

**John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University**

**ISP-423 - Insurgency and Counterinsurgency
in the Greater Middle East
Fall 2006**

Fridays 2:40 PM – 4:00 PM L332

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Course Description

The Middle East is known for the large number of major defining conventional conflicts that have taken place there from the mid-20th century to the present. Many of these wars have shaped the region and moreover, they have had significant regional and global fall-out. However, we have not traditionally studied the various insurgencies and civil wars that have also taken place in the region and that have also significantly shaped the contours of the present environment. Moreover, it is my estimation that insurgencies -- or guerilla wars/small wars and low-intensity conflicts as they have variously been called -- will continue to be an important, if not a defining aspect, in the political evolution of regions such as the Middle East. This is of paramount significance for US National Security and for the various branches of the US military which are currently engaged in fighting three insurgencies emanating out of the Middle East, namely from Iraq, Afghanistan and transnational extremist movements. In this context, this course will address in detail a number of key insurgencies that have taken place in the modern Middle East. The course begins with three weeks of theoretical and comparative analysis of insurgency and counterinsurgency principles and characteristics. It then proceeds to explore the outbreak and impact of anti-colonial insurgencies in early 20th century Middle Eastern history. The subsequent weeks approaches insurgency in the Middle East through the use of case studies and comparative cases. During some weeks we will address two or more insurgencies in depth and compare and contrast their origins, modus operandi and results. In other weeks we will take one case and explore it in depth. The course ends with the defining U.S. post-Vietnam conflict: the Iraqi insurgency.

Requirements:

1. Students must attend all classes and participate in discussions based on the readings: 10% of grade.
2. Written assignments will amount to a total of 22 pages. See 3, 4, and 5 below.
3. There will be a mid-term take-home exam in which two questions must be answered (3 pages each) out of six questions provided. (20% of the grade)
4. Two short assignments of 3 pages each will be expected in the first and final stages of the semester. The first will deal with the theories and principles of Insurgency and the second with the US counterinsurgency in Iraq. (20% of the grade)
5. A 10-page paper is required and due January 12, 2007 on an insurgency or set of insurgencies or a counterinsurgency (ies) that have occurred in the region. Students may address irregular warfare in areas not touched upon in class, such as Chechen or Kashmiri insurgencies, after consultation with the instructor. If doing a case study, the paper must address and assess the following points:
 - a. What type of insurgency is it? What are its characteristics? What are the goals? Is the insurgency firmly anchored ideologically?
 - b. What kind of insurgency is it organizationally? What kind of strategy is it following?
 - c. What kind of physical and demographic environment is the insurgency dealing with? Is the terrain conducive to effective insurgency? Is it an urban or rural insurgency? Or is it a mix of the two? What kind of popular support does it have?
 - d. What is the regional and international environment or context in which the insurgency is taking place? Does it have much international support?
 - e. Is the insurgency factionalized/fractionalized? If so what impact does this have on the effectiveness of the insurgency?

If, however, a paper compares and contrasts two or more insurgencies, it must also use the framework established in the six areas above. (50% of the grade)

Required Readings:

The required text is Bard O'Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism; From Revolution to Apocalypse*, 2nd edition, revised, Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005. It will be available for purchase from The Harvard Coop, and one or more copies will be on reserve in the KSG Library.

Some readings will be in course packets purchased from the Course Materials Office (CMO) and on reserve in the library.

Other readings will be on-line, and some of those will be accessible only through the class page on the KSG Intranet. KSG students have access to the class pages; cross-registered students must request a KSG account in order to have access to the class page.

Class Page

Communication with the class regarding announcements, readings, etc. will be made through the class page.

If you are not a KSG student and need access to the course website, go to the KSG home page at <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/>. Select Login. Select Cross registered students and auditors needing accounts. Complete the online form (Please double-check the spelling of your email address). At the bottom of the form, make sure you check the box(es) for the course(s) that you are taking. Once your account has been approved and created, you will receive an email with your username and password.

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Course Outline

September 15 -- Week 1: Insurgency theory and practice in historical and comparative context I

Theme: *Overview, What is insurgency? Politicized Language & Definitions, Historical Evolution, Types and Styles of Insurgency Warfare*

Readings: George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language,"
<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/orwell46.htm>

Confucius, "Rectification of Names," from *The Analects*, Book 13, Verse 3
http://www.analects-ink.com/mission/Confucius_Rectification.html

Ian Beckett, 'The Future of Insurgency,' *Small Wars and Insurgency*,
Vol.16, No.1, (March 2005), pp.22-36.

Bard O' Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism: from Revolution to Apocalypse*,
(2nd edition revised), Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 (pp.1-92). (required text)

September 22 -- Week 2: Insurgency theory and practice in historical and comparative context II & Mini-Case Studies of Successful out of region Insurgencies

Themes: (1) *Characteristics/Requirements for Insurgency*; (2) *What the theorists and practitioners have written*; (3) *Mini-case studies of successful out of region insurgencies: Spanish Guerillas; Michael Collins and the IRA, 1919-1921*; (For mini-case studies I will provide Class Power Point Lesson Plan)

Readings: Bard O' Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism: from Revolution to Apocalypse*, Chapters 5, 6, 7, (pp. 93-154). (required text)

W. H. Hessler, 'Guerilla Warfare is Different,' in *Studies in Guerilla Warfare*,
United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, MD., 1964, pp. 9-21.

Edward Katzenbach and Gene Hanrahan, 'The Revolutionary Strategy of Mao Tse-Tung,' in Franklin Mark Osanka (ed.), *Fighting Communist Guerilla Movements, 1941-1961*, New York: Free Press, 1962, pp.131-146.

Tse-Tung, Mao, "The Three Stages of the Protracted War," in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Voices of Terror*, New York: Reed Press, 2004, pp. 352-383.

September 29 -- Week 3: Counterinsurgency theory and practice in historical and comparative context I

Themes: *What is counterinsurgency, what are its best practices & principles, and address comparative national approaches; Mini-case studies of successful COIN campaigns*

Readings: Bard O' Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism*, Chapter 8, (pp.154-197). (required text)

Schaffer, Ronald, "The 1940 Small Wars Manual and the 'Lessons of History,'" *Military Affairs*, 36(2), (Lexington: Society for Military History, © 1972), pp. 46-51

Staff of the United States Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual: United States Marine Corps*, 1940, (Washington: United States Marine Corps © 1940), pp. 1-8, 11-32.

Colonel C. E. Caldwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 3rd Edition, read Douglas Porch, 'Introduction, pp. v-xviii; and Chapter I, 'Small Wars, pp.21-24, chapter II, 'Causes of Small Wars...' pp. 25-33.

Sir Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966, Chapter 4: 'Basic Principles of Counter-Insurgency,' pp.50-62; Chapter 5: 'The Government Cause,' pp. 63-69.

Rod Thornton, 'The British Army and the origins of its minimum force philosophy,' *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol.15, No.1 (Spring 2004), pp. 83-106.

S. Kalev, 'Best Practices in Counterinsurgency,' *Military Review* 85 (May-June 2005), pp.8-12. URL: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/sepp.pdf>

October 06 -- Week 4: Emergence of Modern Insurgency in the Middle East as a form of anti-Colonial Struggle

Themes: *Emergence of pre-nationalist and anti-colonial 'resistance' insurgencies in early 20th century Middle Eastern history*

Readings: George Orwell, "Shooting an Elephant," 1936
[www.george-orwell.org/Shooting an-Elephant/0.html](http://www.george-orwell.org/Shooting_an-Elephant/0.html)

T. E. Lawrence, 'The Evolution of a Revolt,' CSI Reprint, Command and General Staff College. URL: <http://www-cgsc.army.mil/carl/resources/csi/Lawrence/lawrence.asp>

Mark Jacobsen, 'Only by the Sword: British Counterinsurgency in Iraq, 1920,' *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol.2, No.2, August 1991, pp. 323-363.

John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency: From Palestine to Northern Ireland*, New York: Palgrave, 2002, Chapter 1: 'At War With Zion,' pp. 2-30.

October 13 -- Week 5: Wars of National Liberation: The Algerian War of Independence and the Palestine Liberation Organization as Case Studies (124 pp.)

A. The Algerian War of National Liberation

Themes: (1) *An examination of origins, motivations, goals, strategies, operational and tactical methods of Algerian and Palestinian insurgencies and their environments;* (2) *Why did the Algerians succeed and the Palestinians fail?*

Readings: Robert Asprey, *War in the Shadows: The Guerilla in History*, New York: William Morrow & Co, 1994, pp.657-684.

Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*, London: Pan Macmillan, 2002, pp.23-79.

B. The PLO

Readings: Musa Budeiri, 'The Palestinians: Tensions Between Nationalist and Religious Identities,' in James Jankowski and Israeli Gershoni (eds.), *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, pp.191-206.

Hillel Frisch, 'Debating Palestinian Strategy in the al-Aqsa Intifada,' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol.15, No.2, (Summer 2003), pp.61-80.

James Miskel, 'The Palestinian Intifada: An Effective Strategy?' *World Policy Journal*, (Winter 2004/05), **vol. 21, issue 4**, pp.48-55.
<http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.epnet.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=16693180&scope=site>

October 20 -- Week 6: Marxist, Separatist and Ethnic Insurgencies: Dhofar/Oman, PKK/Turkey, ELF and EPLF/Ethiopia as Case Studies

A. Revolutionary and Separatist War in Dhofar/Oman

Themes: *The Emergence of Marxist and Ethno-separatist insurgent movements in the Middle East and the reasons for success and failure.*

Readings: Bard O' Neill, 'Revolutionary War in Oman,' *Insurgency in the Modern World*, Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1980, pp.213-234.

John Pimlott, 'The British Army: the Dhofar Campaign, 1970-1975,' in Ian Beckett and John Pimlott (eds.), *Armed Forces and Modern Counter-Insurgency*, New York: St.Martin's Press, 1985, pp.16-45.

B. The Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey

Readings: Kemal Kirisci and Gareth Winrow, 'Introduction,' in *The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of Trans-Ethnic Conflict*, London: Frank Cass, 1997, pp.1-30; 119-133.

Nur Bilge Criss, 'The Nature of PKK Terrorism in Turkey,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol.18, No.1, January-March 1995, pp.17-37.

C. ELF & EPLF in Ethiopia/Eritrea

Readings: Christopher Clapham, 'Introduction: Analyzing African Insurgencies,' in Christopher Clapham (ed.), *African Guerillas*, Oxford: James Currey, 1998, (DT365.8.A37), pp.1-18.

David Pool, 'The Eritrean People's Liberation Front,' in Christopher Clapham (ed.), *African Guerillas*, Oxford: James Currey, 1998, pp.19-35.

October 27 -- Week 7: Islamist Insurgencies I: The Nationalist Variants

Themes: *Addressing and comparing/contrasting the origins, goals, tactics and evolution of three national Islamist insurgencies in the region; what is their strategic doctrine? Are they more in the line of terror organizations than insurgent organizations and if so why?*

A. Islam and Insurgency:

Themes *Does Islam have a theory or theories of insurgency? The development of insurgency theory and doctrine by Islamist groups in the Middle East*

Readings: Mohammed Hafez, "Political Exclusion in the Muslim World," in *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp.27-70.

Michael Knapp, 'The Concept and Practice of Jihad in Islam,' *Parameters*, (Spring 2003), URL: <http://article-www.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/03spring/knapp.pdf> (online)

B. Hezbollah in Lebanon

Readings: Read articles on the Israeli-Hezbollah War of July-August 2006, American and European newspapers are on-line, e.g. *Washington Post*, *Newsday*, *Knight-Ridder newspapers*, *Financial Times*, *Guardian*, *The Economist*. These are the best sources. Make sure you read them as there will be class discussion and assignment on this war. Much of the lesson plan for the section on Hezbollah will focus on the war of July-August 2006.

Martin Kramer, 'Hizbullah: The Calculus of Jihad,' in *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1996, pp.209-230.

Augustus Richard Norton, 'Hizbullah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon,' *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.30, No.1 (Autumn 2000), pp.22-35.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezp1.harvard.edu/view/0377919x/di020211/02p01053/0>

Al Venter, 'Hezbollah Defies Onslaught,' *International Defense Review*, No.5, (May 1996), pp.24-29.

Brendan O'Shea, 'Israel's Vietnam,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol.21, No.3, (1998), pp.307-319.

C. Islamist Insurgency in Algeria and Egypt in the 1990s

Readings: O. Peter St. John, 'Algeria: A Case Study of Insurgency in the New World Order,' *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol.1, No.2, (autumn 1996), pp.196-219.

Lawrence Cline, 'Egyptian and Algerian Insurgencies: A Comparison,' *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol.9, No.2, (Autumn 1998), pp.114-133.

Mamoun Fandy, 'Egypt's Islamic Group: Regional Revenge?' *Middle East Journal*, Vol.48, No.4, (Autumn 1994), pp.607-625.

November 03 -- Week 8: Islamist Insurgencies II: Al Qaeda and Transnational Jihadist Insurgency

Themes: *The Origins, Goals and Evolution of Transnational Jihadist Insurgency and the evolution their strategic doctrines as posted on the web with a focus on Mustafa Abd al-Qader Setmariam Nasar*

Readings: Alan Richards, 'Socioeconomic Roots of Middle East Radicalism,' *Naval War College*, Vol. LV, No.4, (Autumn 2002), pp.23-38.
<http://search.ebscohost.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=8561301&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

Christopher Henzel, 'The Origins of al Qaeda's Ideology: Implications for US Strategy,' *Parameters*, Vol. XXXV, No.1, 2005, pp.69-80.
URL: <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/05spring/henzel.pdf>

Quinton Wicktorowicz, 'A Genealogy of Radical Islam,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2005, Vol.28, No. 2, pp.75-97.
<http://www.metapress.com/openurl.asp?genre=article&eissn=1521-0731&volume=28&issue=2&epage=75>

Ahmed S. Hashim, 'Al-Qaida: Origins, Goals, and Grand Strategy,' in David Kamien (ed.), *The McGraw-Hill Homeland Security Handbook*, New York: McGraw Hill, 2006, pp.9-36.

Mark Danner, 'Taking Stock of the Forever War,' *New York Times Magazine*, 4 (September 2005), pp. 46-53, 68, 86-87.

Michael Morris, "Al Qaeda as Insurgency,"
http://www.army.mil/professionalwriting/volumes/volume3/december_2005/12_05_1_pf.html

November 10: Veterans' Day – no class

November 17: -- Week 9: Superpowers in Insurgency and Counterinsurgency I: The Soviet Union in Afghanistan

Themes: *Origins of Soviet Invasion/Goals; Insurgent origins, goals and tactics and why the Soviets failed.*

Readings: William Maley, *The Afghanistan Wars*, New York: Palgrave, 2002, pp.5-36.

C. J. Dick, 'Mujahideen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War,' *Conflict Studies Research Centre*, January 2002. URL: www.da.mod.uk/CSRC/documents/Russian/A102/file

Lester Grau and Michael Gress, *The Soviet-Afghan War: How a Superpower Fought and Lost*, (Russian General Staff), Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2002, pp.53-73.

General Mohammad Yahya Nawroz and LTC (Ret.), Lester Grau (U.S. Army), 'The Soviet War in Afghanistan: History and Harbinger of Future War?' *Foreign Military Studies Office*, Fort Leavenworth, <http://www.bdg.minsk.by/cegi/N2/Afg/Waraf.htm>

J. William Derleth, 'The Soviets in Afghanistan: Can the Red Army Fight A Counterinsurgency War?' *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol.15, No.1, (Fall 1988), pp.33-54.

November 23-24: Thanksgiving Weekend – no class

December 01: Week 10: Superpowers in Insurgency and Counterinsurgency II: United States and the Insurgency in Iraq

Themes: *Origins, Goals, and Evolution of Insurgency; nature of Iraqi insurgency; strengths and weaknesses*

Readings: Ahmed S. Hashim, "Origins and Motivations of the Insurgency," in *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006, pp.59-123.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, National Security Research Division, 2004.

URL: http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP127/index.html

Zaki Chehab, *Inside the Resistance: The Iraqi Resistance and the Future of the Middle East*, New York: Nation Books, 2005, pp.1-32.

Hashim, Ahmed S. 'The Insurgency in Iraq,' *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol.14 (Autumn 2003), pp. 1-22.

Chris Parenti, *The Freedom: Shadows and Hallucinations in Iraq*, New York: The New Press, Chapter 5: 'Meeting the Resistance,' pp.77-98.

Metz, Steven, 'Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq,' *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27(Winter 2004), pp. 25-36.

URL: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/mcfate3.pdf>

December 08 -- Week 11: Superpowers in Insurgency and Counterinsurgency III: United States and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq/ Wrap-up and Conclusions

Themes: *The successes and failures of U.S. Political Goals and COIN in Iraq between 2003 and 2006; how far has the U.S. applied effective COIN measures; where is Iraq headed and what can the U.S. do?*

Krepinevich, Andrew F., 'How to Win in Iraq,' *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2005. <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84508/andrew-f-krepinevich-jr/how-to-win-in-iraq.html>

Colonel James Greer, "Operation Knockout: COIN in Iraq," *Military Review*, November-December 2005, pp.16-19. usacac.army.mil/CAC/milreview/download/English/NovDec05/greer.pdf.

Brigadier Nigel Aylwin-Foster, 'Changing the Army for Counterinsurgency Operations,' *Military Review*, (November-December 2005). URL: <http://usacac.leavenworth.army.mil/CAC/milreview/download/English/NovDec05/aylwin.pdf>

Peter Galbraith, "The Mess," *New York Review of Books*, Vol.53, No.4, March 09, 2006 <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/18771>

"How to do Better: American Military Tactics," *The Economist*, December 14, 2005, http://www.economist.com/world/PrinterFriendly/cfm?story_id=5300181

Jacob Vest, "Willful Ignorance: How the Pentagon sent the army to Iraq without a counterinsurgency doctrine," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July-August 2005, pp.40-48 @ http://www.thebulletin.org/print.php?art_ofn=ja05vest