

INTA 4500 B

COUNTERINSURGENCY AND SMALL WARS

Fall 2010



Dr. Margaret E. Kosal

Sam Nunn School of International Affairs

3 credits

9:05 - 11:55PM W

Ivan Allen College G17

Office hours: *TBD*

& by appointment

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Overview

This seminar will explore the structures, strategies, and major objectives of national security policy in responding to insurgencies and small wars. We will address the history, strategic and operational foundations, theory and the role of the theorist, practice and the role of the practitioner, the evolution of US foreign policy, current trends, and the future of counterinsurgency and battling small wars. Cases of counterinsurgency and small wars in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia will be examined. Guest speakers including current US military officers and a former Special Forces non-commissioned officer are anticipated. Particular attention will be given to the insurgencies in Iraq, a predominantly urban insurgency, and Afghanistan, which is largely rural. Questions to be explored include: What is insurgency and how does it differ from traditional military operations, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism? Who are the foremost counterinsurgency theorists and practitioners and why? How have insurgent strategies and tactics changed evolved and what are anticipated futures of insurgencies and counterinsurgency operations? What are the characteristics of successful insurgencies and successful counterinsurgency efforts? What are challenges for effectively implementing and executing counterinsurgency strategies and operations in the 21st century? What is the role of cultural knowledge in counterinsurgencies? What is the role or perils of technology for insurgencies and counterinsurgencies? Students will be required to make class presentations on an assigned topic, prepare an action memo collaboratively that addresses address and makes recommendations on an issue of their choosing related to current or future deterrence challenges, and participate in a National Security Council simulation.

20 August 2010

Class Requirements

- 1) Attendance & participation (10%)
- 2) Article review (15%)
- 3) Assigned presentation (20%)
- 4) Collaborative policy memo (25%)
- 5) National Security Council Simulation (15%)
- 6) Analytical Simulation Exercise (15%)

Attendance and Participation

You are expected to make reasonable efforts to attend all classes and participate actively. I recognize that both anticipated and unanticipated events may overlap with the regularly scheduled class.

Article Review

Choose one article from the optional readings or other acceptable paper related to the course (get approval *a priori*) to critically analyze and submit a 1000 (± 100) word review. Additional guidance will be distributed in class.

Article review is due no later than (NLT) 1800 Wednesday, 29 September (week 6).

Assigned Presentation

Throughout the semester, you will present (20-30 minutes) on a topic from the syllabus. Topics will be assigned during the first class. Additional guidance will be discussed in class.

Collaborative Policy Memo

These will be done in pairs, *working together*. One person will assume the role of representing national defense concerns (e.g., DoD); the other will assume the position of representing foreign policy interests (e.g., State Dept). Together you will choose a topic related to the course and generate policy recommendations. The deliverables will be (1) an individually-crafted 1 to 2-page policy info memo written from your perspective (as either representing national defense or foreign policy matters) and (2) a jointly-crafted 3 to 5-page white paper reconciling the two positions and recommending actions (such as to the National Security Council). From each pair of students, I should receive three documents. Further guidance will be distributed in class

Formatting

- Length: Indicated above.
- Font size: Maximum 12-point font, minimum 10-point.
- Margins: No larger than 1" all around.
- Grammar counts.

Each group will be responsible for a 10-15 minute presentation on their policy proposal: 5-10 minutes for the reconciled proposal and recommendations and 5 minutes for questions from the class.

Collaborative policy memo groups & topics are due NLT 0900 Wednesday, 13 October (week 8).

Collaborative policy memo is due NLT 1200 Monday, 8 November (week 12) and will be presented in class on Wednesday, 10 November (week 12).

Analytical Simulation Exercise

You will participate in an exercise modeled on analytical practices of the intelligence community. The simulation will be done in class on 1 December.

Grade Change Policy

Appeals for grade changes should be reasonable both in argument and submission time, i.e., within two weeks of return. Specific detailed information on grade change will be distributed upon return of assignments.

Late Assignment Policy

Generally, late assignments without documented excuse as outlined in Georgia Tech official policy will not be accepted. If you have a scheduling conflict, please contact me before the assignment is due.

Course Materials

Six texts are required:

1. David Galula, Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice (PSI Counterinsurgency series)
2. Thomas Rid & Thomas Keaney, Understanding Counterinsurgency (Routledge)
3. Robert Taber, War of the Flea: The Classic Study of Guerrilla Warfare (Potomac Books Inc.)
4. David Kilcullen, Counterinsurgency
5. Seth Jones, In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan
6. T.X Hammes, The Sling and the Stone

All texts are available at Engineer's Bookstore on Marietta Ave, NW.

Other short articles may be required reading; these will be announced in class and distributed or posted on the T-square course website (<https://t-square.gatech.edu>).

Additional optional course resources will be available through the T-square course website.

Academic Integrity

For all assignments, materials, and exams, you are expected to maintain the highest academic integrity.

Per the Georgia Tech Honor Code, plagiarism is an act of academic misconduct. The Georgia Tech Honor Code specifies: “Plagiarism’ is the act of appropriating the literary composition of another, or parts of passages of his or her writings, or language or ideas of the same, and passing them off as the product of one's own mind. It involves the deliberate use of any outside source without proper acknowledgment.” Plagiarism ranges from the blatant – purchasing a term paper or copying on an exam – to the subtle – failing to credit another author with the flow of ideas in an argument. Simply changing a few words from the writings of other authors does not alter the fact that you are essentially quoting from them. Paraphrasing of this sort, where you use the words of another almost verbatim without acknowledging your source, is the most common form of plagiarism among undergraduate students and academics. When you state another author’s viewpoint, theory, or hypothesis – especially when it is original or not generally accepted – you must also include a reference to the originator. In general citations are unnecessary when the information is considered common knowledge or a matter of widespread agreement or controversy.

For more information on the Georgia Tech Honor Code, please see <http://www.honor.gatech.edu>.

Accommodations for students with disabilities

Per Georgia Tech policy: if you have a significant disability, special arrangements will be made to accommodate documented needs (through the ADAPTS office). Please contact me after class or at your earliest convenience.

International Plan (IP) students

An additional assignment, a short paper of 10-15 pages (5000-7500 words) in length, is required for the IP capstone course. Additional guidance will be distributed during the semester. You will be attending a workshop run by OIE that will provide you with readings and an exercise to facilitate your writing of the paper which will ask you to reflect on the impact of your time studying and working abroad on your studies as an INTA or IAML major.

**THE SYLLABUS IS DYNAMIC AND
IS LIKELY TO BE UPDATED
THROUGHOUT THE SEMESTER.**

Course Calendar and Content

WEEK 1

25 August: Introduction; current problems, policy, doctrine, and debate

- Robert Gates [Georgetown “Beyond Guns and Steel: Reviving the Nonmilitary Instruments of American Power,” *Military Review*, Jan-Feb 2008, pp 2-9, http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20080228_art004.pdf
- Montgomery McFate, “The Military Utility of Understanding Adversary Culture,” *Joint Forces Quarterly*, 2005, 38, pp 42-28, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/1038.pdf
- David S. Maxwell, COL USA, “To Whom Should our Generals Listen? Or Who Should Control the Debate on the Nature of Future Conflicts” *Small Wars Journal*, March 2009, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/mag/docs-temp/190-maxwell.pdf>
- David E. Sanger, “Rethinking the Afghanistan War’s What-Ifs,” *New York Times*, 31 July 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/01/weekinreview/01sanger.html>
- Max Boot, “Our Enemies Aren’t Drinking Lattes,” *LA Times*, 5 July 2006, http://www.cfr.org/publication/11038/our_enemies_arent_drinking_lattes.html
- “Conflicting Objectives for U.S. in Afghanistan” Interview with Gian P. Gentile, COL USA [& UC Berkeley PhD Historian], Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Visiting Fellow, by Bernard Gwertzman, Consulting Editor, CFR, 17 August 2010, http://www.cfr.org/publication/22808/conflicting_objectives_for_us_in_afghanista_n.html
- Andrew J. Bacevich, “Let’s Beat the Extremists Like We Beat the Soviets,” *Washington Post*, 27 September 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/09/25/AR2009092502011.html>
- Aryn Baker, “Afghan Women and the Return of the Taliban,” *Time Magazine*, 29 July 2010, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2007238,00.html>
- Elizabeth Bumiller, “In Camouflage or Veil, a Fragile Bond,” *NY Times*, 29 May 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/30/world/asia/30marines.html>
- DoD Directive 3000.05 “Military Support to Security, Stability, Transition and Reconstruction Operations,” November 2005, <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300005p.pdf>
- DoD Directive 3000.07 “Irregular Warfare,” December 2008, <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300007p.pdf>

Optional:

- Robert Gates, “A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2009, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63717/robert-m-gates/a-balanced-strategy>
- Sasha Mehra, “Equal Opportunity Counterinsurgency: The Importance of Afghan women in US Counterinsurgency Operations,” U.S. Army Command and General Staff

College, January 2010, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA524128>

WEEK 2

1 September: Theory; the *American Liberation Organization*; Origin of “guerrilla”

- Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, Foreword, Introduction, and Chapters 1 & 2.
- Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, Introduction and Chapters 1-3.
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, “How The Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” *International Security* (Summer 2001).

Optional:

- Carl von Clausewitz *On War*, Chapter 26, “*The People In Arms*” (Recommend Howard & Paret translation/Oxford World’s Classics version of Clausewitz, *On War*)
- John D. Waghelstein, “Regulars, Irregulars and Militia: The American Revolution,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 1995, 6, pp 133-158.
- Thomas R. Mockaitis, “The Origins of British Counter-Insurgency,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 1990, 1, pp 209-225.
- David M. Edelstein, “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail,” *International Security*, Summer 2004, 29, pp 49-91.

WEEK 3

8 September: Mao & China; Maoists in Nepal

- Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, Chapters 3-5 and Concluding Remarks.
- Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, Chapters 4-5.
- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapters 1-4.

Optional:

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review*, 2003, 97, pp 75-86.
- Thomas Renard and Stéphane Taillat, “Between Clausewitz and Mao: Dynamic Evolutions of the Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq (2003-2008),” *Small Wars Journal*, 2008, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/111-renard.pdf>
- Thomas A Marks, *Insurgency in Nepal*, US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2003, <https://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/download.cfm?q=49>

WEEK 4**15 September:** Malaya, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and East Timor

- Rid & Keaney, Understanding Counterinsurgency, Chapter 3 & 9 (pp 120-123)).
- Kilcullen, Counterinsurgency, Chapters 3 & 4.
- Taber, War of the Flea, Chapter 9.

Optional:

- Eric P Wendt, “Strategic Counterinsurgency Modeling,” *Special Warfare*, September 2005, 18, pp 2-13.
- Timothy K. Deady, “Lessons from a Successful Counterinsurgency: The Philippines, 1899-1902.” *Parameters*, Spring 2005, 35, pp 53-68,
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/05spring/deady.htm>
- Greg Wilson, “Anatomy of Successful COIN Operation: OEF Philippines and the Indirect Approach,” *Military Review*, Nov/Dec 2006, 86, pp 2-12.
- Major General P S B Kulatunge, Sri Lanka Army, *Insurgency in a Small Country, Ethnic Revolt in Sri Lanka*, US Army War College, 2003,
<http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA415340>
- Cécile Van de Voorde, “Sri Lankan Terrorism: Assessing and Responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE),” *Police Practice & Research*, May 2005, pp 181-199.
- Jannie Lilja, “Trapping Constituents or Winning Hearts and Minds? Rebel Strategies to Attain Constituent Support in Sri Lanka,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2009, 21, pp 306-326.
- James Traub, “Inventing East Timor,” *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2000, 79, pp 74-89.
- Simon Philpott, “East Timor’s Double Life: Smells Like Westphalian Spirit,” *Third World Quarterly*, February 2006, 7, pp 135-159.
- Rajat Ganguly, “Sri Lanka’s Ethnic Conflict: At a Crossroad Between Peace and War,” *Third World Quarterly*, 2004, 25, pp 903-918.
- Ian Martin & Alexander Mayer-Rieckh, “The United Nations and East Timor: from Self-Determination to State-building,” *International Peacekeeping*, Spring 2005, 12, pp 125-145.
- Nicholas J Wheeler & Timothy Dunne, “East Timor and the New Humanitarian Interventionism,” *International Affairs*, Oct 2001, 77, pp 805-828.

WEEK 5**22 September:** Indochina/Vietnam

- Rid & Keaney, Understanding Counterinsurgency, Chapter 2, 9 (pp 114-119), & 12 (pp 160-164).
- Hammes, The Sling and the Stone, Chapter 6.
- Taber, War of the Flea, Chapters 5, 6, & 7 (pp. 111-115).

Optional:

- Kelly M. Greenhill & Paul Staniland, “Ten Ways to Lose at Counterinsurgency,” *Civil Wars*, 9, pp 402-419.

WEEK 6

29 September: No class

S.NET - Germany

Short article review due NLT 1800 Wednesday, 29 September

WEEK 7

6 October: Kashmir; Intifada, Hezbollah – Geography and Resources

- Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, Chapters 8 & 9.
- Rid & Keaney, *Understanding Counterinsurgency*, Chapter 9 (pp 119-120).
- Alexander Evans, “The Kashmir insurgency: As Bad as It Gets,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 2000, 11, pp 69-81.

Optional:

- Sumit Ganguly, “Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency,” *International Security*, Fall 1996, 21, pp 76-108.
- Simon Jones, “India, Pakistan, and Counterinsurgency Operations in Jammu and Kashmir,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 2008, 19, pp 1-22.
- Sergio Catignani, “The Strategic Impasse in Low-Intensity Conflicts: The Gap Between Israeli Counter-Insurgency Strategy and Tactics During the Al-Aqsa Intifada,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, February 2005, 28, pp 57-75.
- Ruth Margolies Beitler “The Intifada: Palestinian Adaptation to Israeli Counterinsurgency Tactics,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1995, 7, pp 49-73.
- Ryan T. Carron, *Hezbollah: Operational Art in Fourth Generation Warfare*, Joint Military Operations Department, Naval War College, 2006
<http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA463338>
- Anthony H. Cordesman, *Preliminary 'Lessons' of the Israeli-Hezbollah War*, CSIS, August 2006, <http://www.mafhoum.com/press9/284P51.pdf>

WEEK 8

13 October: No class

ISSS-ISAC

Policy memo topics due NLT 0900 Wednesday, 13 October

WEEK 9**20 October:** Latin America

- Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, Chapter 7.
- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapter 11.

Optional:

- Regina Gaillard, *Civic Action versus Counterinsurgency and Low-Intensity Conflict in Latin America*. Carlisle: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1990
- Richard Weitz, “Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Latin America, 1960-1980,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 1986, 101, pp 397-413.
- John D. Waghelstein, “Ruminations of a Pachyderm or What I learned in the Counter-Insurgency Business,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 1994, 5, pp 360-378.
- William M. Leogrande “From Reagan to Bush: The Transition in US Policy towards Central America,” *J. Latin American Studies*, 1990, 22, pp 595-621.
- Benjamin Schwarz, *American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and El Salvador: The Frustrations of Reform and the Illusions of Nation Building*, 1991, RAND report, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2006/R4042.pdf>

WEEK 10**27 October:** Al Qa’eda & Terrorism Networks

- Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, Chapters 10-11.
- Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency*, Chapter 5.
- Rid & Keaney, *Understanding Counterinsurgency*, Chapter 10.
- Michael F. Morris, “Al Qaeda as Insurgency,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, October 2005, pp 41-50, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/1039.pdf

Optional:

- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapter 8.
- Shawn Brimley, “Tentacles of Jihad: Targeting Transnational Support Networks,” *Parameters*, Summer 2006, 36, pp 30-46.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/06summer/brimley.pdf>
- Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security*, Fall 2006, 31, pp 42-78.
- John Arquilla, “The Wnd of War as We Knew It? Insurgency, Counterinsurgency and Lessons from the Forgotten History of Early Terror Networks,” *Third World Quarterly*, March 2007, 28, pp 369-386.
- Statement for the Record by Mr. Michael E. Leiter, Director of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), Hearing before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs: *Eight Years After 9/11: Confronting the Terrorist Threat to the Homeland*, 30 September 2009.
http://www.dni.gov/testimonies/20090930_testimony.pdf
(Will update as new hearings become available.)

WEEK 11**3 November:** Iraq – (re)-institutionalizing COIN within US doctrine

- Rid & Keaney, Understanding Counterinsurgency, Chapter 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 (pp 164-169), & 14.
- David Ucko, “Innovation or Inertia: Innovation or Inertia: The U.S. Military and the Learning of Counterinsurgency,” *Orbis*, 2008, pp 290-310, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/uckocoin.pdf>
- Jones, In The Graveyard of Empires, Chapters 1-4.

Optional:

- Sewall, Sarah. “Modernizing U.S. Counterinsurgency Practice: Rethinking Risk and Developing a National Strategy.” *Military Review*, September-October 2006, 86, pp 107-109.
- USIP report “U.S. Police in Peace and Stability Operations” <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr191.pdf>
- JSOU “Policing and Law Enforcement in COIN - the Thick Blue Line” <http://jsoupublic.socom.mil/publications/jsou/JSOU09-2celeskiPolicing.pdf>

WEEK 12**Policy memo due NLT 1200 Monday, 8 November****10 November: National Security Council Simulation****WEEK 13****17 November:** Afghanistan

- Kilcullen, Counterinsurgency, Introduction and Chapters 1 & 2.
- Rid & Keaney, Understanding Counterinsurgency, Chapter 17.
- Jones, In The Graveyard of Empires, Chapters 5-18 and Afterward.
- Hammes, The Sling and the Stone, Chapter 11.

WEEK 14**THANKSGIVING RECESS 24 November NO CLASS****WEEK 15****1 December:** Analytical Simulation

- Rid & Keaney, Understanding Counterinsurgency, Chapter 11.

WEEK 16**8 December:** Technology in Modern Counterinsurgency Efforts and Future War

- Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone*, Chapters 12-17.
- Noah Shachtman, “How Technology Almost Lost the War: In Iraq, the Critical Networks Are Social - Not Electronic,” *Wired*, 27 November 2007, volume 15, http://www.wired.com/politics/security/magazine/15-12/ff_futurewar

NO FINAL EXAM**One Last Thought****Collaboration, sharing ideas, etc.**

“Talk about your ideas. Help your colleagues work out their problems. Pay attention to what other people are doing, and see if you can learn something, or if you can contribute.

“Other than the mundane goal of getting your degree, you are in school to push back the frontiers of knowledge. You do this by generating and exploring new ideas. There is no way that you will ever be able to explore all of the ideas that you generate, but some of those ideas that you discard might be just what some of your colleagues are looking for.

“Human nature tends to make us want to hoard our own ideas. You have to fight against that. Human nature also tends to make us treat other people's ideas with disrespect. The closer the idea to our own area of research, the more likely some part of our brain will try to find fault with it. Fight against that even harder.

“You will find many people in academia who give in to the dark side. These Stealth Researchers never discuss what they are working on, except in vague and deceptive terms. They are experts at finding fault with the work of their colleagues. The Stealth Researcher writes papers that make very grand claims, but you can never quite figure out what they've accomplished and what they haven't. He is a master at omitting the key detail of the design or process that would enable others to follow his work. The Stealth Researcher is a knowledge diode, a roach motel for information. He has replaced the fundamental goal of discovery and publication with the twin evils of ego and empire.

“Be open about what you are working on. Be honest about what you've done, and even more honest about what you haven't. Don't ever hide an idea for fear that someone will steal it, even if you are talking to a Stealth Researcher. With patience, maybe we can cure them.”

*Prof Kristofer S.J. Pister
Electrical Engineering and Computer Science
UC Berkeley*