

NS 4235
Stability Operations
Summer 2002



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Office Hours: according to student needs
Prerequisite: NS 4225

Course Description:

This course focuses primarily on the American approach to stability operations. These military operations have been variously described as ‘small wars,’ ‘low intensity conflict,’ and in current joint doctrine JP 3-07 (1995) ‘military operations other than war.’ In policy discussions, the labels ‘small-scale contingencies,’ ‘complex emergencies,’ and even ‘peace operations’ have had moments of popularity. Army doctrine in June 2001 employed a term from the past: ‘stability and support operations.’ In the fall of 2001, the Bush Administration Pentagon replaced ‘peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance’ with ‘stability operations.’

There is a common element in the various definitions: these are military operations in civilian environments. Stability and support operations are typically interagency and often multilateral. Support operations, i.e., humanitarian or environmental assistance, are by definition civil-military. Stability operations include a large number of missions, among them are the following: peace operations, combating terrorism, counter-drug operations, population control, and nation assistance.

The theme of this course is the nexus of policy, doctrine and operations. We will discuss the policy in which doctrine and operations are embedded, and the considerations for translating policy into doctrine and operations.

Purpose:

The objective of this course is to provide students with the theoretical tools and background to understand trends and issues in stability operations. Students will gain an understanding of how to develop strategy in contexts “other than war” and the basic relationships between policy, doctrine and operations. NS 4235 is a forum for thinking about policy-level concerns and, at the same time, doctrinal and operational applications. The course is therefore intended to provide a policy maker’s perspective without losing sight of operational realities.

Method:

The course is conducted primarily as a seminar, but will include some group activities. Students are expected to read assigned materials and participate actively in class discussions. The course presents a combination of theory and case analysis. We begin with an overview of stability operations, particularly as evolved in US doctrine, and move to closer examination of doctrine and issues during stability operations at home and abroad.

Participants in this course will be able to:

- Describe different types of stability operations
- Evaluate military doctrine
- Identify interagency and multinational features of stability operations
- Explain the influence of political institutions on stability operations
- Assess operational environments
- Establish criteria for and evaluate the success and failure of stability operations

Topics Covered:

- Domestic and international operations
- Conflict environments
- Exit strategies
- Doctrinal evolution
- Mission creep
- Operational constraints
- Non-combatants
- Civil-military coordination in stability operations

Requirements and Dates

<i>Component</i>	<i>Due</i>	<i>Points</i>
Group Assignment 1	Aug 6	20 (Instructor 10 / Peer 5 / Class 5)
Group Assignment 2	Sept 3	20 (Instructor 10 / Peer 5 / Class 5)
Review Essay	Topic: Aug 15 Paper: Sept 24	25
Annotated Bibliography	Sept 24	15
Class Participation		20

Grading

All work is assigned a numerical value. The points will be added together and converted into a numerical grade:

A = 95 A- = 92 B+ = 88 B = 85 B- = 82 C+ = 78 C = 75 C- = 72

Assignment Descriptions

Group Assignment 1: NSPD XX Assessment 20 points

Your team is to perform the role of a Contingency Planning Policy Coordination Committee (PCC), responsible for development of contingency plans for US response to foreign crises. The National Security Advisor has asked your team to evaluate a potential crisis. The purpose of this exercise is to sort out what's important to understanding the operating environment for a variety of government actors likely to become engaged in it. Using the "Situation Assessment" (section 1) format of the Generic Pol-Mil Plan for Multilateral Contingency Operations as a guide, prepare a 20 minute group briefing that identifies those aspects of the situation that are important to government agencies anticipating involvement. What is the nature of the (anticipated) crisis in this country?

CASE GROUPS:

1. Afghanistan
2. Colombia
3. Somalia
4. Philippines
5. Bosnia

Group Assignment 2: NSPD XX Strategy 20 points

Your team has now been called to serve as the ad hoc PCC to coordinate US government activities in response to a crisis in the case you've assessed. The President has asked for us to determine crisis levels according to US national interest criteria identified on NSPD XX. What level crisis are you dealing with? What is the appropriate strategy? Using the "US Interest" (section 2) and "Strategic Approach" (section 3) format of the Generic Pol-Mil Plan for Multilateral Contingency Operations as a guide, prepare a 20 minute group briefing that presents a rationale for US action and suggestions for appropriate strategy in response to the crisis.

Review Essay / Annotated Bibliography 40 points

An essay of 10 pages, typewritten and double spaced, will review a body of literature relevant to a stability operations case study or to a stability operations theme. An annotated bibliography – submitted in electronic format – will be shared by peers and provide guidance to future researchers.

Review Essay

Your essay should provide an introduction to the bibliography, giving a sense of the topic's terrain. What is the rationale for the bibliography? To what literature does this subject belong? What theories have been applied to the topic? What research needs to be done?

1. Your first task is to choose a topic that interests you, and to get it approved by the instructor. There are many possible options. For example, the theme might be a

component of your thesis topic, it might relate to your group case study, or to one of our seminar topics. Other related topics might include the following:

- Force structure and peace operations
- Peacekeepers and the International Criminal Court
- Contractors and Mercenaries
- Security Assistance
- Diplomats and peace processes
- Other national doctrines on stability operations
- National motivation to participate in peacekeeping
- Financing stability operations
- Military roles in homeland security
- Lessons learned

After selecting the topic, frame a question or several questions about it. Direct your research toward answering those questions.

Annotated Bibliography

Your annotated bibliography should include a variety of materials, and the most important resources that you have identified on the topic. Materials might include books or book chapters, journal articles, websites, possibly films, interviews or other such material that provide information on your specific topic of research.

2. Your second task is to locate material on your topic. Think about incorporating primary and secondary materials. Start early. You might want to adjust your topic after a preliminary search.

A sample range of materials: 4 books 5 journal articles or book chapters 4 popular press items 2 websites 4 government or intergovernmental organization documents.

3. Your next task is to evaluate the materials you have selected. Skim them to determine whether a more in-depth reading is warranted. If it is a book, you might read a review or two of a particular book, or browse the table of contents or the index to determine the emphasis of a book.

4. Write your notes (about a paragraph) on each of the items you have chosen. This paragraph should be in the commentary annotation form, as described by James L. Harner in his book (excerpted in the reading package).

Upon reading the review essay and the bibliography, your reader should know what the entries are about, why they are useful or important, and how they relate to other entries.

5. Finally, you will need to organize your material in a systematic way so that it will be easy to use. Some sample annotations are available in the reading package.

Note on Originality

The choice of material to include in the bibliography, and in the presentation of it, must have your personal stamp. The work that you do must be your own. Although I encourage you to work on something relevant to your thesis, be careful to avoid submitting the same product to more than one instructor. See also the NPS Department of National Security Affairs academic standards documents:

http://nsa.nps.navy.mil/Policy/NSA_Policy.html#The_Basic_Principle

Required Reading

Required reading includes books, case study materials (available for purchase online) a reading package, electronic materials and current news.

BOOKS

The following are available at the NPS bookstore:

1. Alexander George, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1994 (or most recent printing). ISBN 1-878379-22-4.
2. Chester Crocker et al., *Turbulent Peace* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2001 ISBN 1-929223-27-7
3. Pamela Aall, et al., *Guide to IGOs NGOs and the Military in Peace and Support Operations*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2000. ISBN 1-929223-05-6
4. Robert E. Harkavy and Stephanie G. Neuman, *Warfare in the Third World*. New York, Palgrave, 2001. ISBN 0-312-24009-0

CASE STUDIES

Pew case studies are available for purchase in PDF format on-line through the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy: www.guisd.org

- #368 Linda Head Flanagan and William Rosenau, *The Dominican Intervention of 1965*
- #467 Ivo H. Dalder, *Anthony Lake and the War in Bosnia*

READING PACKAGE

A package of readings will be available at the NPS library circulation desk.

CURRENT NEWS

Students are expected to keep current on news relevant to post-conflict reconstruction – and are likely to find useful information for their research from the Post Conflict Reconstruction Project: available at <http://www.pcrproject.org/pcrdailybrief.htm>

Schedule¹

Section 1: Introduction: Theory, Practice, and Military Doctrine

July 9 Course Introduction and Overview

1. Joint Pub 3-07 *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other Than War*, “Executive Summary” and Chapter 1, “Introduction”
2. NSPD XX: Anticipating, Preventing and Responding to Complex Foreign Crises; Protocol for NSPD XX; Overview of the Humanitarian Information Unit; Generic Pol-Mil Plan Multilateral Complex Contingency Operation (September 1, 2001).
3. Lawrence A. Yates, “Military Stability and Support Operations: Analogies, Patterns and Recurring Themes,” *Military Review* Vol. LXXII No. 4 (July-Aug. 1997). (12 pp)

July 11 Library Orientation

Sign up for groups for Assignment 1: Assessment for Multilateral Complex Contingency Operations (due Aug 6).

July 16 Policy

1. Alexander George, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*. Washington: USIP Press, 1993 chapters 1, 2, 8, 9, 10 and summary.
2. Richard K. Betts, “The Trouble with Strategy: Bridging Policy and Operations,” *Joint Forces Quarterly* Autumn/Winter 2001-02, pp. 23-30.
3. Sam C. Sarkesian and Robert E. Connor, Jr. *The US Military Profession into the Twentieth Century: War, Peace and Politics*. London: Frank Cass, 1989, “The National Security System,” pp. 63-77.
4. James Dao, “Bush Sets Role for U.S. in Afghan Rebuilding,” *The New York Times on the Web* April 18, 2002

July 18 Case Study: The Dominican Intervention of 1965

1. Linda Head Flanagan and William Rosenau, *The Dominican Intervention of 1965* (Pew Case Studies in International Affairs #368) Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1995.

July 23 Operations

1. Harkavey and Neuman: chapter 1 “The Study of Warfare in the Third World”; chapter 5, “Strategies, Operations, Tactics in Low-Intensity Conflict” (86 pp)
 2. Ivan Arreguín-Toft, “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” *International Security* Vol. 26 No 1 (Summer 2001), pp. 93-128. (35 pp)
 3. Joint Pub 3-07 *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other than War*, Chapter III, “Types of Military Operations Other Than War” (15 pp)
- Suggested:

¹ This syllabus is subject to change according to the needs of the class.

- Max G. Manwaring, *The Inescapable Global Security Arena*, Strategic Studies Institute Newsletter April 2002:
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usassi/ssipubs/pubs2002/global/global.pdf>.
- Sam C. Sarkesian and Robert E. Connor, Jr. *The US Military Profession into the Twentieth Century: War, Peace and Politics*. London: Frank Cass, 1989, "US Strategy and Conflict Characteristics," pp. 108-127.
- [British view] Stuart Gordon, "Understanding the Priorities for Civil-Military Co-operation (CIMIC)" *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* 13 July 2001
<http://www.jha.ac/articles/a068.htm>

July 25 Case Video: Ambush in Mogadishu

The video has an internet website:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ambush/>.

Review the chronology and one reading (to be assigned).

July 30 Doctrine

1. Deborah D. Avant, "The Institutional Sources of Military Doctrine: Hegemons in Peripheral Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 37, Issue 4 (Dec. 1993), 409-430.
2. Paul Johnston, "Doctrine is Not Enough: The Effect of Doctrine on the Behavior of Armies," *Parameters* Autumn 2000 pp. 30-39.
3. "Wider Perspective" *Joint Forces Quarterly* Autumn/Winter 2001-2, p.104.
4. Joint Pub 3-07 *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other than War*, Chapter II, "Principles of Military Operations Other Than War"

Suggested:

- FM 3-07 *Stability and Support Operations*
- JP 3-57 *Joint Doctrine for Civil-Military Operations*
- *Challenges of Peace Operations: Into the 21st Century*
- Sam C. Sarkesian and Robert E. Connor, Jr. *The US Military Profession into the Twentieth Century: War, Peace and Politics*. London: Frank Cass, 1989, "Force Structure and Doctrine: Mainstream Military and Special Operations Forces," pp. 140-155.
- Laurence E. Grinter, "How They Lost: Doctrines, Strategies and Outcomes of the Vietnam War," *Asian Survey* Vol. 15, Issue 12 (Dec., 1975), 1114-1132

August 1 Lab: Briefing Prep

August 6-8 Assessment Briefings

Section 2: Actors and Issues in Stability Operations

August 13 *Civilian Factors at Home*

1. David Adams, "Internal Military Intervention in the United States," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 32, Issue 2 (May 1995), 197-211.
2. Gregory Grove, "Posse Comitatus and Critical Infrastructure Protection," CISAC Monograph, pp. 9-24.

Case Studies: Domestic Operations

3. Sanford Jay Rosen, "Acknowledging a Military Wrong," *Trial*; Washington; Apr 2001; 77-78.
4. Lisa Daniel, "Lessons Applied," *National Guard*; Washington; May 2000; 36-37;
5. DCSOPS-MS (350) "Memorandum for Chief, National Guard Bureau, attn: NGB-ARO-M, 111 S. George Amson Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22204 Subject: After Action Report, World Trade Organization, 20 January 2000."
6. William Finnegan, "After Seattle: Anarchists Get Organized," *The New Yorker* April 17, 2000.

Suggested:

- [Canadian perspective] Sean M. Maloney, "Domestic Operations: The Canadian Approach," *Parameters* Autumn 1997, pp. 135-52.

August 15 *Civilian Complications in International Operations*

1. Karma Nabulsi, "Evolving Conceptions of Civilians and Belligerents: One Hundred Years After the Hague Conferences," *Civilians in War* edited by Simon Chesterman. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001, pp. 9-24.
2. Ian Mather, "Changing Role for UN Peacekeepers as Organised Crime Becomes New Enemy," *Scotland on Sunday* April 14, 2002, p. 19.
3. Stewart Payne, "Teenagers 'Used for Sex by UN in Bosnia,'" *The Daily Telegraph (London)* April 25, 2002, p. 17.
4. Magin McKenna, "Sins of the Peacekeepers," *Sunday Herald* 30 June 2002 available online: <http://www.sundayherald.com/print25914>.
5. Sebastian Junger, "Slaves of the Brothel," *Vanity Fair* July 2002, pp. 112-117, 162-166.

Suggested:

- Phil Williams, "Transnational Criminal Enterprises, Conflict and Instability," in *Turbulent Peace* pp. 97-113.

August 20 *Intergovernmental Considerations*

1. Thomas Weiss, "IGOs," in Pamela Aall, Lt. Col. Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G. Weiss, *Guide to IGOs, NGOs and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*. Washington, DC USIP Press, 2000, pp. ix-32 (browse IGO profiles to pp. 83).
2. United Nations Peacekeeping basics: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/intro/index.htm>

- David S. Yost, "NATO's Contribution to Conflict Management" in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall (eds.) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. New York: USIP Press, 2001 [Hereafter, *Turbulent Peace*]

Suggested:

- The NATO website has a short introduction to the Alliance and its main policies: <http://www.nato.int/#> See also the IFOR website: <http://www.nato.int/ifor/ifor.htm> and the SFOR website <http://www.nato.int/sfor/index.htm>

August 22 *Case Study: Bosnia*

Ivo H. Dalder, "Anthony Lake and the War in Bosnia," (Pew Case Studies in International Affairs #467) Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1995.

August 27 *Working with Partners: Non-Governmental Organizations*

- Pamela Aall, "NGOs," in Pamela Aall, Lt. Col. Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G. Weiss, *Guide to IGOs, NGOs and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*. Washington, DC USIP Press, 2000, pp. 85-180.
- Mary B. Anderson, "Humanitarian NGOs in Conflict Intervention," in *Turbulent Peace*.
- Par Eriksson, "Civil-Military Co-ordination in Peace Support Operations – An Impossible Necessity?" *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* <http://www.jha.ac/articles/a061.htm> posted 16 September 2000.

August 29 *Briefing Prep*

September 3-5 *Strategy Briefings*

September 10 *Military Organizational Factors*

- Lt. Col. Daniel Miltenberger, "The Military," in Pamela Aall, Lt. Col. Daniel Miltenberger and Thomas G. Weiss, *Guide to IGOs, NGOs and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*. Washington, DC USIP Press, 2000, pp. 181-254.
- Thomas S. Szayna, Preston Niblack and William O'Malley, "Assessing Armed Forces Deficiencies for Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 3, No. 3, autumn 1996, pp. 77-91.
- Edward F. Bruner and Nina M. Serafino, "Peacekeeping: Military Command and Control Issues," Washington, Congressional Research Service, Updated November 1, 2001.
- David S. Alberts and Richard E. Hayes, *Command Arrangements for Peace Operations*. Washington: Institute for National Strategic Studies, May 1995, pp. 41-75.
- Survey website for video: "Give War a Chance" PBS 1999 60 min. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/military/> or find PBS Online and search title.

September 12 The Media in Stability Operations

1. Warren P. Strobel, "Information and Conflict," in *Turbulent Peace*, pp. 677-693.
2. Andrew Kohut and Robert C. Toth, "Arms and the People," *Foreign Affairs* November/December 1994, pp. 47-61

September 17 Scenario: Gaps at the Seams

September 19 Course Review and Wrap-up

Student Papers due September 24