

Somalia to Afghanistan/Iraq: A New World

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Tuesday, 9:15-11:05
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Purpose: This seminar examines the evolving use of military power, in conjunction with diplomacy, law enforcement and humanitarian/economic assistance, to resolve complex civil-military challenges to US foreign policy interests. In an era of growing globalization, with the United States facing such transnational threats as terrorism, drugs, ethnic/religious violence, and the proliferation of mass destruction technologies, the distinction between domestic and international crises is increasingly blurred. This situation raises significant questions about the appropriate use of the Armed Forces and Defense resources in responding to these new threats to US foreign policy interests. Degree candidates will have an opportunity to explore the policy dilemmas facing today's national leaders as they make decisions concerning terrorism, nuclear proliferation and homeland defense.

Readings appropriate to each of the topics in the syllabus are listed under the seminar session at which they will be discussed. Be sure to complete the required reading before the class meeting for which it is listed so that you can participate effectively in the discussion. There are four books to be purchased at the bookstore: paperbacks by Mark Bowden, Killing Pablo (Penguin Books, 2001); and Daniel Benjamin & Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror (Random House, 2003) and books by Graham Allison, Nuclear Terrorism (Times Books Henry Holt, 2004) and Paul R. Pillar, Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy (Brookings Institution Press, 2001). In addition, collected readings will be distributed in class; there will be a fee to cover copying costs.

Grading: Your final grade will be based on seven written assignments – six short analytical memoranda, and a longer policy paper – plus an oral briefing based on the policy paper. Each of the six short papers and oral briefing will count for 10% of the final grade, for a total of 70%, while the policy memorandum will count for the remaining 30%. There will also be a simulated national security crisis in which seminar participants will play the roles of senior officials confronted with a major terrorist threat to United States interests, including in the American homeland. Active class participation will make the seminar a dynamic and instructive experience. There will be no mid-term or final examination. All provisions of the Honor Code will apply to assignments in this seminar.

Please note: Be sure to proof-read your papers before you turn them in. All papers must be typed, but the typing does not have to be perfect; neat pen-and-ink corrections are acceptable. Papers are expected to be submitted on time, unless there is a valid medical excuse.

CLASS SCHEDULE

I. Introduction and Historical Background for Today's Civil-Military Challenges January 19

The mission of civil affairs carried out by the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II is the starting point of this seminar. We will then move to the 1990's, and examine such complex civil-military activities as counter-terrorism, homeland defense and peacekeeping.

II. Civil-Military Evolution: World War II to Post-Conflict Failures in Panama and Humanitarian Relief in Northern Iraq

January 26

Readings: Harry Coles & Albert Weinberg, Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors, pp. 3-6, 30-33, 188-189, 197-198, 217-222, 244-245, 697-699.
Richard Shultz, Aftermath of War, XI-XIV, 1-3, 15-24, 27-31, 45-64, 67-73.
Rick Atkinson, Crusade, pp. 1-2, 17-19, 140-144, 174-175, 177-181, 369-371, 386-391.
John Brinkerhoff, Waging the War, pp. 176-187, 196-200.
John Shalikashvili, Operation Provide Comfort, pp. 63-69.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Are democratization and nation-building legitimate goals for military operations?
- (b) Should civilian authorities participate in the planning and execution of civil-military operations?
- (c) Is there a role for the military in establishing a civilian security force?
- (d) What are the pitfalls of humanitarian operations?

III. Civil-Military Lessons from Somalia

February 2

Readings: John Hirsch & Robert Oakley, Somalia and Operation Restore Hope, forward, preface, pp. 3-79, 81-93, 101-114, 149-173
Susan Rosegrant & Michael Watkins, A “Seamless” Transition: US and UN Operations in Somalia-1992-1993, pp. 1-20 (B). (**Distributed in class**)
John Prendergast & Colin Thomas-Jensen, Blowing the Horn, pp. 59-74 (**Distributed in class**).

Assignment: Prepare a two-page (typed, double-spaced) briefing memorandum for the National Security Advisor proposing a course of action on Somalia for President Clinton’s administration. Assume that you are a member of the NSC staff covering African affairs, and that the time is early 1993 during the Bush-Clinton presidential transition and the critical handoff from UNITAF to UNOSOM II.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) What does the Somalia experience inform us about peacekeeping?
- (b) Advantages and liabilities of UN v. US-led peace operations?
- (c) Is humanitarian intervention in the national interest?
- (d) Should humanitarian relief be linked to political transition and nation-building?

IV. Civil-Military Operations in Haiti: Laboratory for Dealing with Complex Contingencies

February 9

Readings: Michael Bailey, Robert Maguire, Haiti: Military-Police Partnership, pp. 215-252.
Max Boot, The Savage Wars of Peace, pp. 156-167, 171-181. (**Distributed in class**).

Assignment: Assume you are a Foreign Service officer, with past service in Army Civil Affairs, assigned to the inter-agency team planning for the post-conflict restoration phase of Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti. Prepare a two to three page memorandum (typed, double-spaced) proposing a plan to create and maintain a stable law and order environment allowing Haiti's incipient democracy to grow and its economy to recover. In outlining your plan, you should suggest a judicious mix of selective remnants of Haiti's public security forces and MNF (Multinational Force) military plus international civilian police, and how those forces could be organized to provide for both the immediate and the longer-term security and stability requirements of the country.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Should military forces be used to conduct limited law and order functions in post-conflict operations such as Haiti, Afghanistan or Iraq?
- (b) Can civilian police, under UN mandate, operate in a failed state?

V. Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

February 16

Readings: Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, pp. 45-56, 67-86, 183-191.
Paul Pillar, Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy, chaps. 1, 2, 3 (pp.57-72), 4.
Daniel Benjamin & Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror, chaps. 1, 6, 7, 8.
Brian Jenkins, Countering al Qaeda, pp. 1-30
Richard Clarke, Against All Enemies, pp. 1-34
Thomas Kean & Lee Hamilton, The 9/11 Commission Report, pp. 361-383

Discussion Questions:

- (a) If, as some have asserted, terrorism can not be "defeated"—only reduced, attenuated, and to some degree contained, can US leaders deal with terrorism in a way that it does not dominate the conduct of U.S. foreign relations?
- (b) Is terrorism against civilians a legitimate act of guerrilla warfare? What about against military targets, such as the USS Cole in Aden in 2000, or 260 U.S. marines killed in their Lebanon barracks in 1983? Should the attackers be considered terrorists or guerrilla fighters?
- (c) Is it productive in pursuing foreign policy goals to classify countries as "state sponsors of terrorism" or as the "axis of evil"?
- (d) Is the "power" response, e.g. military strikes, an effective foreign policy instrument for countering terrorism?

Assignment: Assume you are a State Department officer assigned to the NSC staff to work on counter-terrorism issues. Prepare an action memorandum, no longer than two to three pages (typed, double-spaced) advocating an effective response to the attack on the USS Cole.* You may recommend using one or any combination of instruments of response (e.g. military, diplomatic/political, economic, arrest/prosecution). In weighing the options, you need to think carefully about what results the Administration should seek: retribution for the American dead and wounded; deterrence against future asymmetric attacks; warning (or punishment) to the host nation whence the attack was planned and launched; the elimination of that particular terrorist organization; containment; and/or destruction of their finances/logistics system. *SEE The Age of Sacred Terror, pp.323-325, chap. 7.

VI. Islamic Terrorism

February 23

Readings: Benjamin/Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror, chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5.
Stephen Schwartz, The Two Faces of Islam – The House of Sa’ud from Tradition to Terror, pp. 1-26, 256-287.
Jessica Stern, Terror in the Name of God, pp. 32-62, 172-181.
Jessica Stern, Mind Over Martyr, 2010, pp. 95-108. **(Distributed in class)**
Richard Clarke, Task Force, Defeating The Jihadists, pp. 91-106
Ray Takeyh, Hidden Iran, pp. 202-207.
David Ottaway, The King and Us—U.S.-Saudi Relations in the Wake of 9/11, pp. 121-131. **(Distributed in class)**

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Is terrorism today indelibly marked by the stamp of Islam and the practice of the Muslim faith?
- (b) In order to defeat the international jihadist movement, should the U.S. seek to partner with the Islamic world by, among other things, engaging in the battle of ideas?
- (c) How does an understanding of the experience of humiliation—personal or national—help us understand the root causes and behavior of international terrorists?

VII. Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction

March 2

Readings: Jessica Stern, The Ultimate Terrorists, pp. 107-127.
Christopher Chyba, Toward Biological Security, pp. 122-136.
Ray Takeyh, Guardians of the Revolution, 2009, pp. 1-7, 237-265. **(Dist. in class)**.
Graham Allison, Nuclear Terrorism, pp. 1-103.
Ivo Daalder & Jan Lodal, The Logic of Zero, pp. 80-95. **(Distributed in class)**.
Bruce Reidel & Gary Samore, Managing Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East, pp. 93-127 **(Distributed in class)**.
Allison, Nuclear Disorder, 2010, pp. 74-85. **(Distributed in class)**.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Given the dispersal of nuclear weapons and component parts in the former Soviet Union, is the expenditure of DOD funds to assist Russian authorities to improve nuclear controls an appropriate use of Defense resources?
- (b) In view of the growing use of explosives-laden vehicles (including aircraft), with devastating results, should we be looking more at how to protect against conventional weapons employed unconventionally?

VIII. Anti-Terrorism Protection Overseas and Homeland Security

March 16

Readings: Secretary of Defense William Perry, Report to the President, pp. 1-17.
General Wayne Downing, Assessment of Khobar Bombing, pp. V-XX.
William Crowe, Embassy Bombings in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, pp. 1-24.
Pillar, Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy, pp. 57-72
Allison, Nuclear Terrorism, pp. 104-209.
Clarke, Task Force, Defeating the Jihadists, pp. 119-131 (Homeland Security).
Benjamin/Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror, chap. 11.

Judith Miller, Stephen Engelberg, William Broad, Germ-Biological Weapons and America's Secret War, pp. 165-182.

Assignment: Assume you are a reserve Army officer, with prior experience in National Guard civil assistance and unconventional weapons, assigned to a special DHS-DOD task force charged with recommending an effective layered defense against terrorist WMD attacks in the American homeland. As a California guardsman you are familiar with the daily challenges facing the Border Patrol, Customs and the Coast Guard in controlling our land and maritime borders. Having served with the U.S. Army in the European theatre, you understand that homeland defense takes place not only at the U.S. border. Rather, given the nature of the global terrorist battlefield, a true layered defense can begin far from U.S. territory. The task force chairman asks you to submit a two to four page (typed, double-spaced) memorandum outlining a coherent set of recommendations designed to improve national protection against the release of mass destruction weapons within the United States.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Given the sovereign responsibilities of the host nation to provide protection for diplomatic establishments, how can the Secretary of State ensure the safety and security of US Embassy personnel in an era of burgeoning international terrorism?
- (b) In view of the Department of State's role as the "lead Federal Agency" for responding to international terrorist incidents, does the delegation of force protection responsibility and authority for DOD activities in certain countries, from the Secretary of State to the Secretary of Defense, make sense? How can the President's ambassador assure the pursuit of coherent foreign policy goals in countries where he (she) does not have overall policy control of all US Government employees and activities?
- (c) Does the potential for domestic terrorism involving mass destruction weapons justify the growing commitment of military forces and expertise in an area of domestic society normally handled by state and local authorities?
- (d) What marks biological terrorism as a unique threat, with a unique set of response options?

IX. NSC Crisis Simulation – Homeland Defense Against Terrorism

March 23

X. Counter-Drug Policy and Operations – Challenges in Colombia & Mexico

March 30

Readings: Defense Dept. (DOD) Counternarcotics (CN) Program, December 2004, slides 1-10
DOD CN Mission Statement, pp. 1-2; CN Policy, pp. 1-2; CN & Terrorism, pp. 1-3; The Cocaine Threat, pp. 1-4.
Julia Sweig, *Andes 2020: A New Strategy for the Challenges of Colombia and the Region*, pp. 1-6, 117-122. **(Distributed in class)**.
Mark Bowden, *Killing Pablo*, pp. 1-272
Shannon O'Neil, *The Real War in Mexico*, pp. 63-77. **(Distributed in class)**

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Does an increasingly robust DOD engagement in the US Government's drug supply reduction program in Latin America risk drawing the US military into guerrilla warfare?

- (b) Does US military training of US law enforcement personnel along the Mexican border risk blurring the “red line” between appropriate civil-military support and civil law enforcement activities?
- (c) In a significant departure from previous narcotics policy, the Bush Administration decided to allow US assistance to be used in support of President Uribe’s crackdown on insurgents, terrorists and drug cartels to provide Colombians with “democratic security”. What are the risks?
- (d) Faced with the “recombinant virus” of drug-trafficking, terrorism, murder, and insurgency, from both political extremes, are the US and Colombian Governments using the right mix of civil-military instruments to re-establish territorial control sufficient to prosecute the “drug war”?

XI. Peacekeeping; Operations in Bosnia and Kosovo

April 6

Readings: Edmund Hull, UN Peacekeeping Operations: Worthwhile Investments in Peace, pp. 5-8.
 Nancy Soderberg, UN Peacekeeping Builds on Lessons Learned, Progress Achieved, pp. 9-11.
 James Schear, Peacekeeping Policy: The Defense Department View, pp. 12-14.
 Marshall McCallie, ACRI: Positive US Engagement With Africa, pp. 28-30.
 Larry Forster, A Half Century of US Peacekeeping Efforts in the Middle East, pp. 35-36
 Ivo Daalder, Knowing When to Say No: The Development of US Policy for Peacekeeping, pp. 35-61. **(Distributed in class).**
 Susan Rosegrant & Michael Watkins, Getting to Dayton: Negotiating an End to the War In Bosnia. **(Distributed in class).**
 Edward Luttwak, Give War a Chance, pp. 36-44.

Assignment: Prepare a two-to-four page (typed, double-spaced) discussion paper for the new US Permanent Representative to the UN outlining the advantages and liabilities of US participation in international peace operations, taking into account the resurgence of Taliban fighting in Afghanistan, continuing challenges in Iraq, and the campaign against global terrorism. Assume you are a Foreign Service officer assigned to the State Department office backstopping the US Mission to the United Nations. You have recently completed an exchange assignment at the Pentagon and are therefore familiar with Defense views on peacekeeping and the civil-military capabilities of Special Operations Forces. You should cover such issues as US interests in democracy, human rights and nation reconstruction; diplomatic cooperation and burdensharing with key allies; selective engagement in peace operations, cost and the significance of an exit strategy.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Was it in the US national interest to get involved in peace enforcement operations in Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia, the Balkan “backyard” of Europe?
- (b) What are the implications for the “New World (Dis)order” of a US/NATO military operation against a province of a sovereign state with which we were not at war?
- (c) Is the elevation of human rights above traditional notions of sovereignty in the case of Kosovo a welcome evolution for the 21st century?

XII. Civil-Military Operations in Afghanistan

April 13

Readings: Michael O’Hanlon, A Flawed Masterpiece, pp. 47-63 **(Distributed in class)**
 Kathy Gannon, Afghanistan Unbound, pp. 35-46
 Barnett Rubin, Saving Afghanistan, pp. 57-78.
 James F. Dobbins, After The Taliban, pp. 77-97, 157-168 **(Distributed in class)**
 Ahmed Rashid, Descent into Chaos, pp. 61-106, 219-239, 240-292 **(Distributed in class)**

Assignment: As a Foreign Service officer with recent experience heading a provincial reconstruction team (PRT) in Iraq during a relatively benign period of counter-insurgency, you have been asked by State's Policy Planning office to propose a civil-military solution to the deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan for the new administration. Given the growing militancy of the Taliban in the Western and Southeastern provinces of Afghanistan, the porous nature of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan's FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) and Balochistan Province which provide sanctuary and fresh recruits for Taliban forces fighting US, NATO and Afghan military units, you should recommend a judicious use of political-military instruments of power and influence that can lead to conflict termination and a more secure nation-building environment. In writing your recommended course of action in a three to four page memorandum (typed, double spaced), you should take into account the Obama NSC's pledge to increase US forces by 20,000 to 30,000 troops, the current deployment of approximately 25 US and NATO PRTs in Afghanistan and the existence of some economic development teams laboring in often hazardous conditions.

Discussion Questions:

- (a) What were the major flaws in the early nation-building phase of operations in Afghanistan?
- (b) What is the significance of a Pashtun tribal belt of some 40 million straddling Afghanistan's Eastern provinces and Pakistan's FATA?
- (c) Is it possible for the Afghan Government to realize serious economic and social development with opium poppy cultivation representing about 50% of the country's informal GDP?

XIII. Civil-Military Operations in Iraq

April 20

Readings: Larry Diamond, What Went Wrong in Iraq?, pp. 34-56.

Robert Perito, The CPA's Experience with Public Security in Iraq, pp. 1-13.

Anne Henderson, The CPA's Experience with Economic Reconstruction in Iraq, pp.1-18

Celeste Ward, The CPA's Experience with Governance in Iraq, pp. 1-12.

James Fearon, Iraq's Civil War, pp. 2-15 (**Distributed in class**).

James Dobbins, Who Lost Iraq?, pp. 61-74. (**Distributed in class**).

Stephen Biddle, Michael O'Hanlon & Kenneth Pollack, The Evolution of Iraq Strategy, pp. 27-57. (**Distributed in class**).

Richard N. Haass, War of Necessity, War of Choice, 2009, pp.233-266 (**Dist. in class**)

Discussion Questions:

- (a) Why did the Coalition Provisional Authority experience so many problems in converting a brilliant military campaign into a well-executed civil-military plan for a new Iraqi government?
- (b) What are the principal consequences for U.S. foreign policy interests of the decisions made by Administration leaders regarding Iraq?

XIV. Future Challenges & Patterns of US Intervention

April 27

Readings:

Michael Hirsh, Calling All Regio-Cops, pp. 2-8.

Bruce Jentleson, Coercive Prevention, pp. 9-36. (**Distributed in class**)

Max Boot, The Savage Wars of Peace, pp. 281-285, 318-352.
Joseph Nye, The Decline of America's Soft Power, pp.16-20

Assignment: Term Paper due April 27. SEE below for details.

Term Paper Due Dates: A typed first draft of your paper should be completed early enough (approximately a week) so that you can use it to prepare your **oral briefing** for presentation during the week of April 19. **Your paper should not exceed six typed, double-spaced pages.**

Term Paper - Policy Memorandum for the Secretary of State

The time is Spring 2010. The Obama Administration, in office one year, has an overflowing plate of foreign policy/national security problems. Priorities differ somewhat among the major departments, with the Pentagon preoccupied with stabilizing Iraq, fighting a resurgent Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan's Western border area, and the global war on terrorism. At State, there is concern over Iran's growing nuclear program, stability requirements in Afghanistan, protection of US diplomatic missions from terrorist attack and the impact on U.S. foreign policy interests of continued stalemate in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and counter-drug challenges.

You are a Foreign Service officer assigned to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. He has tasked you to draft a policy memorandum recommending those civil-military challenges to U.S. foreign policy interests which you believe the Administration should concentrate on over the coming year.

You should select, among the types of transnational threats and complex contingencies **covered in this seminar**, two significant challenges which in your view are the most compelling candidates for serious US engagement, including the commitment of both State and Defense resources. In justifying your selection, outline the criteria to guide how and in what circumstances the U.S. Government should intervene to protect its national interests abroad and at home.

In prioritizing criteria for intervention, it will be important to emphasize selectivity, given the abundance of low-intensity conflicts taking place in a world facing the possibility of growing conflict in the Middle East and Africa, and the limited number of U.S. military units and government resources available for civil-military response.

Oral Briefing:

During the week of April 19, each of you will present a five-minute oral briefing on your term paper. Since you will have completed your first draft before presenting the briefing, this should require no additional research – but it will require careful preparation and practice.

Your presentation should include a brief introduction, making clear what foreign policy-national security issues you are addressing, why they should be considered, and what main points you will cover. Remember that you are presenting your material orally. Thus, you must catch and hold the attention of the person being briefed, and be sure your main points are clearly and persuasively conveyed.

You may bring notes with you – BUT they must be limited to what fits on two 3x5 index cards, and you must take care not to keep your eyes fixed on your notes. In an oral briefing, it's essential to look at the person being briefed, and only glance at your notes to make sure you cover all the main points.

