

University of Rochester
Department of Political Science
IR 231 Counterinsurgency in Theory and Practice
Fall 2011
MWF 10 a.m.-10:50 a.m.
Gavet 312

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About this course: The United States and its allies are fighting insurgencies in Afghanistan, fought multiple insurgencies in Iraq, and are attempting to defeat insurgencies in Yemen, the Philippines and the Horn of Africa. Other states face insurgencies in their own territory, including China, Russia and, until recently, Sri Lanka. What do these efforts to defeat insurgencies consist of? How does counterinsurgency (COIN) work? How is it supposed to work? Why do U.S. policymakers expect the defeat of insurgencies abroad will make Americans safer at home? This course considers these questions through students' analysis of relevant theoretical literatures, the COIN literature, and associated research into internal conflict and state-building, as well as through students' study of current and past COIN campaigns.

Educational goals: Build students' analytical abilities; develop students' ability to present a logically consistent argument that accords with the available evidence; to find and use evidence effectively; to analyze others' use of evidence and logic; to analyze world events and state policies through a social science lens; to increase students' understanding of states' foreign policy choices in order to build their ability to act as responsible and informed citizens; to increase their ability to assess certain types of potential national security threats and to understand the tools available to meet these threats.

Course requirements: Students are expected to have read and considered the material prior to the class for which it is assigned, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Students are expected to attend all classes. No late assignments will be accepted without documentation of a medical or personal emergency. Details on assignments are below.

Academic Integrity: Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action (<http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII>). Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with severely, which means that your grade will suffer and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty.

Books Suggested For Purchase

Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Cornell University Press, 1997)

Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, Translated by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Praeger, 1961)

David Galula, *Counter-Insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964)

The U.S. Army-Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24, University of Chicago edition. Also available as a free PDF online.

Matthew Evangelista, *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2002)

Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton University Press, 2010)

Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005)

Peter Van Buren, *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2011)

Benjamin C. Schwarz, *American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and El Salvador* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1991). Available free online at <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R4042.html>

All other material is available online, either on Blackboard or in the public realm. Assigned books will be on reserve in the library. Scholarly articles are also available through the library's online resources.

Course Requirements

1. Midterm 35% of class grade (15% for exam, 20% for essay):

a) Short-answer, in-class exam (15 questions on concepts from study guide) Counts for 15% of class grade. Grade based on accuracy and completeness of responses. Exam on Friday, October 7.

b) Take-home exam: Write a three-page essay analyzing which COIN model is, theoretically, most likely to lead to success and why, and which is least likely, and why. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the models you analyze. Grade will be based on accuracy in presentation of models, clarity of writing and argument, and logical consistency of analysis. Grammar, punctuation, and proper formatting also count. Essay is due at the beginning of class on Friday, October 7.

2. Five-page final paper (35% of class grade): Write a clear, succinct, focused argument recommending a specific COIN approach for a case of your choosing. Analyze both the costs and the benefits of the strategy you propose, and explain why it is superior to alternative models of COIN success for the case you analyze. Use at least three scholarly sources on the insurgency, at least three scholarly sources on your recommended COIN approach, and at least three scholarly sources on the approaches you reject. Use a standard citation format. **You MUST meet with me at least once before December 1 to discuss the case and approaches you will examine.** Grade will be based on the strength of the argument, relevance of the evidence presented, and clarity and precision of expression. Grammar, punctuation, and proper formatting also count. Due in class Monday, December 12.

3. Presentations (15% of class grade): Present on one theoretical reading in the first half of the term and present on your argument in your final paper at the end of the term. Grade based on clarity, accuracy, coherence, and concision of presentations. I will distribute a sign-up list for presentations early in the term.

4. Participation (15% of class grade): This includes participation in class discussions, participation in discussions with visitors, and participation in discussions of other students' presentations. Grade based on familiarity with the class material, focus on the topic at hand, civility, and constructiveness.

We will discuss how to read scholarly work, research and write essays, do presentations, and conduct interviews. Feel free to discuss your thoughts and class material with others, but you will be graded solely on the work you present.

The Department of Political Science's reference librarian, Ann Marshall, is available to students. Contact her at amarshall@library.rochester.edu.

Course Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. States
 - a. The uses of force
- III. Political violence within states
 - a. Political contestation
 - b. Nonviolent political action by non-state actors
 - c. Causes of internal violence
 - d. Termination of internal violence
- IV. Insurgencies
 - a. Thinking like an insurgent
- V. Counterinsurgency (COIN) Models
 - a. Pre-1945 COIN
 - b. Cold War COIN
 - c. Contemporary COIN: The population-centric model
 - d. Questions about the population-centric model

- VI. Great powers, the United States, and COIN
 - a. Interests and threats
 - b. Contagion and spread
 - c. Non-political violence: For financial profit and other personal advantage
- VII. Cases
 - a. Case studies and the comparative method, questions for cases
 - b. Malaya
 - c. The Philippines-Huks
 - d. Vietnam
 - e. Dhofar, Oman
 - f. Chechnya
 - g. Sri Lanka
 - h. The Philippines today
 - i. Somalia today
 - j. China-Uighurs
 - k. Iraq
 - l. Afghanistan

I may modify the readings or the topic schedule depending on developments, but will give you plenty of notice.

Class Schedule

Wednesday, Aug. 31: Introduction and overview

For this class, read:

Steven Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997). Introduction and Chapter 1 pp. 1-48.

Stephen Walt, "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2005 8, pp. 23-48.

Friday, Sept. 2 NO CLASS IN REGULAR TIME SLOT. We will reschedule.

For this class, read:

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, And European States, AD 990-1992* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990, 1992), Chapter 3, How War Made States, And Vice Versa, pp. 67-96.

Monday, Sept. 5, is Labor Day. No class session.

For this class, read:

James C. Scott, *Seeing Like A State Chapter: How Certain Schemes To Improve The Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), Chapter 3, Authoritarian High Modernism, pp. 87-102.

Wednesday, Sept. 7: States, state development, and the uses of force

For this class, read:

Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power," *International Security* 4 (Spring 1980), pp. 4-35.

Additional reading:

Weber, Max. *Essays in Sociology*. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Routledge, 2009. Note particularly "Politics as a Vocation."

Richard Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan: the origins of central state authority in America, 1859-1877* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Lake, David A. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations." *International Organization* 50:1 (Winter 1996), pp. 1-33.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al., "Political Institutions, Political Survival, and Policy Success," in *Governing for Prosperity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), eds. Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Hilton L. Root, pp. 59-84.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita et al., "Political Institutions, Policy Choice and the Survival of Leaders," *British Journal of Political Science* 32:4 (October 2002), pp. 559-590.

Ronald Wintrobe, "The Tinpot and the Totalitarian: An Economic Theory of Dictatorship," *American Political Science Review* 81:3 (September 1990), pp. 849-972.

Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975).

Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988).

Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and Juridical in Statehood," *World Politics* 35:1 (October 1982), pp. 1-24.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret.

Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

Friday, Sept. 9: Political violence within states

For this class, read:

Lotta Harbom and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2009," *Journal of Peace Research* 47:4 (2010), pp. 501-509.

Additional reading:

Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-54

Douglas McAdam, *Political Processes and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

Monday, Sept. 12: The causes of internal conflict

PRESENTATIONS

For this class, read:

Stephen Van Evera and Daniel Byman. "Why They Fight: Hypotheses on the Causes of Contemporary Deadly Conflict." *Security Studies* 7:3 (Spring 1998), pp. 1-50.

Additional reading:

Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97:3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361.

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

Paul Collier, V. L. Elliott, Havard Hegre, Anke Hoeffler, MartaReynal-Querol, Nicholas Sambanis, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (Copublication of the World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2003).

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," World Bank, October 21, 2001.

www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/greedandgrievance.htm.

Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Inequality and Insurgency," *American Political Science Review* 81:2 (June 1987), pp. 426-451.

James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

Samuel L. Popkin, *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2005 reprint).

Wednesday, Sept. 14: The causes of internal conflict

PRESENTATIONS

For this class, read:

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35:1 (1993), pp. 27-47.

Additional reading:

Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tambukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review* 98:4 (2004), pp. 529-545.

James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90:4 (December 1996), pp. 715-735.

David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," *International Security* 21:2 (Fall 1996), pp. 41-75.

Robert Bates, "Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa" in D. Rothchild and V. Olorunsola, eds. *Ethnicity, State Coherence, and Public Policy: African Dilemmas* (Boulder: Westview, 1983), pp. 152-171.

Leo A. Despres, "Toward a Theory of Ethnic Phenomena" in Despres, ed., *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 187-207.

Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe, "Modernization and the Politics of Communalism: A Theoretical Perspective" *American Political Science Review* 64: 4 (December 1970), pp. 1112-1130.

Friday, Sept. 16 NO CLASS IN REGULAR TIME SLOT. We will reschedule

For this class, watch "Mad Max." It is on reserve.

Monday, Sept. 19: Ending internal conflict

For this class, read:

Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorism Campaigns* (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 2009), Introduction, pp. 1-13.

Additional reading:

Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20:4 (Spring 1996), pp. 136-175.

Jack Snyder, and Robert Jervis, "Civil War and the Security Dilemma," in *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*, eds. Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 15-37.

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51:3 (Summer 1997), pp. 335-364.

I. William Zartman, "The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments," *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1:1 (September 2001), pp. 8-18.

Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78:4 (Jul/Aug 1999), pp. 36-44.

Stephen Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security* 22:2 (Autumn 1997), pp. 5-53.

James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49:3, pp. 379-414.

Wednesday, Sept. 21: Thinking like an insurgent

For this class, read:

Lawrence, T.E., "Guerrilla," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Co., 1929).

http://www.britannica.com/original/print?content_id=1365

Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, Translated by Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Praeger, 1961).

Watch "Red Dawn." It is on reserve.

Additional reading:

Ernesto Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare*, with case studies by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

Vo Nguyen Giap, *People's War People's Army* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961).

William J. Pomeroy, *The Forest: A Personal Record of the Huk Guerrilla Struggle in the Philippines* (New York: International Publishers, 1963).

Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activision* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Alan Kuperman, "Suicidal Rebellions and the Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethnopolitics* 4:2 (June 2005), pp. 149-173.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Vanda Felbab Brown, *Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999).

Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Friday, Sept. 23: Counterinsurgency: Pre-1945 COIN and Cold War COIN

For this class, read:

Col. C.E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. Reprint of third edition published in London by His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906, Skim chapters 1-3.

Bernard B. Fall, "The Theory and Practice of Counter-insurgency." *Military Review* (April 1965), unpaginated.

David Galula, *Counter-Insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), Chapters 1 and 7, pp. 1-10, 75-95.

Additional reading:

U.S. Marine Corps. *Small Wars Manual* (Washington DC: U.S. Marine Corps, 1940). www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/swm/index.htm

Julian Paget, *Counter-Insurgency Operations: Techniques of Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Walker, 1967).

Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966).

John J. McCuen, *The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War: The Strategy of Counter-Insurgency* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1966).

Frank Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, and Peacekeeping* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1971).

Robert Taber, *The War of the Flea: A Study of Guerrilla Warfare Theory and Practice* (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1965).

Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1964).

Charles Wolf Jr., "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: New Myths and Old Realities," RAND, July 1965. <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/P3132-1/>.

Nathan Leites and Charles Wolf. *Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts* (Chicago: Markham, 1970).

Robert Asprey, *War in the Shadows: The Guerrilla in History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1975).

Douglas S. Blaufarb, *The Counterinsurgency Era: U.S. Doctrine and Performance 1950 to the Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1977).

Michael Fitzsimmons, "Hard Hearts and Open Minds? Governance, Identity, and the Intellectual Foundations of Counterinsurgency Strategy," *Strategic Studies* 33:3 (June 2008), pp. 337-365.

Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26:1 (Summer 2001), pp. 93-128.

Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Monday, Sept. 26: Contemporary COIN: The population-centric model

For this class, read:

The U.S. Army-Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24, University of Chicago edition. Also available free online. Chapter 1, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," pp. 1-52. Skim the rest.

Additional reading:

Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).

T.X. Hammes, "Insurgency: Modern Warfare Evolves Into a Fourth Generation," Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. January 2005. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS63078>

James T. Quinlivan, "Force Requirements in Stability Operations," *Parameters* (Winter 1995-1996), pp. 59-69.

U.S. Department of the Army. *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-07 Stability Operations*. Washington DC: October 2008.

David Kilcullen, "Counter-Insurgency Redux," *Survival* 48:4 (Winter 2006-2007), pp. 111-130.

David Kilcullen, "'Twenty-Eight Articles': Fundamentals of Company-level Counterinsurgency," *Military Review* (May-June 2006), pp. 103-108.

David Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 28:4 (August 2005), pp. 597-617.

Wednesday, Sept. 28: The population-centric model: Theory and empirics

For this class, read:

D. Michael Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), Chapter 5, pp. 104-132.

Additional reading:

Douglas J. Macdonald, *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Huw Bennett, "The Other Side of the COIN: Minimum and Exemplary Force in British Army Counterinsurgency in Kenya," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 18:4 (December 2007), pp. 638-664.

Huw Bennett, "Minimum Force in British Counterinsurgency," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 21:3 (September 2010), pp. 459-475.

Paul Dixon, "'Hearts and Minds?' British Counterinsurgency Strategy from Malaya to Iraq," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:3 (June 2009), pp. 353-381.

Bruno Reis, "The Myth of British Minimum Force in Counterinsurgency Campaigns During Decolonisation (1945-1970)," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 34:2 (April 2011), pp. 245-279.

Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1942-1976* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 2006).

Friday, Sept. 30: The population-centric model: Overreach?

For this class, read:

Jason Brownlee, "Can America Nation-build?" *World Politics* 59:2 (January 2007), pp. 314-340.

Additional reading:

Stathis Kalyvas, contributions to the review symposium on FM 3-24, "The New U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and as Political Praxis," *Perspectives on Politics* 6:2 (June 2008), pp. 347-360.

James L. Payne, "Deconstructing Nation Building," *The American Conservative*, October 24, 2005, pp. 13-15.

James Dobbins, et. al., "America's Role in Nation Building: From Germany to Iraq," RAND, 2003.

Francis Fukuyama, "Nation-Building 101," *The Atlantic Monthly* (January/February 2004), Vol. 293, No. 1, pp. 159-162.

Marina Ottoway, "Think Again: Nation Building," *Foreign Policy* (September-October 2002), pp. 16-24.

David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29:1 (Summer 2004), pp. 49-91.

Monday, Oct. 3: The population-centric model: One size fits all?

For this class, read:

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapters 1-2, pp. 3-37.

Douglas Ollivant, contribution to the review symposium on FM 3-24, "The New U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and as Political Praxis," *Perspectives on Politics* 6:2 (June 2008), pp. 347-360.

Wednesday, Oct. 5: The population-centric model: What else works?

For this class, read:

Ralph Peters, "In Praise of Attrition," *Parameters* (Summer 2004), pp. 24-32.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/04summer/peters.htm>.

Alexander B. Downes, "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy," *Civil Wars* 9:4 (December 2007), pp. 420-444.

Additional reading:

Huw Bennett, "A Very Salutory Effect: The Counter-Terror Strategy in the Early Malayan Emergency, June 1948 to December 1949," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:3, pp. 415-444.

Edward Luttwak, "Dead End – Counterinsurgency Warfare as Military Malpractice," *Harper's Magazine*, February 2007, pp. 33-42.

Class 16 Friday, Oct. 7

MIDTERM ESSAY DUE, IN-CLASS MIDTERM

October 10-11, Fall break

Wednesday, Oct. 12: Great powers, the United States, and counterinsurgency

For this class, read:

Skim the National Security Strategy of the United States, May 2010.
www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss.../national_security_strategy.pdf

Skim U.S. Department of State, U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide, January 2009. www.state.gov/documents/organization/119629.pdf

Additional reading:

U.S. Department of Defense, Quadrennial Defense Review, February 1, 2010.
<http://www.defense.gov/QDR/>

The White House, National Strategy for Counterterrorism, June 2011.
www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf

António Guterres, “Millions Uprooted,” *Foreign Affairs* 87:5 (Sep/Oct2008), pp. 90-99.

Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, “Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May Be Less Dangerous Than Many Think,” *International Security* (Fall 2008), pp. 7-45.

Idean Salehyan and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, “Refugees and the Spread of Civil War,” *International Organization*, 60:2 (April 2006), pp. 335-366.

James C. Murdoch and Todd Sandler, “Civil Wars and Economic Growth: Spatial Dispersion,” *American Journal of Political Science* 48:1 (January 2004), pp. 138-151.

Friday, Oct. 14: Case studies and the comparative method, questions for cases

For this class, read:

Stephen Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997. Chapter 2, pp. 49-55, and appendix on how to write a paper.

Additional reading:

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), Chapter 3.

Stathis Kalyvas, “The Urban Bias in Research on Civil Wars,” *Security Studies* 13:3 (Spring 2004), pp. 160-190.

Monday, Oct. 17: Britain-Malaya

For this class, read:

Karl Hack, "The Malayan Emergency as Counterinsurgency Paradigm," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:3 (June 2009), pp. 383-414.

Additional reading:

Karl Hack, "Iron Claws on Malaya?: The Historiography of the Malayan Emergency." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 30:1 (March 1999), pp. 99-125.

Paul Dixon, "'Hearts and Minds?' British Counterinsurgency Strategy from Malaya to Iraq," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:3 (June 2009), pp. 353-381.

John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup With a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. Originally published in 2002), Section II, pp. 59-114.

Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966).

Robert Komer, "The Malaya Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort," RAND, 1972.
<http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R957/>

Lucian Pye, *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956).

Wednesday, Oct. 19: The Philippines-The Huks

For this class, read:

John Walton, *Reluctant Rebels: Comparative Studies of Revolution and Underdevelopment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), Chapter 2, pp. 37-71.

Additional reading:

Bernard Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977).

Lawrence M. Greenberg, *The Hukbalahap Insurrection: A Case Study of a Successful Anti-Insurgency Operation in the Philippines, 1946-1955* (Washington DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History).
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS32792>

William J. Pomeroy, *The Forest: A Personal Record of the Huk Guerrilla Struggle in the Philippines* (New York: International Publishers, 1963).

Luis Taruc, *Born of the People* (London: Greenwood Press, 1973 reprint).

Friday, Oct. 21: US-Vietnam

For this class, read:

Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010, revised edition), Chapter 1, pp. 3-43.

Additional reading:

Lewis Sorley, *A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and Final Tragedy of America's Last Years in Vietnam* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Books, 1999), pp. 1-30.

Dale Andrade, "Westmoreland Was Right: Learning the Wrong Lessons from the Vietnam War," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 19:2 (June 2008), pp. 145-181.

Alexander L. George, David K. Hall, and William E. Simons, *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy: Laos, Cuba, Vietnam* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971).

Andrew J. Birtle, "PROVN, Westmoreland, and the Historians: A Reappraisal," *The Journal of Military History* 72 (October 2008), pp. 1213-1247.

Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Harry G. Summers, Jr., *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982).

James M. Carter, *Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State Building, 1954-1968* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Monday, Oct. 24: US/El Salvador-FMLN

For this class, read:

Benjamin C. Schwarz, "American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and El Salvador," RAND, 1991. <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R4042.html>

Additional reading:

Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Cynthia McClintock, *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

Charles D. Brockett, *Political Movements and Violence in Central America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Charles Clements, M.D. *Witness to War: An American Doctor in El Salvador* (New York: Bantam Books, 1984).

Wendy Shaull, *Tortillas, Beans, and M-16s: A Year with the Guerrillas in El Salvador* (London: Pluto Press, 1990).

Wednesday, Oct. 26: Dhofar, Oman

For this class, read:

Geraint Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised: The Counterinsurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965-1975," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32:2 (April 2009), pp 271-305.

Additional reading:

Ken Perkins, "Oman: Year of Decision," *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute* 124:1 (March 1979), pp. 38-45.

Col. Tony Jeapes, *SAS: Operation Oman* (London, William Kimber & Co., 1980).

J.E. Peterson, *Oman's Insurgencies: The Sultanate's Struggle for Supremacy* (London: Saqi, 2007).

David C. Arkless, *The Secret War: Dhofar 1971/1972* (London: William Kimber & Co. 1988).

Ian Gardiner, *In the Service of the Sultan: A First Hand Account of the Dhofar Insurgency* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2006 (2008 reprint)).

Friday, Oct. 28*: Russia-Chechnya

For this class, read:

Matthew Evangelista, *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2002), Chapters 2-4, pp. 11-85.

Additional reading:

James Hughes, *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), Preface, pp. ix-xvii, Conclusion, pp. 198-207.

Ilyas Akhmadov & Myriam Lansky, *The Chechen Struggle* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Khassan Baiev with Ruth and Nicholas Daniloff, *The Oath: A Surgeon Under Fire* (Toronto: Random House, 2003).

Cerwyn Moore and Paul Tumelty, "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31:5 (2008), pp. 412-433.

Anna Politkovskaya, *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches From Chechnya* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Monday, Oct. 31*: Turkey-the PKK

For this class, read:

Barkey, Henri J. "Turkey and the PKK: A Pyrrhic Victory?" in *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons From the Past*, eds. Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson. Washington DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2007.

Additional reading:

Evren Balta, "Causes and Consequences of the Village Guard System in Turkey," Unpublished conference paper, December 2004;

Joost Jongerden, Jacob van Etten, and Hugo de Vos, "Forest Burning as a Counterinsurgency Strategy in Eastern Turkey," unpublished conference paper, September 2006.

Joost Jongerden, "Village Evacuation and Reconstruction in Kurdistan (1993-2002)," *Etudes rural* 186 (February 2010), pp. 77-100.

Henri J. Barkey and Graham E. Fuller *Turkey's Kurdish Question* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998).

Henri J. Barkey and Graham E. Fuller, "Turkey's Kurdish Question: Critical Turning Points and Missed Opportunities," *Middle East Journal* 51:1 (Winter 1997), pp. 59-79.

Gokhan Bacik and Bezen Balamir Coskun, "The PKK Problem: Explaining Turkey's Failure to Develop a Political Solution," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34:3 (February 2011), pp. 248-265.

Wednesday, Nov. 2*: Sri Lanka-The Tamil Tigers

For this class, read:

Jon Lee Anderson, "Death of the Tiger: Sri Lanka's Brutal Victory Over its Tamil Insurgents," *The New Yorker*, January 17, 2001

Additional reading:

Neil DeVotta, "Illiberalism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," *Journal of Democracy* 13:1 (2002), pp. 84-98.

Rohans Gunaratna, "Sri Lanka: Feeding the Tamil Tigers," in *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*, eds. Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman. New York: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

Niel A. Smith, "Understanding Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil Tigers," *Joint Forces Quarterly* 59 (Fourth Quarter 2010), pp. 40-44, AND Letter to the Editor, Ambassador (Ret.) Edward Marks, October 28, 2010.

Friday, Nov. 4*: The Philippines-Mindanao

For this class, read:

David Maxwell, "Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines: What would Sun Tzu say?," *Military Review* (May-June 2004), pp. 20-23.

Brian Petit, "Thinking COIN, Doing FID," *Special Warfare Magazine* 23:1 (January-February 2010), pp. 10-15.

Additional reading:

International Crisis Group, "The Philippines: A New Strategy for Peace in Mindanao," August 3, 2011. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-east-asia/philippines.aspx>

At the *Special Warfare Magazine* Web site (<http://www.soc.mil/swcs/swmag/archive.html>), articles in the issues of September 2004, November/December 2006, and September 2005.

Greg Wilson, "The Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect approach," *Military Review* (November/December 2006).

Much more at the International Crisis Group site: crisisgroup.org

Monday, Nov. 7*: Somalia

For this class, read:

International Crisis Group, "Somalia: The Transitional Government on Life Support," Africa Report N°170, 21 Feb 2011. Download PDF at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/170-somalia-the-transitional-government-on-life-support.aspx>

Jeffrey Gettleman, Mark Mazzetti, and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Relies on Contractors in Somalia Conflict," *The New York Times*, August 10, 2011.

Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Expands Its Drone War Into Somalia," *The New York Times*, July 1, 2011.

Helene Cooper, "U.S. Meeting Europeans to Forge Policy on Somalia," *The New York Times*, June 15, 2006.

Additional reading:

Much more material from the ICG at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia.aspx>

And from Human Rights Watch at: <http://www.hrw.org/publications/reports?topic=All®ion=121>

Wednesday, Nov. 9*: China-Uighurs

For this class, read:

Preeti Bhattacharji, "Backgrounder: Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region," Council on Foreign Relations, July 6, 2009. <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870>

Chien-peng Chung, "China's 'War on Terror': September 11 and Uighur Separatism," *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2002. <http://www.cfr.org/china/chinas-war-terror-september-11-uighur-separatism/p4765>

Friday, Nov. 11*: US-Iraq: Why

For this class, read:

Robert Jervis, "Explaining the War in Iraq," draft chapter.

Additional reading:

Joshua Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), Chapter 7.

The Associated Press, "Text of President Bush's Address to the Nation Monday," October 7, 2002.

George W. Bush, "State of the Union Address," Office of the Press Secretary, January 28, 2003.

Richard Haass, "Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World," *Washington Quarterly* 26:3 (Summer 2003), pp. 137-148.

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2003).

Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2002.

Zbigniew Brzezinski and James Harding, "Legitimacy of American leadership eroded," *The Financial Times*, March 4, 2003.

Michael Ignatieff, "Second, Sober Thoughts," *The Toronto Star*, March 26, 2004.

Joseph J. Collins, "Choosing War: The Decision to Invade Iraq and its Aftermath," National Defense University Occasional Paper 5, April 2008.

Andrew J. Bacevich, "No Exit: America Has an Impressive Record of Starting Wars but a Dismal One of Ending Them Well," *The American Conservative*, February 1, 2010.

The Guardian (London), "What would you do?: You don't want war. But how do we stop Saddam doing this again?: In recent weeks, it has become the hawks favorite riposte to mounting anti-war sentiment. But should critics of military action have to answer it? And, if so, can they offer any real alternative? We asked 30 high-profile opponents of the war to tackle the question," February 27, 2003.

Monday, Nov. 14*: US-Iraq: What happened

For this class, read:

Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2004), pp. 34-57.

Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005), Chapters 13-16, pp. 279-389.

Look at these Baghdad population changes graphics:

http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/images/maps/Baghdad_Ethnic_2006_sm.jpg

http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/images/maps/Baghdad_Ethnic_2007_late_sm.jpg

<http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/maps.shtml>

<http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/reference.shtml>

Additional reading:

Brigadier Nigel Alwyn-Foster, "Operation Iraq Freedom Phase IV: The Watershed the U.S. Army Still Needs to Recognise?" *Military Review* (November-December 2005).

Gen. David H. Petraeus, "Multi-National Force-Iraq Commander's Counterinsurgency Guidance," June 21, 2008. Also appears in *Military Review* (September-October 2008), pp. 2-4.

The Iraq Study Group Report (New York: Vintage Books, 2006).

Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs* 85:2 (March-April 2006).

Bruce Hoffman, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq," RAND, June 2004.

Steven Metz, "Learning from Iraq: Counterinsurgency in American Strategy," Strategic Studies Institute, January 2007.
<http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

Nir Rosen, *Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World* (New York: Nation Books, 2010).

Mark Kukis, *Voices From Iraq: A People's History, 2003-2009* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Wednesday, Nov. 16*: US-Iraq: Accommodation

For this class, read:

Maj. Niel Smith and Col. Sean MacFarland. "Anbar Awakens: The Tipping Point," *Military Review* (March-April 2008), pp. 41-52.

Austin Long, "The Anbar Awakening," *Survival* 50:2 (April-May 2008), pp. 67-94.

Douglas A. Ollivant, "Countering the New Orthodoxy: Reinterpreting Counterinsurgency in Iraq," New America Foundation, June 2011.

Additional reading:

John A. McCary, "The Anbar Awakening: An Alliance of Incentives," *Washington Quarterly* 32:1 (January 2009), pp. 43-59.

Friday, Nov. 18*: US-Iraq: Today

For this class, read:

International Crisis Group, "Loose Ends: Iraq's Security Forces Between U.S. Drawdown And Withdrawal," Middle East Report N°99, October 26, 2010.

Michael S. Schmidt, "Heat and Fasting Add to Woes of Iraqis," *The New York Times*, August 2, 2011.

Tim Craig, "In Baghdad, Control Remains Elusive," *The Washington Post*, June 15, 2011.

Additional reading:

The PBS program "Frontline" has a number of documentaries on Iraq:
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gsearch.html?q=iraq&x=0&y=0>

Bob Woodward, *The War Within* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008).

Bob Woodward, *State of Denial* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006).

Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002).

Monday Nov. 21*: US-Iraq: Doing COIN

Screening: "The War Tapes"

For this class, read:

Peter Van Buren, *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2011), pp. 1-159, 245-254.

November 23-27 Thanksgiving break

Monday, Nov. 28*: US-Afghanistan: Why

For this class, read:

Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural And Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 255-350

Additional reading:

Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011). Available free online as a PDF and for purchase as a printed book.

Wednesday, Nov. 30*: US-Afghanistan: What happened

For this class, read:

David Rohde and David E. Sanger, "How a 'Good War' in Afghanistan Went Bad," *The New York Times*, August 12, 2007.

Barnett Rubin and Ahmed Rashid, "From Great Game to Grand Bargain," *Foreign Affairs* 87:6 (Nov/Dec2008).

Bob Woodward, *Obama's Wars* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), Appendix: Obama's order to the generals, pp. 385-390.

Nir Rosen, *Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World* (New York: Nation Books, 2011), Chapter 11, pp. 439-519.

Additional reading:

Max Boot, "How to Win in Afghanistan," *The Wall Street Journal*, September 2, 2009.

Lt. Gen. David W. Barno, "Fighting 'The Other War': Counterinsurgency Strategy in Afghanistan, 2003-2005," *Military Review* (September-October 2007).

Gen. Stanley McChrystal, "COMISAF's Counterinsurgency Guidance, Aug. 25, 2009." <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2009/08/isaf-counterinsurgency-guidanc/>

Gen. Stanley McChrystal, "Tactical Directive for Afghanistan." International Security Assistance Force press release. July 6, 2009.
www.nato.int/isaf/docu/official.../Tactical_Directive_090706.pdf

Gen. David H. Petraeus, commander, International Security Assistance Force, "COMISAF Assessment," January 25, 2011. <http://www.mca-marines.org/gazette/gen-petraeus-sends-letter-troops-assessing-progress-afghanistan>

Gen. David Petraeus, "COMISAF's Counterinsurgency Guidance," Aug. 1, 2010. <http://www.isaf.nato.int/article/isaf-releases/isaf-commander-issues-updated-tactical-directive.html>

Friday, Dec. 2*: US-Afghanistan: The Future

For this class, read:

Joshua Rovner and Austin Long, "Dominoes on the Durand Line? Overcoming Strategic Myths in Afghanistan and Pakistan," The Cato Institute, Foreign Policy Briefing No. 92, June 14, 2011.

James Dobbins and James Shinn, "Afghanistan: Guidelines for a Peace Process," *Survival* 53:4 (August–September 2011), pp. 5–12.

Douglas Ollivant, "Afghanistan Has Three Wars at Once; Let's Fight the Right One," *The Washington Post*, May 20, 2011.
http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/afghanistan-has-three-wars-at-once-lets-fight-the-right-one/2011/05/16/AFk7Ay7G_print.html

Additional reading:

Austin Long, "Small is Beautiful: The Counterterrorism Option in Afghanistan," *Orbis* 54:2 (Spring 2010), pp. 199-214.

Rory Stewart, "Afghanistan: What Could Work," *The New York Review of Books* 57:1 (January 14, 2010).

Seth G. Jones, "Pakistan's Dangerous Game," *Survival* 49:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 15-32.

Seth G. Jones, "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad," *International Security* 32:4 (Spring 2008), pp. 7-40.

Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale, 2000).

Bob Woodward, *Obama's Wars* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010).

Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.

Monday, Dec. 5*: US-Afghanistan: Doing COIN

Screening: "Restrepo"

For this class, read:

The White House, "Quarterly Report on Afghanistan and Pakistan," April 2011.
Link to PDF at <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/white-house-quarterly-report-afghanistan-pakistan-april-2011/p24600>

Wednesday, Dec. 7

PRESENTATIONS

Friday, Dec. 9

PRESENTATIONS

Monday, Dec. 12

FINAL PAPER DUE

Where are we? What have we learned? Conclusions, questions.

*Readings may be updated with developing events.

(Last day of classes Dec. 13, Dec. 14-16 reading period, Dec. 17-22 exams)