

INTA 4803/8803

# COUNTERINSURGENCY & SMALL WARS

Fall 2014



**Dr. Margaret E. Kosal**

Sam Nunn School of International Affairs

3 credits

3-6PM Monday

Habersham/IAC G-17

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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. Particular attention will be given to the insurgencies in Iraq, a predominantly urban insurgency; Afghanistan, which is largely rural; and challenges of insurgencies in mega-cities. Questions to be explored include: What is insurgency and how does it differ from traditional military operations, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism? 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 is the role of cultural knowledge in counterinsurgencies? Students will make decisions as a group; prepare and brief topics based on those group decisions; collaboratively develop action and info memos representing governmental entities and write a joint white paper reconciling perspectives that makes recommendations related to current or future challenges; participate in a National Security Council (NSC) simulation; and take part in an exercise modeled on analytical practices of the intelligence community.

**Learning Outcomes**

- Students will demonstrate ability to apply theoretical concepts and multiple methodologies to explain and understand outcomes related to counterinsurgencies and small wars.
- Students will understand and be able to assess relationships among organizational institutions & structures, policies, and other factors (such as history, demographics, geography, science & technology) at the local, national, regional & global level related to counterinsurgencies and small wars.
- Problem Solving in International Affairs. Students will be able to use their knowledge of international affairs in a practical problem-solving way to address issues of immediate international concern. Includes knowledge of key issues, familiarity with methods to assess solutions, data-gathering research skills through which to put different methods into place.
- Effective communication skills. Students will be able to express their arguments clearly and effectively both in written reports and in their research and oral presentations.
- Team working skills. Students will be able to work in small groups in a way that demonstrates respect for their colleagues and efficiency in working collaboratively towards projects and goals.

**Core Area/Attributes**

Social Science Gen Ed requirements:

- Learning Goal E: Social Sciences. Student will demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence social behavior.
- Learning Goal II: Global Perspectives. Student will demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence the global system.

**Class Requirements**

- 1) Attendance & Participation (10%)
- 2) Presentation (20%)
- 3) Policy Proposal
  - a. Group topic & abstract (5%)
  - b. Individual Info Memo
    - i. Draft (5%)
    - ii. Final (10%)
  - c. Group White Paper (20%)
  - d. National Security Council Briefing and Simulation (15%)
- 4) Analytical Simulation Exercise (10%)
- 5) Self-Assessment and Final Evaluation (5%)

## **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.

## **Presentation**

Throughout the semester, you will present (20-30 minutes) on a topic from the syllabus. Additional guidance and sign-up will be discussed in class.

## **Collaborative Policy Proposal & NSC Simulation**

These will be done in groups of 3 or 4, *working together*. [The final number will be dependent on final enrollment in class.] Students may assume roles representing national defense concerns (e.g., DoD); foreign policy interests (e.g., State Dept), the intelligence community (e.g., CIA, DNI), law enforcement (e.g., DOJ or FBI), homeland security (e.g., DHS), public health (e.g., CDC), commerce, or other as discussed.

As a group you will choose a topic related to the course and generate policy recommendations. 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.

The deliverables are

- (1) an individually-crafted 1 to 2-page policy info memo written from your perspective (representing national defense, foreign policy matters)
- (2) a jointly-crafted 3 to 5-page white paper reconciling the two positions and recommending actions (such as to the National Security Council).
- (3) a jointly-crafted briefing (i.e., PowerPoint file) for the NSC Simulation.

From each group of students, I will receive  $n+2$  final documents, where  $n$ = the number of students in the group. Further guidance will be distributed in class.

General formatting guidance

- Font size: Maximum 12-point font, minimum 11-point.
- Margins: No larger than 1" all around.
- Grammar counts.

Collaborative policy memo groups, proposed topics, and departments/offices/agencies to be represented in the form of a 50-100 word abstract/proposal due electronically to MEK NLT 1200 Sunday, 14 September (week 5).

Draft individual info memo due electronically to MEK NLT 0900 Wednesday, 15 October (week 9).

Final individual info memo and group white paper due electronically to MEK NLT 0900 Friday, 21 November (week 14).

Collaborative policy proposal brief due NLT 1200 Monday, 24 November (week 15) and will be presented in class on Monday, 24 November (week 15) as part of the National Security Council Simulation.

### **Analytical Simulation Exercise**

You will participate in an exercise modeled on analytical practices of the intelligence community. The exercise will be done in class on 1 December (week 16). Additional information will be distributed.

### **Self-Assessment and Final Evaluation**

Guidance will be discussed and distributed in class. Due electronically to MEK NLT 1740 Wednesday, 10 December, i.e., the Final Exam period.

### **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**

Required texts:

1. David Galula, Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice (PSI Counterinsurgency series)
2. Robert Taber, War of the Flea: The Classic Study of Guerrilla Warfare (Potomac Books Inc.)
3. James Russell, Innovation, Transformation, and War: Counterinsurgency Operations in Anbar and Ninewa Provinces, Iraq, 2005-2007
4. Gian Gentile, Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counterinsurgency
5. Linda Robinson, One Hundred Victories: Special Ops and the Future of American Warfare Hardcover
6. Ann Scott Tyson, American Spartan: The Promise, the Mission, and the Betrayal of Special Forces Major Jim Gant

7. Hannah Gurman (Editor), Hearts and Minds: A People's History of Counterinsurgency (New Press People's History) Paperback – October 1, 2013
8. David Kilcullen, Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla

Optional texts:

1. Field Manual (FM) 3-24 MCWP 3-33.5 Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies, May 2014, <http://fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>
2. David Fitzgerald, Learning to Forget: US Army Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Practice from Vietnam to Iraq
3. Seth Jones, In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan
4. T.X Hammes, The Sling and the Stone
5. David Kilcullen, The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One
6. Max Boot, The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power
7. Marcus Luttrell, Lone Survivor: The Eyewitness Account of Operation Redwing and the Lost Heroes of SEAL Team 10 (*read with #8*)
8. Ed Darack, Victory Point: Operations Red Wings and Whalers - the Marine Corps' Battle for Freedom in Afghanistan
9. Fernando Gentilini, Afghan Lessons: Culture, Diplomacy, and Counterinsurgency (Brookings-SSPA Series on Public Administration)
10. Vanda Felbab-Brown, Aspiration and Ambivalence: Strategies and Realities of Counterinsurgency and State-Building in Afghanistan

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>.

*In short: just don't cheat.*

*This is one instance when asking forgiveness rather than permission is \*not\* a good strategy.*

### **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.

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

## Course Calendar and Content

### WEEK 1

- 18 August:** Introduction; current problems, policy, doctrine, and debate
- Eliza Griswold, “Can General Linder’s Special Operations Forces Stop the Next Terrorist Threat?” *NY Times Magazine*, 13 June 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/15/magazine/can-general-linders-special-operations-forces-stop-the-next-terrorist-threat.html>
  - Gordon Adams, “The Great Security Shift: The United States wants to help rid Africa of corruption, coups, and terrorism. And it's going about it all wrong,” *Foreign Policy*, 5 August 2014, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/08/05/the\\_security\\_shift\\_us\\_military\\_africa\\_summit](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/08/05/the_security_shift_us_military_africa_summit)
  - Ben Barry, “Iraq - From Insurgency to Counter-Insurgency and Back Again,” IISS, 1 July 2014, <https://www.iiss.org/en/militarybalanceblog/blogsections/2014-3bea/july-8d3b/insurgency-to-counter-insurgency-and-back-af1a>
  - Robert Gates, “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](http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20080228_art004.pdf)
  - David S. Maxwell, “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>

### Optional:

- 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](http://www.cfr.org/publication/11038/our_enemies_arent_drinking_lattes.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>
- 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

**25 August:** Theory; the *American Liberation Organization*; Origin of “guerrilla”

- Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, Foreword, Introduction, and Chapters 1 & 2.
- Gentile, *Wrong Turn*, Preface, Intro, Chapter 1, and Afterward.
- Gurman, *Hearts and Minds*, Introduction.

Browse:

- Field Manual (FM) 3-24 MCWP 3-33.5 *Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies*, May 2014, <http://fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>

Optional:

- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, “How The Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” *International Security*, Summer 2001, pp 93-128.
- 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. Waghelein, “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

**1 September:** GT Holiday

## WEEK 4

**8 September:** Mao & China; Maoists in Nepal

- Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, Chapters 3-5 and Concluding Remarks.
- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapters 1-4.
- Russell, *Innovation, Transformation, and War*, Chapter 1.

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>
- Quy-Toan Do and Lakshmi Iyer, “Geography, Poverty and Conflict in Nepal,” *Journal of Peace Research*, November 2010, pp 735-748, <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/47/6/735.short>
- Helge Holtermann, “Relative Capacity and the Spread of Rebellion: Insights from Nepal,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, July 2014, pp 1-29, <http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/06/30/0022002714540470.abstract>
- Mani Nepal, Alok K. Bohara, and Kishore Gawande, “More Inequality, More Killings: The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal,” *American Journal of Political Science*, October 2011, 5, pp 886 - 906, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00529.x/full>

**\*\*\* Collaborative policy memo groups, departmental representation, and proposed topic** in the form of a 50-100 word abstract/proposal due electronically to MEK NLT 1200 Sunday, 14 September.

## WEEK 5

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

- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapter 9.
- Gentile, *Wrong Turn*, Chapter 2.
- Gurman, *Hearts and Minds*, Chapters 1 & 2.

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 and 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 6

**22 September:** video - *Restrepo*

- Tyson, *American Spartan*

## WEEK 7

**29 September:** Indochina and Vietnam

- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapters 5, 6, & 7 (pp 111-115).
- Gentile, *Wrong Turn*, Chapter 3.
- Gurman, *Hearts and Minds*, Chapter 3.

Optional:

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

## WEEK 8

**6 October:** Kashmir; Intifada, Hamas, Hezbollah, & Lebanon – Geography and Resources

- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapters 7 (pp 107-110) & 10.
- Alexander Evans, “The Kashmir Insurgency: As Bad as It Gets,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 2000, 11, pp 69-81.
- Kilcullen, *Out of the Mountains*, Introduction and Chapter 1.

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.
- [David E. Johnson, \*Hard Fighting: Israel in Lebanon and Gaza\*, RAND, \[http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND\\\_MG1085.pdf\]\(http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND\_MG1085.pdf\)](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1085.pdf)
- 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 9

**13 October:** GT Fall Recess - No Class

- Start reading remainder of Russell, *Innovation, Transformation, and War* and Robinson, *One Hundred Victories*.

**\*\*\* Draft individual info memo** due electronically to MEK NLT 0900, Wednesday 15 October.

## WEEK 10

**20 October:** Latin America

- Taber, *War of the Flea*, Chapter 11.
- Gurman, *Hearts and Minds*, Chapter 4.

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 11****27 October:** Al Qaeda & Terrorism Networks**GUEST LECTURER: US Army Africa** (*invited*)

- Taber, War of the Flea, Chapters 7 & 8.
- 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](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/1039.pdf)
- Robinson, One Hundred Victories.

Optional:

- 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 End 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.

**WEEK 12****3 November:** Iraq – (re)-institutionalizing COIN within US doctrine**GUEST LECTURERS: US Army 3ID** (*invited*)

- Gentile, Wrong Turn, Chapter 4.
- Gurman, Hearts and Minds, Chapters 5 & 6.
- Russell, Innovation, Transformation, and War, Chapters 3-6.
- David Ucko, “Innovation or Inertia: Innovation or Inertia: The U.S. Military and the Learning of Counterinsurgency,” *Orbis*, 2008, pp 290-310,  
<http://smallwarjournal.com/documents/uckocoin.pdf>

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 13**

**10 November:** Afghanistan- conventional and special operations forces; force structure; organizational and institutional politics (ours & theirs)

- Gentile, Wrong Turn, Chapter 5.
- Gurman, Hearts and Minds, Chapters 7 & 8.
- Tyson, American Spartan.

**WEEK 14**

**17 November:** Future of COIN; Future Trends; Technology in Modern Counterinsurgency Efforts and Future War

**GUEST LECTURER: USMC (ret) (invited)**

- Kilcullen, Out of the Mountains, Chapters 2-5 and Appendix.
- 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](http://www.wired.com/politics/security/magazine/15-12/ff_futurewar)
- Max Boot, “In Defense of the Pax Americana: Small Wars in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” from The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power, pp 336-352.

**\*\*\* Final individual info memo & group white paper** due electronically to MEK NLT 0900 Friday, 21 November.

**WEEK 15**

**24 November:** National Security Council Simulation

**\*\*\* Policy proposal brief** for NSC Simulation due electronically to MEK NLT 1200 Monday, 24 November.

**WEEK 16**

**1 December:** Analytical Simulation

Optional:

*Specific to COIN*

- David Clark, *The Vital Role of Intelligence in Counterinsurgency Operations*, March 2006, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA448457>
- Brian Jackson, “Counterinsurgency Intelligence in a ‘Long War’,” *Military Review*, January-February 2007, pp 74-85, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP1247/>

- Walter Steinmeyer, “The Intelligence Role in Counterinsurgency,” *Studies in Intelligence*, Fall 1965, [https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol9no4/html/v09i4a06p\\_0001.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol9no4/html/v09i4a06p_0001.htm)
- Charles Russell and Robert Jildner, “Intelligence and Information Processing in Counterinsurgency,” *Air University Review*, July-August 1973, <http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/aureview/1973/jul-aug/russell.html>

#### *General Intelligence Analysis*

- ODNI, *National Intelligence: a Consumer’s Guide*, 2009, [http://www.dni.gov/reports/IC\\_Consumers\\_Guide\\_2009.pdf](http://www.dni.gov/reports/IC_Consumers_Guide_2009.pdf)
- Lisa Krizan, *Intelligence Essentials for Everyone*, Joint Military Intelligence College, Occasional Paper #6, June 1999, <http://www.ndic.edu/press/8342.htm>
- CIA, *A Tradecraft Primer: Structured Analytic Techniques for Improving Intelligence Analysis*, March 2009, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/Tradecraft%20Primer-apr09.pdf>

## **NO FINAL EXAM**

**\*\*\* Self-Assessment and Final Evaluation** due electronically to MEK NLT end of scheduled final exam period.

## **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.”

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