

The New School
Graduate Program in International Affairs

Conflict and Development

NINT 5209 A

CRN 3448

Monday 4:00 – 5:50

Fall 2009

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Office Hours: Mon 2:00 – 4:00
Tu 3:00 – 4:00
and by appointment

This course will examine the research and policy literature on the inter-relationships between organized political violence and socioeconomic development. The primary focus will be on terrorism and civil war but other forms of political violence will be discussed. Among the issues raised will be the role of economic agendas, the social, political, economic and other sources of conflict, personal and organizational incentives for participation in organized violence, whether cross country economic linkages reduce the prevalence of violence, whether having representative political institutions reduces a country's propensity for conflict, and links between transnational crime and other forms of conflict.

Students will be expected to participate regularly in class discussions (20% of final grade), make written and oral presentations on assigned readings (40%), and prepare case studies (40%). A separate note will be distributed describing writing assignments.

The following books will be used extensively. They have been ordered through Barnes and Noble, Fifth Avenue at 18th Street, and are all in paperback editions. They might also be available at other bookstores, or via the internet. The Amazon and Barnes and Noble web site are good. Also, try Best Book Buys (www.bestwebbuys.com) or Bookfinder (www.bookfinder.com), both of which provide price comparisons, including shipping costs, among a number of on-line booksellers.

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2006 (revised and expanded edition)

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2007, 2nd edition

Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*, New York, HarperCollins, 2004 (originally published in 2003)

Other readings are available on line, some through the New School Library website, referred to below as **NSL**, where they can be downloaded via the listing for electronic resources and data bases, and some from their original source which are listed with the appropriate URL. Additional readings, denoted by **W**, have been placed on the course web site.

Reading Assignments

All readings are required; supplementary readings are listed under Notes.

I. Introduction

Week 1 (Aug 31) Overview

Human Security Centre (HSC), *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century*, Part I, pp. 15-33. www.humansecurityreport.org

Human Security Report Project, Simon Fraser University, *Human Security Brief 2007*, "Overview". www.humansecuritybrief.info

Lotta Harbom and Peter Wallenstein, "Armed Conflicts, 1946 – 2008," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 46, no. 4 (2009), pp. 577-87.
<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/5/697>

There is no class on September 7, Labor Day.

Week 2 (Sept 14) The Nature of Contemporary Conflicts

Hoffman, chapters 1-3

Kaldor, chapters 1, 2, 4

Mahmood Mamdani, "The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency," *London Review of Books*, March 8, 2007 www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n05

Adam Roberts, "The War on 'Terror' in Historical Perspective," *Survival*, vol. 47, no. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 101-130. **NSL**

Week 3 (Sept 21) Conflict and Political, Social and Economic Development

Frances Stewart, "Development and Security," *Conflict, Security and Development*, vol. 4, no. 3 (December 2004), pp. 261-288. **W**

Kaldor, chapter 5

HSC, Part IV, V

Note: Additional perspectives on the conflict-development link are Jean Dreze, "Militarism, Development and Democracy," *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 1, 2000, and United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 2005*, chapter 5. hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2005

The class for week four will meet on Tuesday, September 29, same time, same room.

Week 4 (Sept 29) Security

Kaldor, chapter 6

HSC, "What is Human Security," (p. VII); Parts II and III

II. Sources of Violence

Week 5 (Oct 5) The Greed-Grievance Debate

Paul Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy," April 2006. **W**

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 1 (February 2003), pp. 75-90. **NSL**

Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke, "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Policy Lessons from Studies in the Political Economy of Armed Conflict," International Peace Academy (IPA), October 2003. **W**

Note: The IPA has published several collections of empirical studies on the greed-grievance debate: Mats Berdal and David M. Malone, editors, *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, Boulder, Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2000, and Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman, editors, *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*, Boulder, Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2003.

Note: The greed-grievance debate draws heavily on the experience of resource conflicts. See, e.g., Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke, editors, *Profiting From Peace: Managing the Resource Dimension of Civil War*, Boulder, Lynn Reinner Publishers, 2005 and Michael Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*, New York, Metropolitan Books, 2001

Week 6 (Oct 12) A Case Study

William Reno, "Sierra Leone: Warfare in a Post-State Society," **W**

Jimmy D. Kandeh, "The Criminalization of the RUF Insurgency in Sierra Leone," **W**

John Bellows and Edward Miguel, "War and Institutions: New Evidence from Sierra Leone," *American Economic Review*, vol. 96, no. 2 (May 2006), pp. 394-399. **W**

Week 7 (Oct 19) Poverty and Terrorism

Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Fall 2003), pp. 119-144. **NSL**

Note: Krueger has recently published a short book, *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007, which extends the analysis in the above article.

Stern, pp. xiii-xxxi, 3-7, chapters 2, 3, 5

Week 8 (Oct 26) Psychology, Ideology, Gender and Other Issues

Jeff Victoroff, "The Mind of the Terrorist," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 49, no. 1 (February 2005), pp. 3-42. **NSL**

Hoffman, chapter 4

Mia Bloom, "Mother, Daughter, Sister, Bomber," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 61, no. 6 (November/December 2005), pp. 54-62.
www.thebulletin.org/past_issues/061_006.htm

Week 9 (Nov 2) Sources of Organized Violence: Suicide Terrorism

Hoffman, chapter 5-7

Note: The analysis of organized political violence did not start with the aftermath of 9/11. An earlier, and still important, analysis is Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 13 (1981), pp. 379-99. **NSL**

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 3 (2003), pp. 20-32. **NSL**

Note: Pape extended his analysis in Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, New York, Random House, 2005

Asaf Moghadam, "Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of *Dying to Win*," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 29, no. 8 (2006), pp. 707-729. **NSL**

Mia Bloom, "Palestinian Suicide Bombings: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 119, no. 1 (2003), pp. 61-89. **NSL**

Note: The above was used as a chapter in Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2005

Nick Ayers, "Ghost Martyrs in Iraq: An Assessment of the Applicability of Rationalist Models to Explain Suicide Attacks in Iraq," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 31, no. 9 (2008), pp. 856-882. **NSL`**

III. The Persistence of Conflict

Week 10 (Nov 9) Organizational Issues

Eli Berman, " Hamas, Taliban and the Jewish Underground: An Economist's View of Radical Religious Militias," National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper W10004, October 2003. **NSL**

Shawn Teresa Flanigan, "Nonprofit Service Provision by Insurgent Organizations: The Cases of Hisbollah and the Tamil Tigers," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 31, no. 6 (2008), pp. 499-519. **NSL**

Stern, chapters 8, 9

Hoffman, chapter 8

Week 11 (Nov 16) Financing Conflict

Michel Hess, "Substantiating the Nexus Between Diaspora Groups and the Financing of Terrorism," chapter. 4 in Sean Costigan and David Gold, editors (CG), *Terronomics*, Aldershot, England, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007. **W**

Loretta Napoleoni, “The Evolution of Terrorist Financing since 9/11,” chapter 1 in CG. **W**

William Hartung and Frida Berrigan, “Arms and Terrorism: Tracing the Links,” chapter 10 in CG. **W**

Week 12 (Nov 23) Political Violence, Political Organizations and Organized Crime

Justine A. Rosenthal, “For-Profit Terrorism: The Rise of Armed Entrepreneurs,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 31, no. 6 (2008), pp. 481-498. **NSL**

Thomas Schweich, “Is Afghanistan a Narco-State?” *New York Times Magazine*, July 27, 2008 www.nytimes.com

Walter A. Kemp, “The Business of Ethnic Conflict,” *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35, no. 1 (March 2004), pp. 43-59. **NSL**

Note: Additional case studies on links between organized criminal activities and organized political violence can be found in Cynthia J. Aronson and I. William Zartman, editors, *Rethinking the Economics of War*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005

Sam Mullins, “Parallels Between Crime and Terrorism: A Social Psychological Perspective,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 32 (1989), pp.811–830. **NSL**

Week 13 (Nov 30) Governance

Robert I. Rotberg, “Weak and Failing States: Critical New Security Issues,” c. 2004. **W**

Note: Robert Rotberg has edited two books that examine examples of failing, failed and collapsed states. They are: Robert I. Rotberg, editor, *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, Washington, Brookings Institution Press, 2003 and Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004.

Seth G. Jones, “The Rise of Afghanistan’s Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad,” *International Security*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 7-40. **W**

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Prone to Violence,” *The National Interest*, Winter 2005/06 www.nationalinterest.org/ME2/Default

Week 14 (Dec 7) Policies

Stern, chapter 10

Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Thomas Moll, "Using Sanctions to Fight Terrorism," chapter 3 in CG. **W**

Tony Addison and Mark McGillivray, "Aid to Conflict-Affected Countries: Lessons for Donors," *Conflict, Security and Development*, vol. 4, no. 3 (December 2004), pp. 347-367. **W**

Katherine Barbieri and Gerald Schneider, "Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 36, no. 4 (July 1999), pp. 387-404. **NSL**

Dexter Filkins, "Talibanistan," *New York Times Magazine*, September 7, 2008
www.nytimes.com