

WWS 712 Reading Course: Nexus of Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency

Summer 2016
Princeton University
Woodrow Wilson School
Time TBD

Professor Jacob Shapiro
032 Corwin Hall
609-258-2256
email: jns@princeton.edu

This course gains understanding of the nexus between counterterrorism and counterinsurgency, specifically against current threats to the US and its interests at home and abroad. We will study the roots of terrorism, counterterrorism strategies, counterinsurgency strategies, and case studies for each. The reading course provides the student with a deeper level of understanding of why people resort to terror, and how CT and COIN strategies can combat terror as well as help solve the root causes through COIN. The curriculum will provide students an expanded knowledge base to prepare them for further summer research and travel (Israel). The course will be broken down into 6 units (2 weeks each).

The student will be expected to participate actively in class discussion weekly with the professor to demonstrate understanding of the week's assigned reading at a time/place to be determined. To complete the course, the student will write a paper (minimum 25 pages) on a particular topic within the realm of CT/COIN, likely based on travel and research on the case studies, which will heavily focus on Asia and the Middle East, including Indonesia, Malaya, Vietnam, Philippines, Lebanon, and Israel.

Course Assignments and Grading:

Discussion/Class Participation: 40 percent
Final Paper: 60 percent

COUNTERTERRORISM (CT):

Unit 1: Why Terror?

Week 1: Origins of Terror:

Focus: Examines the root causes and reasons behind why people resort to terror.

Moghadam, Assaf. *The Roots of Terrorism*. New York: Chelsea House, 2006.

Reich, Walter. Ed. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Week 2: History of Terror:

Focus: Examines the historical evolution of terrorism and the terrorist mindset.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Unit 2: How Terrorism Ends

Week 3: CT Strategies:

Focus: Examines counterterrorism measures against the rise of global terrorism including the spheres of security, prevention and suppression, legal and ethical dilemmas, and human-rights.

Ganor, Boaz. *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005.

Week 4: Understanding How Terrorism Ends:

Focus: Examine how terrorist campaigns have met their demise over the past two centuries and applies these lessons to current threats.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Unit 3: Case Studies on Terrorism

Week 5: Terrorism/CT in Israel

Focus: Examining centuries of terror within the Middle East mixed with totalistic ideology.

Pedahzur, Ami and Arie Perliger. *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Week 6: Terrorism/CT in the Middle East (Lebanon/Israel)

Focus: Further examination of terror within the Middle East mixed with an absolute ideology.

Azani, Eitan. *Hezbollah: The Story of the Party of God: From Revolution to Institutionalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

INSURGENCY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY (COIN):

Week 7: Causes of Civil War

Focus: Examining revolutionary theory and how and why they occur, often as insurgencies.

Ted Robert Gurr. *Why Men Rebel* (1971) Chapter 2.

Goodwin, "The State-Centered Perspective on Revolutions," *Chewing Sand*, 15-27.

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, *Chewing Sand*, *Chewing Sand*, 31-42.

Taylor, "Rationality and Revolutionary Collective Action, *Chewing Sand*, 43-62.

Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution, *Chewing Sand*, 63-70.

Selbin, Eric, "Agency and Culture in Revolutions, *Chewing Sand*, 71-76.

James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 75-90.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 436-455.

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War,"

Week 8: Insurgent Organizations and Violence in Civil Wars

McCormick, "People's Wars," *Chewing Sand*, 93-100.

Marighella, "Minimanual for the Urban Guerrilla," *Chewing Sand*, 101-122.

Weinstein, Jeremy, "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 598-624.

Leites and Wolf readings from *Chewing Sand* (pp. 149-206) (*scan*)

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* Cambridge (2006), 52-209 (*read/scan*)

David Keen, *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil War*,

Supplemental:

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

Mao Tse-Tung. *On Guerilla Warfare*.

Week 9: Counterinsurgency Theory & Case Study: Insurgency in Asia

Galula chapters from *Chewing Sand*, 207-240. (or his book)

Craig, "Delbruck: The Military Historian," *Chewing Sand*, 77-91. (*scan*)

Krepinevich, "The Revolution that Failed", *Chewing Sand* or Chapter 2 of his book

Case Study: Insurgency in Asia

Taruc, Luis. *He who Rides the Tiger: The Story of an Asian Guerrilla Leader*. New York: Praeger, 1967. (*Scan*)

Greenberg, "The Hukbalahap Insurrection," *Chewing Sand*, 317-374.

Week 10: Civil War Termination

Barbara F. Walter. *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton University Press, 2001). Ch 1, 2, 8. Remainder recommended.

Virginia Page Fortna. 2003. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization* 57 (2): 337-372.

Monica Duffy Toft. "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34(4):7-36.

Virginia Page Fortna. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 269-292.

Joanna Spear. 2002. "Disarmament and Demobilization." In John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens, eds. *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Lynne Rienner), pp. 141-182.

Jonathan Morgenstein. 2008. "Consolidating disarmament: Lessons from Colombia's reintegration program for demobilized paramilitaries." USIP Special Report. <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr217.pdf>.

Week 11: Case Study: Malaya and Vietnam

Focus: Examine case studies on counterinsurgency, specifically between British and US approaches in Asian countries.

Nagl, John A. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. *(read/scan)*

Komer, "The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect," *Chewing Sand*, 271-316.

Supplemental reading:

Thompson, Robert G. *Defeating Communist Insurgent: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam*, 1966

Blaufarb, "CORDS in Charge: Vietnam, 1967-1972," *Chewing Sand*, 375-394.

Week 12: The U.S. Experience and looking to the future:

Focus: Taking a critical look at our effectiveness in waging COIN.

Gentile, COL Gian. *Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counter-Insurgency*. New York: The New Press, 2013. *(skim sections)*

Biddle, Stephen, Jeffrey A. Friedman and Jacob Shapiro. "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 7-40.

Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson III, "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," 67-103

Mack, Andrew, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," 175-200

Supplemental:

Merom, Gil. *How Democracies Lose Small Wars*

Course Materials:

The following books will be used extensively and available for purchase in the bookstore/online:

CT Readings:

Azani, Eitan. *Hezbollah: The Story of the Party of God: From Revolution to Institutionalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Ganor, Boaz. *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Moghadam, Assaf. *The Roots of Terrorism*. New York: Chelsea House, 2006.

Pedahzur, Ami and Arie Perliger. *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Reich, Walter. Ed. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

COIN Readings:

Gentile, COL Gian. *Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counter-Insurgency*. New York: The New Press, 2013.

Kilcullen, David. *Counterinsurgency*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Kilcullen, David. *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Nagl, John A. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Nosorog, Dean. Ed. *Chewing Sand: A Process for Understanding Counterinsurgency Operations*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2008.

Taruc, Luis. *He who Rides the Tiger: The Story of an Asian Guerrilla Leader*. New York: Praeger, 1967.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs

Guidelines for Reading Courses: 2015-2016

A reading course can be a useful complement to the parts of the School's subject matter terrain that are covered by regular courses. But they can lead to an educational result that fails to justify their claim on the scarce resource of student and faculty time. It is therefore advisable to have clear guidelines for the development and approval of such courses.

The desiderata of a good reading course are these:

1. The subject matter is of mutual interest to the student and faculty adviser, and plays an important role in the student's program.
2. The plan of the course is carefully worked out and agreed upon between the student and faculty adviser and requires a learning effort by the student, ordinarily including a substantial paper, that is commensurate with a regular course.
3. The student's work is evaluated by the faculty adviser as carefully as work done for a regular course and is held to the same intellectual standard, whether or not the course is to be graded on a Pass/D/Fail basis.

Each of these qualities is more likely to be present if the course is developed and agreed upon well in advance. Indeed, courses proposed after the start of the term are too often hastily conceived and lead to an educational result that would be judged unsatisfactory if the faculty adviser did not feel partly responsible for this outcome. Hence, reading courses will in general be agreed to by members of the faculty and approved by the Faculty Chair of the PhD Program (or MPA/MPP Faculty Chair only in exceptional cases) only if their content and detailed work plan are defined well in advance -- ideally, prior to the beginning of the semester but in no case later than the first week of the term.

AY2015-2016

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR SUBMITTING A PROPOSAL FOR INDEPENDENT STUDY
(Reading Course)**

Name of Student: Michael Kelvington/Matthew Hammerlee Date: 10 JUN 2016

Course Title: Nexus of Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency

Instructor or Faculty Adviser: Professor Jacob Shapiro

Please attach your proposal to this form, outlining the following information:

- A. A description of the course (one page).
- B. The procedure by which your faculty adviser will be able to evaluate your performance. You must state the number of written assignments and the approximate page length of each (excluding references, notes, tables, and graphs). A single essay of at least 25 pages of text is highly recommended in a course for independent reading and research, but several papers which total at least 25 pages of text would also be acceptable. This 25-page minimum is a program requirement which individual faculty advisers may choose to enhance. The paper should be of publishable quality. If you are able to at this point, please state the central question you seek to address in your paper (or papers).
- C. A preliminary reading list (in addition to the syllabus and bibliography from the undergraduate course, if you are attempting graduate credit for an undergraduate course), extensive enough to demonstrate thoughtful planning.

This form and its attachments constitute a contract among you, your adviser, and the Faculty Chair of the PhD Program (or MPA/MPP Faculty Chair only in exceptional cases). Your adviser should initial each section (including this form) of your independent study plan.

In order for the Faculty Chair to review your request, please return this form with all attachments to Karen McGuinness, Associate Dean for Graduate Education, no later than the end of the first week of classes. No reading course proposals will be accepted after this date.

In addition to this form, the Graduate College cover sheet is required. Please print that sheet from the following web address:

http://gradschool.princeton.edu/sites/gradschool/files/proposed_reading_course_form.pdf