

## **Govt 4073 – Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil War**

Prof. Joshua Goodman

Course meetings:

- Monday and Wednesday, 10:30-12; Hepburn 19

Office: Hepburn 208

Office Hours: Tuesdays 10:30-12; 2-4; and by appointment

- You can book appointments at: <https://calendly.com/joshuagoodman/office-hours>

Email: [jgoodman@stlawu.edu](mailto:jgoodman@stlawu.edu)

### **Course Description**

This course focuses on the dynamics of a form of political violence known as asymmetric or irregular warfare. With the incidence of conventional, interstate war decreasing, the study of non-conventional forms of violent conflict have taken on new significance, especially in the aftermath of 9/11 and the War on Terror. Drawing on both theory and historical case studies, the course examines the causes, dynamics, and effects of war within states (civil war), as well as conflict between states and non-state actors, including forms of violence we have labeled terrorism as well as asymmetric wars known as insurgencies.

We will examine the definitions, motives, and uses of terrorism as a weapon of warfare, including hostage-taking, airline hijacking, suicide bombing, and the challenges states face in confronting these threats. We will also consider the politics and rhetoric of terrorism as a label in contemporary security discourse.

We will examine questions of civil war, including the causes, motives for participation, patterns of civilian victimization, and the emergence of wartime orders.

We will examine theories of people's and revolutionary warfare as well as historical and contemporary approaches to countering insurgency.

The course is divided into four parts:

- Part 1: Theories and themes in the study of Irregular War
- Part 2: Terrorism
- Part 3: Civil Wars
- Part 4: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency

## Course Requirements and Expectations

There is a lot of reading assigned for this course, but each article or chapter has a purpose, and it is important to come to class prepared. Your understanding of the readings will be evaluated throughout the course, but in return, the other assessments will be light. A series of reading quizzes will be administered in lieu of a midterm or a final, and the final writing assignment will be a short case-study evaluation rather than a longer research paper. Additionally, there will be a number of short presentations throughout the semester.

The course assignments and evaluations are broken down as follows:

- In-Class Presentations:
  - o Terror Group Profile – 10%
  - o Civil War/Insurgency Profile – 10%
  - o Leading reading discussion – 10%
- Reading quizzes – 30% (2% each x15)
- Final campaign evaluation – 20%
- Participation and attendance – 20%

The course will be graded on the following scale:

95 and above	4.0	A
92-94	3.75	A
89-91	3.5	A-
86-88	3.25	B+
83-85	3	B
80-82	2.75	B-
77-79	2.5	C+
74-76	2.25	C
70-73	2.0	C-
69	1.75	D
68	1.5	D
67	1.25	D-
66	1.0	D-
65 and below	0	F

## Assignments

### Group Presentations – 30% of total

Over the course of the semester, students will give three presentations. The first will be a profile of a terrorist organization, which will be presented in the first half of the course, while the second will be a profile of a civil war in the second half. Students will work in groups of three.

The third presentation will be to lead the class in a discussion of the readings for that session.

Presentations will last about 15 minutes.

### Terror Group Profile – 10%

The first presentation will consist of a profile of a terrorist organization selected from the following list (or approved by the instructor):

- Al-Qaida
- Palestine Liberation Organization (select at least two subgroups)
- Hezbollah
- Hamas
- Al-Gama'a al-Islamyya/Egyptian Islamic Jihad
- Abu Sayyaf/Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)
- Boko Haram
- Al-Shabab
- Narodnaya Volya
- Black Hand (Serbia)
- Irish Republican Army
- ETA
- FLQ
- Tamil Tigers
- Aum Shinrikyo
- Ku Klux Klan
- Red Army Faction/Bader Meinhof
- Irgun Tzvai Leumi/Lohamei Herut Yisrael

Each group will focus on the following elements:

- History of the group including their political and social origins
- Goals
- Activities:
  - o Repertoires of violence
  - o Non-violent activities such as political participation and service provision
- Notable operations

- Accomplishments
- Current Status

*Civil War/Insurgency Profile – 10%*

The second presentation will be a case study of a civil war or an insurgency, selected from the following list (or approved by the instructor):

- Colombian Civil War
- Philippine Insurgency (choose between the independence struggle in 1899-1902 or the communist Huk Rebellion)
- Palestinian Rebellion (1936-1939)
- Greek Civil War
- Lebanese Civil War
- Iraq War (2003-2009)
- Chinese Civil War
- Salvadoran Civil War
- Rwandan Civil War
- Somali Civil War
- Sierra Leone Civil War
- Algerian War of Independence
- Malayan Emergency
- Second Palestinian Intifada (2000-2005)
- Afghan War (1979-2000)
- Syrian Civil War
- Yemeni Civil War

Groups will give a presentation on their selected conflict including the following elements

- Historical and political origins of the war
- Master cleavage and how it relates to the political origins of the war
  - o Overview of parties/organizations involved in combat
- Conduct of the conflict
  - o Technology of warfare
  - o Repertoires of violence and strategies adopted by the combatants
  - o Relations between combatants and non-combatants
  - o Emergence of wartime orders (if any)
- Resolution and post-conflict order (if applicable)

### *Reading Discussion – 10%*

Once during the semester, students will lead the class in a discussion reviewing that session's readings. Working in groups of **two**, students will summarize the readings, providing appropriate critiques where applicable, and pose a series of questions for a wider group discussion. These questions should be open-ended, drawing connections to previous topics discussed, relating it to one or more cases we reviewed earlier in the semester, or critically applying or evaluating theory.

### *Reading Quizzes – 30% (2% each x15 quizzes)*

Throughout the semester, in order to ensure students are doing the reading and to avoid concentrating too much of your final grade in the midterm and final exam, there will be 17 quizzes about that session's readings, the two lowest will be dropped. Quizzes will consist of one or two questions that ask students to summarize a reading's argument, evidence, or method. Quizzes will last about 5 minutes at the beginning of class, and students will respond in a paragraph. Each quiz will be worth 2% of the final course grade.

### *Final Campaign Evaluation – 20%*

#### **Due Wednesday, May 1**

In lieu of a final exam or research paper, students will select and evaluate a campaign of:

- A terrorist organization
- An insurgency
- A counterinsurgency

These evaluations will be due on the date of the final and should be around 6-7 pages (double spaced, Times New Roman 12-point font, 1" margins).

#### **Campaigns must be approved by the instructor no later than Friday, March 29**

These evaluations will be divided into three sections:

- Organizational profile
  - o Social and historical origins
  - o Goals
  - o Internal organization, relations with wider population
- Campaign
  - o What was the strategy adopted to achieve the objective?

- Which theories of terrorism/insurgency/counterinsurgency is this strategy consistent with (or contrary to)?
- What was the result of the strategy? What was the outcome of the campaign?
- Outcome
  - If successful – what were the primary reasons for the campaign’s success? Are there wider lessons or applications to be learned or is this outcome unique to the particular context in which this campaign was waged?
  - If failure – what were the primary reasons for the campaign’s failure? Is there something that might have been done differently to bring about a different outcome?

## **Course Policies**

### *Attendance and Participation*

Attendance is mandatory. You will be permitted **two** unexcused absences, no questions asked. Each additional absence will be penalized **two points** off of your final grade (on the 100 point scale). If students need to miss class for any reason, it is advised that they contact me at least 48 hours in advance. In certain circumstances, a student’s anticipated absence will be excused if they write an extra reading response focusing on the readings for the missed session. This must be arranged at least 24 hours beforehand.

Students are expected to come to class prepared (having completed the readings) and are encouraged to ask and respond to questions during lecture and participate in class discussions. I understand that some students are uncomfortable participating, so I will never cold-call on people (as long as they appear engaged in class). This will allow you to avoid participation if you so desire, but it will impact your grade. If you feel particularly nervous or uncomfortable talking in class, I encourage you to discuss this with me during office hours and alternative arrangements can be made. This, however, will not excuse you from group activities. I see the participation grade as a way to reward students who are engaged, so while this is slightly subjective, if students are doing the work and maintain a positive attitude, this will serve to benefit your grade.

### *Research and Writing Resources*

I am always available and happy to discuss your research and writing with you, St. Lawrence also has a writing center and opportunities for research consultation. In addition to myself, I encourage you to consult with the St. Lawrence WORD Studio for help on your papers. WORD Studio tutors are available to answer questions about the writing process, and they will also read drafts and provide feedback on what you have already produced.

WORD studio resources: <https://www.stlawu.edu/word-studio>

Additionally, you may go to the service desk at ODY Library and consult about your research topic for help finding resources.

### *Student Accessibility Services:*

If you have a disability and need accommodations, please be sure to contact the Student Accessibility Services Office (315.229.5537) right away so they can help you get the accommodations you require. If you will need to use any accommodations in this class, please talk with me early so you can have the best possible experience this semester. Although not required, I would like to know of any accommodations that are needed at least 10 days before a quiz or test, so please see me soon. For more specific information visit the Student Accessibility Services website:

<https://www.stlawu.edu/student-accessibility-services> or

[Email: studentaccessibility@stlawu.edu](mailto:studentaccessibility@stlawu.edu)

### *Academic Honesty:*

St. Lawrence University operates a zero-tolerance policy regarding academic dishonesty from its students, as do I. Cases of cheating or plagiarizing papers, arguments, or any material that is not your original thought but is attempted to be passed as your own will result in a **ZERO** for the assignments and will be referred to Academic Honor Council for further action, which will endanger your academic standing and your future at St. Lawrence University. Please note that drawing from readings or other sources in papers without citing the source is the same as attempting to pass someone's work off as your own and constitutes an act of plagiarism.

You can access the University's policies on Academic Integrity here:

<http://www.stlawu.edu/sites/default/files/resource/AcademicHonorPolicy.pdf>

### *Avoiding Plagiarism:*

- You need to cite all sources used for papers, including drafts of papers, and repeat the reference each time you use the source in your written work.
- You need to place quotation marks around any cited or cut-and-pasted materials, IN ADDITION TO footnoting or otherwise marking the source.
- If you do not quote directly – that is, if you paraphrase – you still need to mark your source each time you use borrowed material. Otherwise you have plagiarized.
- It is also advisable that you list all sources consulted for the draft or paper in the closing materials, such as a bibliography or roster of sources consulted.
- You may not submit the same paper, or substantially the same paper, in more than one course. If topics for two courses coincide, you need written permission from both instructors before either combining work on two papers or revising an earlier paper for submission to a new course.

### *Late Assignments*

The course assignments and due dates are all listed in the syllabus, so it will be difficult to secure an extension barring serious issues. Written assignments will be due by the start of class *unless otherwise noted*. Late assignments will be penalized **10% per day**.

### *Technology Policy*

It is my policy not to prohibit the use of technology in the classroom, so at the beginning the use of laptops will be permitted. If it is clear that their use becomes a distraction, I reserve the right to disallow their continued use at any point during the semester. While I cannot see your screens, it is very easy for me to tell who is paying attention and who is surfing the web – not only will it undermine your ability to learn in class, but it will also harm your participation grade. Additionally, there will be times when I ask everyone to put their laptops away to participate in discussion.

### *Office Hours:*

I encourage all students to attend office hours at least once per semester. This gives you a chance to introduce yourselves and for me to learn a bit about your interests, and for you to raise any questions or issues that may have come up during class.

My regular office hours are posted at the beginning of this syllabus, but I am often available to meet outside of these hours if you email me. It is strongly recommended that you make an appointment before coming in to ensure that I am not speaking with another student. However, no appointment is necessary and you are welcome to drop in.

## **Course Schedule:**

### **Part 1: Introduction, Concepts, and Methods**

#### **Session 1: Wednesday, January 16 – Introduction and Overview**

- Key concepts and concerns in the study of civil and irregular warfare
- Syllabus overview
- Review of assignments and preparation for group project signups

#### **Session 2: Monday, January 21 – Concepts and Definitions**

- What terrorism is and is not
- Introduction to the Study of Civil War – what makes it different from interstate war?

### Readings

- Stathis Kalyvas, “Civil Wars” in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Boix and Stokes eds. (2007), 416-434.
- Bruce Hoffman, “Defining Terrorism” Chapter 1 in *Inside Terrorism*. 1-41.

### Session 3: Wednesday, January 23 – Military Strategy and the Indirect Approach

- What is military strategy?
- What are the objectives of warfare and how do the objectives shape the conduct of war?
- And introduction to the classic works of military strategy in land warfare
  - o East versus West?
- Clausewitz’s “Trinity” – The People, The Government, The Military
- Extensions to people’s war!

#### Readings:

- Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, excerpts
  - o Book 1, Ch 1 “What is War?”
    - 1-7
    - 11
    - 21-26
  - o Book 8, “War Plans”
    - Ch 1, 3b, 6
- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, excerpts
  - o Ch 1 – “Estimates,” especially pts 17 and beyond
  - o Ch 3 – “Offensive Strategy”
  - o Ch 6 – “Weaknesses and Strengths”
- Basil Liddell Hart, *Strategy: The Indirect Approach*, excerpts
  - o Ch 19 – The Theory of Strategy
  - o Ch 21 – National Object and Military Aim
  - o Ch 23 – Guerrilla War

### Session 4: Monday, January 28 – An Introduction to Game Theory

- Violence, risk, and decision-making
- Reputation: To Bargain or not to bargain?
- The Commitment problem
- Coercion and Warfare

## Readings:

- Todd Sandler and Daniel Acre, "Terrorism and Game Theory" in *Simulation and Gaming* 34(3), 319-337
- Thomas Schelling, "The Art of Commitment," Ch 2 in *Arms and Influence*, 35-91 (selections)

## **Part 2: Terrorism and Counterterrorism**

### Session 5: Wednesday, January 30 – The politicization of terrorism

- Who is a terrorist?
- Why is terrorism used as a "label"
- A history of Terrorism
  - o Ancient
  - o Anarchism
  - o Nationalism
  - o Marxism
  - o Religious Fundamentalism

## Readings

- Lisa Stampnitzky, "The Invention of Terrorism and the Rise of the Terrorism Expert," Ch 2 in *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented "Terrorism"*, 21-48
- Natasha Lennard, "The Term 'Terrorism' is a State Weapon," *The Nation*, October 4, 2017. <https://www.thenation.com/article/the-term-terrorism-is-a-state-weapon/>
- David Neiwert, "Far Right Extremists have hatched far more terror plots than anyone else in recent years." <https://www.revealnews.org/article/home-is-where-the-hate-is/>

### Session 6: Monday, February 4 – Strategies and Ideologies of Terrorism

- The goals of Terrorism and the means to achieve them
- Terrorism as a signal of the capacity for future violence
- "Weapons of the weak"
- Religion and Terrorism

## Readings

- Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31(1), 49-80.

- David Whittaker, “Motives for Terrorism,” Ch 4 in *Terrorism: Understanding the Global Threat*, 81-96
- Bruce Hoffman, “Religion and Terrorism” Ch 4 in *Inside Terrorism*, 81-130 (skim)

### Session 7: Wednesday, February 6 – Suicide Terrorism

- The origins of suicide terrorism
- The strategic logic of suicide terrorism
- Groups that engage in suicide terrorism

#### Readings

- Bruce Hoffman, “Suicide Terrorism,” Ch 5 in *Inside Terrorism*, 131-172
- Robert Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97(3), 343-361

### Session 8: Monday, February 11 – Kidnapping and Hostage Taking

- The Rise and Fall of Airplane Hijackings
- Hostage Taking as economic bargaining
- The challenges and limitations of kidnapping

#### Readings

- Joshua Goodman and Daniel Masterson, “Understanding Violence in Hostage-Taking Situations,” Unpublished working paper, 1-44
- William Landes, “An Economic Study of US Aircraft Hijacking, 1960-1976,” *NBER Working Paper*

### **Session 9: Wednesday February 13 – No Class**

### **Session 10: Monday February 18 – No Class**

## Session 11: Wednesday, February 20 – Hostage Simulation

### In-Class Activity – Hostage negotiation simulation

- Review Goodman and Masterson
- Chris Voss, Ch 5 and 7 from *Never Split the Difference: Negotiating as if your Life Depended on It*, (Harper Collins, 2016)

## Session 12: Monday, February 25 – State Terrorism

- Governance through terror

### Readings

- R Hrair Dekmejian, “State Terrorism, Politicide, and Genocide,” Ch 7 in *The Spectrum of Terror*, 203-226

## Session 13: Wednesday February 27 – Political and Psychological Effects of Terrorism

- How does terrorism impact target populations?
- How are states likely to respond to terrorism?
- When and why do states negotiate with terrorists?

### Readings

- Richard Clutterbuck, “Negotiating with Terrorists,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 4(4), 263-287
- Augustin Echebarria-Echabe and Emilia Fernandez-Guede, “Effects of Terrorism on Attitudes and Ideological Orientation,” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 36(2), 259-265

## Session 14: Monday, March 4 – The Challenge of Counterterrorism

- What is Counterterrorism?
- Counterterrorism: War or Policing?

### Readings

- Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, “Counterterrorism,” Ch 4 in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*, 84-110

- Phillip Heymann, “Does it Help to Define our Dangers from Terrorism as ‘War?’” Ch 2 in *Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning Without War*, 19-36
- Max Abrahms, “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy,” *International Security* 32(4), 78-105

### Session 15: Wednesday, March 6 – The War on Terror – Counterterrorism after 9/11

- How has our understanding of Terrorism changed since 9/11?
- How has our approach to counterterrorism changed since 9/11
- Have these changes been useful in enhancing security?

#### Readings

- Bruce Hoffman, “Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism since 9/11,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25(5), 303-316
- Lisa Stampnitzky, “The Politics of (anti-)Knowledge: Disciplining Terrorism after 9/11,” Ch 8 in *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented “Terrorism”*, 186-200

### Session 16: Monday, March 11 – Wrapping Up: Does Terrorism Work?

- What has terrorism accomplished and what can it accomplish
- The future of counterterrorism

#### Readings

- Max Abrahms, “Does Terrorism Really Work? Evolution in the Conventional Wisdom since 9/11,” *Defense and Peace Economics* 22(6), 583-594
- Richard English, “Introduction,” *Does Terrorism Work?* 1-41

## **Part 3 – Civil War**

### Session 17: Wednesday March 13 – Marco-Explanations for Civil War

- Why do civil wars occur?
  - o Resources
  - o Ethnicity
  - o Motivations
- Types of civil war

- Distinctions between civil war and interstate wars – the breakdown of authority
  - o Trends on “types” of civil war over time

#### Readings

- Stathis Kalyvas and Laia Balcells, “International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 104(3), 415-429
- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4), 563-595
- Michael Ross, “A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9, 265-300

### **March 15-March 24 – Spring Break!!**

#### Session 18: Monday, March 25 – New Wars, Old Wars, Red Wars, Blue Wars

- The Revolution in Military Affairs
- New Wars? Is Warfare changing?
- Are old concepts and theories of war still relevant?

#### Readings

- Mary Kaldor, “Old Wars, Cold Wars, New Wars, and the War on Terror,” *International Politics* 42(4), 491-498
- Stathis Kalyvas, “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54(1), 99-118
- Antulio Echevarria, “War, Politics, and RMA – The Legacy of Clausewitz,” *Joint Forces Quarterly* (1996), 76-80

#### Session 19: Wednesday, March 27 – Why Do People Participate in Civil Wars?

- Rational approaches: Calculating Risk and Reward
- Collective Action and the freeriding problem in civil wars
- The role of ideology and agency

#### Readings

- Ted Gurr, “Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence,” Ch 2 in *Why Men Rebel*, 22-58

- Stathis Kalyvas and Matthew Kocher, “How ‘Free’ is Freeriding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem,” *World Politics* 59, 177-216
- Francisco Gutierrez Sanin and Elisabeth Wood, “Ideology in Civil Wars: Instrumental Adoption and Beyond,” *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2), 213-226

### Session 20: Monday April 1 – Civilian Victimization During Civil War

- When and why are civilians targeted by armed groups?
- Coercion and the Information Problem
- Deterrence and Compellence in Civil War

#### Readings

- Stathis Kalyvas, “Concepts,” Ch 1 in *The Logic of Violence During Civil War*, 16-31
- Yuri Zhukhov, “The Logic of Indiscriminate Violence,” Ch 2 in *A Theory of Indiscriminate Violence*, PhD Dissertation, 21-43
- Elisabeth Wood, “Variation in Sexual Violence During War,” *Politics and Society* 34(3), 307-342

### Session 21: Wednesday, April 3 – Order during Civil War

- How does local order emerge during civil war?
- Types of wartime orders
- Social Networks and Civil War

#### Readings

- Ana Arjona, “Wartime Institutions: A Research Agenda,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(8), 1360-1389
- Paul Staniland, “Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia,” *International Security* 37(1), 142-177
- Elisabeth Wood, “The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, 539-561

## **Part IV – Insurgency and Counterinsurgency**

### Session 22: Monday, April 8 – People’s War

- A Theory of Revolutionary Warfare as the basis for modern insurgency

## Readings

- Mao Zedong, *On Guerilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel Griffith

## Session 23: Wednesday, April 10 – Counterinsurgency: The Conventional Wisdom

- Contemporary theories of Counterinsurgency
  - o Hearts and Minds
  - o Winning popular support

## Readings

- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*
  - o “Counterinsurgency in Hot Revolutionary War,” Ch 5, 49-60
  - o “From Strategy to Tactics,” Ch 6, 61-74
  - o “The Operations,” Ch 6, 75-94 (skim to understand the Steps)
- *US Army Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency*, excerpts

## Session 24: Monday, April 15 – Counterinsurgency 2 – Coercion and Control

- Is counterinsurgency really “non-violent”?
- A historical look at counterinsurgency operations
  - o British
  - o French
- Counterinsurgency and Coercion
- Insurgency as a system of inputs and outputs – An alternative theory of counterinsurgency

## Readings

- David French, “Nasty, not Nice: British Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Practice, 1945-1967,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 23(4-5), 744-761
- Nathan Leites and Charles Wolf Jr, *Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts*, Advanced Research Projects Agency, US Department of Defense (1970)
  - o “An Alternative Approach: Insurgency as a System,” Ch 3, 28-47
  - o “Inflicting Damage,” Ch 6, 90-131

## Session 25: Wednesday, April 17 – Algeria, Malaya, and Vietnam: Historical Legacies

- Lessons from major conflicts
- Failure in Algeria – can positive lessons be learned?
- Success in Malaya – Hearts and Minds?
- Vietnam – What do we know? What do we forget?

### Readings

- David Galula, *Pacification in Algeria: 1956-1959*
  - o “The Struggle for Control of the Population,” Part 2, 59-138
- Choose one of the following:
  - o Karl Hack, “Iron Claws on Malaya: The Historiography of the Malayan Emergency,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 30(1), 99-125
  - o Dale Andrade, “Westmoreland was Right: Learning the Wrong Lessons from the Vietnam War,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 19(2), 145-181

## Session 26: Monday, April 22 – The Puzzles of Counterinsurgency

- Why is Counterinsurgency difficult?
- Military culture against counterinsurgency
- Balance of Interests
- Democracy and Counterinsurgency

### Readings

- Robert Cassidy, “Why Great Powers Fight Small Wars Badly,” *Military Review* (Sept-Oct 2000), 41-53
- Andrew Mack, “Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict,” *World Politics* 27(2), 175-200

## Session 27: Wednesday, April 24 – The Politics of Counterinsurgency

- How does politics impact counterinsurgency?

### Readings

- Jonathan Caverley, “The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam,” *International Security* 34(3), 119-157

- Joshua Goodman, “The Geopolitical Determinants of Counterinsurgent Adaptation: Evidence from Palestine, 1938 and 1946,” Working paper

### Session 28: Monday, April 29 – Debates and Controversies in Counterinsurgency

- Does Counterinsurgency Work?
- Critiques of the Conventional Wisdom

#### Readings

- Amitai Etzioni, “COIN: A Study of Strategic Illusion,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 26(3), 345-376
- John Nagl, “COIN Fights: A Response to Eztioni,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 26(3), 377-382
- Gian Gentile, *Wrong Turn: America’s Deadly Embrace of Counter-Insurgency*
  - o “Introduction: The Conceit of American Counterinsurgency,” 1-10
  - o “The Construction of the Counterinsurgency Narrative,” 11-34

**Final Paper: Campaign Evaluation due Wednesday, May 1 @11:59 pm**