged and supported by the Cold War protagonists during the period of global confrontation and then resolved as support was withdrawn in the aftermath. It suggests a natural trend of constraint emanating from the process of globalization and from the spread of democracy believed at least by some to be associated with it.

That expectation is not a matter of consensus, however, and is not reflected in the evolution of policy. A presumption against international involvement that prevailed in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War period has been amended if not entirely overturned by a sequence of episodes (Bosnia, Somalia, Kosovo and Afghanistan) in which international intervention was undertaken in order to control potential consequences that were anticipated to be intolerable and by one instance (Rwanda) where the failure to intervene produced actual consequences that were considered to be intolerable in retrospect. Civil violence in Congo, the most destructive of the post Cold War episodes, was initiated and has been sustained by the Rwanda episode. That sequence drove operational practice out in front of conceptual understanding, and that fact in turn rose to prominence as the invasion of Iraq, undertaken for other reasons, generated what subsequently became an occasion for revising operational policy. The process of reconsideration has subsequently been extended to Afghanistan which is currently the most prominent instance of the problem. Failure to achieve decisive control of civil violence either in Iraq or in Afghanistan documents incomplete mastery of the problem.

Meanwhile a surge of analytic effort inspired by the experience indicates that the dynamics of conflict are more complex than prevailing conceptions suggest, in particular that they are more susceptible to highly localized circumstances and subject to greater local variation.
Readings:

Principles of Global Security, Steinbruner, pp. 133-152

Leashing the Dogs of War:
- pp. 115-128, King, “Power, Social Violence, and Civil Wars”
- pp. 131-156, Gurr, “Minorities, Nationalists, and Islamists”
- pp. 197-218, Collier, “Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy”


(4) February 17: Localized Dynamics

Readings:

“Theories and Models of Climate-Security Interaction: Framework and Application to Climate Hot Spot in North Africa..,” Jurgen Scheffran, P. Michael Link, and Janpeter Schilling,

The Logic of Violence in Civil War, Kalyvas, “Introduction” pp. 1-15


Micro Level Analysis of Civil Violence: An Event Data Analysis of Kenya, Georgia-Russia and Mexico Kevin Jones, CISSM working paper 2012

Leashing the Dogs of War, Stewart and Brown, “Motivations for Conflict: Groups and Individuals” pp. 219-241
PART 2 – Recent Formative Experiences

(5) February 24: Bosnia

Readings:


(6) March 3: Somalia

Readings:


  - Chapter 6
  - Excerpts from Chapters 8 and 9


Supplemental Readings and Documents:


International Crisis Group:

BBC Timeline for Somalia:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14094632

UN Documents:

- Excerpt: Prepared Statement of J. Stephen Morrison, Director, Africa Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Excerpt: Prepared Statement of David H. Shinn, The Elliott School of International Affairs

- Complete Hearing Includes Testimony By: Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Jendayi Frazer; Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance Michael Hess; Davidson College Professor Kenneth Menkhaus; Center for Strategic and International Studies Executive Director of Africa Program J. Stephen Morrison; George Washington University Professor David Shinn; New Hampshire Senator John Sununu.
(7) March 10: Rwanda

Readings:


Supplemental Readings and Documents:


International Crisis Group:

BBC Timeline for Rwanda:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14093322

UN: Lessons from Rwanda:

(8) March 24: Kosovo

Readings:


“Unlearning the Lessons of Kosovo,” by Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon; *Foreign Policy*, No. 116. (Autumn, 1999), pp. 128-140.


*Supplemental Readings and Documents:*

UN Security Council Resolution 1160  

UN Security Council Resolution 1199  

UN Security Council Resolution 1203  

UN Security Council Resolution 1244  

(9) **March 31: Iraq**

*Readings:*


(10) **April 7: Congo**

*Readings*


“Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo” by Benjamin Coughlan, Pascal Ngoy, et al., (International Rescue Committee)

“We Will Crush You: The Restriction of Political Space in the Democratic Republic of Congo” (Human Rights Watch) November 2008


Supplemental Readings and Documents:

International Crisis Group

The Guardian background on Congo
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/congo

BBC background on Congo
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13283212

Global Security Background on Congo
http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/congo.htm

MONUC (UN Mission in Congo) website

UN Documents regarding the situation in Congo

(11) April 14: Afghanistan

Readings:


PART 3 – Evolving conceptions of Policy and Operational Practice

(12) April 21: Counter Insurgency Doctrine and Responsibility to Protect

(Case Study Papers Due)

Readings:

Counterinsurgency Field Manual:
- Nagl, Foreword, pp xiii-xx
- Sewall, Introduction, pp xxi-xliv
- Chapter 1, Insurgency and Counterinsurgency - Chapter 5, Executing
  Counterinsurgency Operations, pp 151-173

Lamb, Robert D., "Ungoverned Areas and Threats from Safe Havens", Jan 2008
- Executive Summary: http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/display.php?id=305

Wilson, G., “Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the
  Indirect Approach” Military Review, Nov-Dec 2006, pp 2-12,

Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, and Beth Grill, “Victory Has a Thousand Fathers:
Evidence of Effective Approaches to Counterinsurgency, 1978-2008,” Small Wars
Journal, January 2011.

The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and
Modern Peace Operations. Holt and Berkman, Stimson Center, Sept 2006

Read:
Chapter 1: Introduction – pp. 1-13
Chapter 3: Meanings of "Protection": Towards a Unified Concept – pp. 35-56
Chapter 4: Indicators of Capacity: Willing Actors and Operational Capabilities
pp. 57-77
Supplemental Readings and Documents:

Report to the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, Brahimi et al.

Read: Executive Summary – rest of document as time and interest permit.

(13) April 28: Post-conflict Reconstruction

Readings:

Sustainable Peace,
pp. 1-26, Rothchild and Roeder “Dilemmas of State Building in Divided Societies”
pp. 219-240, Zahar “Power Sharing in Lebanon: Foreign Protectors, Domestic Peace and Democratic Failure”
pp. 319-346, Roeder and Rothchild, “Conclusion: Nation-State Stewardship and the Alternatives to Power Sharing.”

Leashing the Dogs of War,
pp. 679-697 Hampson and Medeloff, “Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate”


(14) May 5: Projected Implications of Global Warming

It is now a matter of scientific consensus that greenhouse gas emissions resulting from aggregate human activity will result in average surface temperature rising by at least 2 degrees Celsius over the course of this century and probably more. It is certain that that thermal impulse will be balanced in some fashion and that the consequences for the operating conditions of human societies will be major. Although the timing, magnitude, location and charter of those consequences cannot as yet be specified to normal standards of scientific confidence, it is generally evident that the interactions of climate change and social dynamics has the potential to generate violence in some parts of the world that are serious enough to impose unprecedentedly severe problems of analytic comprehension and operational response.
Readings:

Required:


Forecasting Armed Conflict Along the Shared Socio-economic Pathways, Halvard Buhaug et al. Peace Research Institute Oslo, NTNU Joint Global Change Research Institute at University of Maryland School of Public Policy, University of Maryland Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University Center for International and Security Studies at University of Maryland University of Oslo, January 14, 20.

(15) May 12: The Significance of Economic Development

Readings:

Required:


Documents:

OECD, DAC, “Helping Prevent Violent Conflict (Executive Summary)”.


Congressional Budget Office, *The Role of Foreign Aid in Development*, 1997;

OECD, *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation*;

Supplemental:


May 19: Final Essay Due

At the conclusion of the last class meeting, participants will be handed and emailed a final examination, due one week later (4:00pm on May 19). Participants will be expected to return an essay of approximately 1,500 words that utilizes the scope of material covered during the course.