

PLCY 699K: Military Intervention, Civil Conflict, and Terrorism

Spring 2017

Professor Alec Worsnop

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Office Hours: Mondays 2:30-4:30 pm and by appointment

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Course Summary and Goals

The primary purpose of this seminar is to examine military intervention (and non-intervention) into civil wars/sub-state conflicts from the 1990s to the present. These civil wars have been high on the policy agenda of Western states, yet these interventions were usually not motivated by obvious classical vital interests. Many of these interventions required the employment of significant military power. The interventions were controversial and required considerable attention from policy makers. They were, in short, not “cheap.”

As a result, this course examines the reasons why interventions occur and the challenges faced in stabilization and reconstruction. A fundamental part of addressing the latter issue comes from engaging with research into the origins, dynamics, and termination of civil wars. We will examine why insurgents and rebels resort to violence, how they organize themselves, what means and tactics they use to fight and negotiate, how they recruit and maintain a support base, and how the sets of strategies they use may shift throughout the conflict, particularly in response to the strategies employed by counterinsurgents.

In the first part of the course, we will examine theoretical and policy research into the origins of intervention and the internal conflict dynamics that make these interventions so challenging. In the second part of the course we will employ this foundation to examine a number of interventions and non-interventions. The interventions to be examined are the 1993 effort to ameliorate famine in Somalia; the 1995 effort to end the conflict in Bosnia Herzegovina, the 1999 NATO war to end Serbia’s control of Kosovo, and the 2003 intervention into Iraq. By way of comparison, we will examine the weak efforts made to slow or stop the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the non-intervention into Syria. 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. What is known, or believed, about the basic nature of these civil wars: their causes, dynamics, and implications?
3. What military strategies have outside powers tried to employ to achieve specific results in these civil wars, and which ones have proven most effective?
4. What strategies have been recommended for the post-conflict reconstruction of these states?
5. In each case, do we judge the intervention a success or failure, and how do we explain the success or failure?

Course Requirements

- *Regular attendance and class participation (30%)*. Class meetings will be on Wednesday from 9:15-11:45am in Room 1101 Van Munching Hall. This is a seminar so 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 will not work. While I will lead the discussion, as a part of your participation grade, one or more students per week will make a ten-minute presentation outlining the key issues raised in the reading.
- *Policy Memo, 2 pages (20%)*: This memo, due in Week 8, will complement our in-class discussion by asking students to prepare a policy memo briefing National Security decision makers as they evaluate options for potential intervention into a civil war in the country selected by the student for their final policy briefing. The memo is meant to help to shape the intervention discussion by identifying critical factors at play in the given conflict environment and the concomitant intelligence/planning assessments needed to address those factors. The memo should end with a summary of what success/failure might look like *or* what the key dynamics in an intervention might be. This memo should serve as an initial outline as you plan your final policy briefing.
- *Final policy briefing, 20-30 pages (40%)*: Students will either: (1) pick a past conflict (e.g. Libya, Vietnam, Northern Iraq) and set up a framework to analyze the success/failure of the intervention *or*, (2) they will select a non-intervention (e.g. Georgia or Syria) or potential future intervention (e.g. in Yemen, Pakistan, or another “surge” in Afghanistan) and construct a framework to make an informed choice of how the conflict might play out. There are three deadlines built into the preparation of final paper assignment:
 1. In **Week 4**, students will turn in three topic ideas.
 2. In **Week 6**, students will select their intervention and meet with me to discuss.
 3. In **Week 8**, students will turn in their 2-page policy memo.

Students are encouraged to meet with me often throughout planning the research. A good paper will be planned and researched throughout the semester, rather than in the last days or weeks of the term.

- *Presentation (10%)*: Students will prepare a presentation summarizing the main argument in their final paper. It will clearly state the question to be answered, describe the context of events, and succinctly state the analytic approach. Presentations should not be longer than 10-15 minutes as we will have 5-10 minutes of questions and discussion after the presentation.

Required Books

The majority of readings will be available through ELMS or the UMD library system. However, students are required to purchase the following books:

- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Cornell University Press, 2004)

- Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2001)
- Mark Bowden, *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (New York, N.Y: New American Library, 2001)
- Dexter Filkins, *The Forever War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008)

Laptops and Electronics

Laptops are permitted for note-taking purposes only. Students should refrain from using mobile devices or laptops for internet browsing, emailing, text messaging, etc. These activities will no doubt distract from course involvement and thus negatively affect participation marks.

Campus Policies

It is our shared responsibility to know and abide by the University of Maryland's policies that relate to all courses, which include topics like:

- Academic integrity
- Student and instructor conduct
- Accessibility and accommodations
- Attendance and excused absences
- Grades and appeals
- Copyright and intellectual property

For the policies and procedures set by the Graduate Council and the Graduate School, please visit <http://apps.gradschool.umd.edu/Catalog/policy.php?the-academic-record>. Follow up with me if you have questions.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Background, Military Intervention

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Cornell University Press, 2004)

Jacob Heilbrunn, "Samantha and Her Subjects," *The National Interest* May/June, no. 113 (2011): 6–15

Week 2: Background, Civil Conflict

Marie Allansson, Erik Melander, and Lotta Themnér, "Organized Violence, 1989-2016," *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 4 (July 2017): 574–587

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?," *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (2001): 99–118

L. E Cederman, A. Wimmer, and B. Min, "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis," *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (2010): 87–119

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

James Fearon, "Grievances and Civil War," *Monkey Cage Blog*, April 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150913161440/http://themonkeycage.org/2012/06/grievances-and-civil-war/>

Week 3: The Intervenor

Stewart Patrick, "Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?," *The Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (March 2006): 27–53

Jayshree Bajoria and Robert McMahon, *The Dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention*, Backgrounder (Council on Foreign Relations, 2013), <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/dilemma-humanitarian-intervention>

Chester A. Crocker, "Engaging Failing States," *Foreign Affairs* 82 (2003): 32–45

Sebastian Mallaby, "The Reluctant Imperialist: Terrorism, Failed States, and the Case for American Empire," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 2 (2002): 2–7

Alan J. Kuperman, "Obama's Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure Essay," *Foreign Affairs* 94 (2015): 66–77

Steven Livingston, *Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention*, Research Paper R-18 (Harvard Kennedy School, June 1997)

Week 4: Intervenor Strategies

Skim: Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale University Press, 1966), 69–91

Barry Posen, "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters," *International Security* 21, no. 1 (July 1996): 72–111

Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 (1994): 20–33

J.T. Quinlivan, "Force Requirements in Stability Operations," *Parameters* 25 (1995): 59–69

Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63, no. 01 (2009): 67–106

Jason Lyall, "How Hard Is It to Win Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan? Very Hard.," *Washington Post*, 1/6/2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/01/06/measuring-hearts-and-minds-in-afghanistan/>

Renard Sexton, "Did U.S. Aid Win Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan? Yes and No.," *Washington Post*, 1/6/2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/06/did-u-s-nonmilitary-aid-win-hearts-and-minds-in-afghanistan-yes-and-no/>

Week 5: The Non-State Actors: Organizations, Networks, Religious Groups

- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (July 2012): 142–177
- M. Humphreys and J. M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (2008): 436–455
- Roger Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapters 1 and 2
- Aisha Ahmad, "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," *International Security* 39, no. 3 (January 2015): 89–117

Week 6: Strategies and Dynamics of Non-State Actors

- Wendy Pearlman, "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 79–109
- Austin Long, "Whack-a-Mole or Coup de Grace? Institutionalization and Leadership Targeting in Iraq and Afghanistan," *Security Studies* 23, no. 3 (July 2014): 471–512
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343–361
- Reed M. Wood, "Doing Well by Doing Bad," *Political Violence @ A Glance*, April 2014, <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2014/04/22/doing-well-by-doing-bad/>
- Laia Balcells and Stathis Kalyvas, "Technology of Rebellion in the Syrian Civil War," *Project on Middle East Political Science*, November 2013, <https://pomeps.org/2014/02/12/technology-of-rebellion-in-the-syrian-civil-war/>
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, "Actor Fragmentation and Conflict Processes," *Project on Middle East Political Science*, August 2013, <https://pomeps.org/2014/02/12/actor-fragmentation-and-conflict-processes/>

Week 7: Negotiation and Peace Agreements

- Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (July 1997): 335–364
- Jeffery Herbst, "Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice," in *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, ed. Robert Rotberg (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 302–319
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000): 437–483
- Kenneth John Menkhaus, "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security* 31, no. 3 (2006): 74–106

Week 8: Rwanda

G. Prunier, "The Great Lakes Crisis," *Current History* 96, no. 610 (1997): 193–199

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic*, September 2001, 84–108

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

Week 9: Spring Break

Week 10: Somalia

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

J.R. Bolton, "Wrong Turn in Somalia," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 1 (January-February 1994): 56–66

J.T. Howe, "The United States and United Nations in Somalia: The Limits of Involvement," *Washington Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1995): 47–62

W. Clarke and J. Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 2 (March/April 1996): 70–85

Week 11: Balkans

Review: Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27–47

Steven L. Burg and Paul S. Shoup, *Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention: Crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1990-93* (Armonk, NY: Routledge, 2000), Selections

Roger D. Petersen, *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict* [in English] (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Selections

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War against Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 5 (1999): 2–8

Javier Solana, "NATO's Success in Kosovo," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 6 (1999): 114–120, accessed December 18, 2017

William W. Hagen, "The Balkans' Lethal Nationalisms," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (1999): 52–64

Week 12: Iraq

Dexter Filkins, *The Forever War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008)

“Overview: The Iraq War,” *The New York Times*, October 5, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/ref/timestopics/topics_iraq.html

Watch: “Losing Iraq,” *Frontline*, July 29, 2014, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/losing-iraq/>

International Crisis Group, *Iraq Policy Briefing: Is There An Alternative To War?*, Middle East Report 9 (International Crisis Group, February 2003)

Ahmed Hashim, “Chapter One: Origins, Causes and Composition,” *The Adelphi Papers* 48, no. 402 (2008): 13–24

James Fallows, “Blind Into Baghdad,” *The Atlantic*, January/February 2004, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2004/01/blind-into-baghdad/302860/>

Week 13: The civil war and the surge

Nir Rosen, “On the Ground in Iraq: The Roots of Sectarian Violence,” *Boston Review*, March 2006, <http://bostonreview.net/BR31.2/Rosen.php>

Stephen Biddle, “Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon,” *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (March 2006): 2–14

Roger Petersen and Jonathan Lindsay, “Varieties of Counterinsurgency: A Case Study of Iraq, 2003–2009,” in *CIWAG Symposium, Naval War College* (Center for Irregular Warfare / Armed Groups, 2011), <https://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/fa7a88ed-a1a5-4dcf-9afd-263284cbe3e5/Lindsay-and-Petersen---Varieties-of-Insurgency-and-Counterinsurgency-in-Iraq.pdf.aspx>

Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob Shapiro, “Testing the Surge: Why Violence Declined in Iraq in 2007,” *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 7–40

A. Phillips, “The Anbar Awakening: Can It Be Exported to Afghanistan?,” *Security Challenges* 5, no. 3 (2009): 27–46

Week 14: Withdrawal, ISIS, and Syria

David Romano, “Iraq’s Descent into Civil War: A Constitutional Explanation,” *The Middle East Journal* 68, no. 4 (2014): 547–566

Kenneth M. Pollack, “Fight or Flight,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2016-02-16/fight-or-flight>

Brian Fishman, “Don’t BS the American People About Iraq, Syria, and ISIL,” *War on the Rocks*, August 2014, <http://warontherocks.com/2014/08/dont-bs-the-american-people-about-iraq-syria-and-isil/>

David Patel, *ISIS in Iraq: What We Get Wrong and Why 2015 Is Not 2007 Redux*, Middle East Brief 87 (Brandeis University: Crown Center for Middle East Studies, January 2015), <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB87.pdf>

Brian Haggerty, *Debating US Interests in Syria's Civil War*, Audit (MIT Center for International Studies, 2013), <https://cis.mit.edu/publications/audits/debating-us-interests-syrias-civil-war>

Skim: Brian Haggerty, *Safe Havens in Syria: Missions and Requirements for an Air Campaign*, Working Paper (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014)

Skim: <https://pomeps.org/2013/12/18/political-science-and-syrias-war-memos/>

Week 15: Student Presentations I

Week 16: Student Presentations II