**THE FLETCHER SCHOOL**

DHP P243 SPRING 2018

Monday 3:20 to 5:20 p.m.

**PROFESSOR RICHARD H. SHULTZ**

Lee E. Dirks Professor

Director, International Security Studies Program

Office Hours: M & W, 11am -12pm (by appointment)

Cabot 609C; 617-627-3120

Richard.Shultz@tufts.edu

**Teaching Associate: Phoebe donnelly**

Phoebe.Donnelly@tufts.edu

**SEMINAR ON INTERNAL CONFLICT AND WAR**

**Armed Groups, Irregular Warfare Challenges, and U.S. Strategies for Responding**

**Seminar Focus and Learning Objectives**

Instability, conflict and irregular warfare within states due to burgeoning challenges posed by various types of non-state armed groups have proliferated in number and importance since the Cold War ended and in the aftermath of 9/11 and the Arab Spring. With the spread of globalization, the technological shrinking of the world and interdependence of states and regions, internal conflicts and wars have taken on new transnational dimensions with far-reaching consequences for international security. This seminar examines the patterns and evolution of internal wars and the proliferation of armed groups, as well as different operational level strategies developed by the U.S. to meet and manage these challenges.

Armed groups employ irregular warfare (IW) strategies and unconventional, traditional, and even catastrophic means to undermine the legitimacy of state actors and to erode their will and influence. As the nature of warfare changes, so too must our understanding of it. The traditional understanding associated with a state-centric security paradigm will have to be broadened. This seminar examines the complex and diverse nature of armed groups within the context of an irregular warfare security paradigm. The seminar assesses the challenges armed groups and irregular warfare pose to security and stability of states. The seminar has the following learning objectives:

* Understand the nature of the 21st century international security environment and the context in which armed groups challenge the sovereignty, legitimacy and viability of nation states.
* Evaluate how the international security paradigm has changed from a state-centric model to a complex chessboard on which armed groups employ an array of irregular means to undermine the power of states.
* Investigate the weak and fragile state framework and its utility for our analysis of internal conflict and armed groups.
* Analyze irregular warfare as the strategy of choice of non-state armed groups in their battle to win the loyalty of and/or coercive control over relevant populations to undermine state authority and political legitimacy.
* Explore the gender dynamics of armed groups as a way to better understand the categorization, internal dynamics, external relationships, and tactics of these organizations.
* Assess armed groups as a category of non-state actor that consists--at a minimum--of four subtypes: insurgents, terrorists, international organized crime, and militias.
* Identify the characteristics and interconnections that these four types of armed groups share as well as the ways in which they differ from one another. Introduce a framework for profiling non-state armed groups based on seven characteristics.
* Describe the major strategic challenges that armed groups and irregular warfare challenges have posed to U.S. foreign and national security interests in the 21st century.
* Examine and evaluate operational level strategies for countering irregular warfare challenges that the U.S. has developed since 9/11. Do so through the following five case studies focused on counterinsurgency; counterterrorism; direct action raids; unconventional warfare; and crisis management of terrorist attacks.

**Seminar Structure and Organization**

In terms of scope, the syllabus is divided into five major parts. Each of the five parts is comprised of one or more sub-sections.

*Part I* begins with an overview of the changing nature of warfare and of the stability of states within the context of international relations in the late 20th and early 21st century. *Part I* is divided into the following two sections that survey these developments. *Section A* begins by examining how the changing conduct of war has been assessed in studies by four specialists. This section will also examine trends and patterns of post-Cold War and post-9/11 internal conflicts. *Section B* focuses on frameworks used to describe weak, fragile, and failing states and how these frameworks help explain the context surrounding internal conflict and irregular war. This will include attention to the evolution of safe havens and what constitutes ungoverned territory.

*Part II* examines those global developments and conditions that have helped facilitate the threats posed by armed groups through the use of irregular warfare strategies. *Part II* is divided into two sections. *Section A* identifies key developments that have contributed to the empowerment of 21st century armed groups. We will also introduce a new tool in understanding internal conflicts by examining armed groups through the lens of gender. *Section B* identifies key debates related to the causes of internal conflict and reviews the different categories of proposed causes.

*Part III* examines the term “armed groups” and how it has come to increasingly be employed by academic and policy analysts to describe different types of non-state actors who employ irregular warfare strategies to challenge the legitimacy and authority of states. *Part III* is divided into two sections. *Section A* describes the concept “armed group” and identifies common characteristics that many armed groups share. *Section B* proposes a classification or taxonomy of armed groups that divides them into four subtypes--insurgents, terrorists, international criminal organizations, and militias. Each subtype will first be described. Then we will highlight how armed groups are dynamic actors capable of transforming and morphing from one subtype into another.

*Part IV* proposes a framework for profiling non-state armed groups based on seven characteristics. Little exists in the academic literature with respect to frameworks that can be used to develop profiles or narratives of armed groups. Part IV is divided into two sections. *Section A* describes the framework for developing armed group profiles or case study narratives based on seven interrelated variables. *Section B* highlights each of the seven characteristics and suggests questions to address and information to collect on each characteristic to produce an armed group profile.

*Part V* examines the ways in which the United States has engaged in irregular warfare operations since the attacks on September 11 and strategies it has employed. Part V begins with an overview presentation of “21st Century Irregular Warfare: Theory and Practice,” with particular attention to identifying specific U.S. operational-level strategies that have been developed for responding to the challenges posed by armed groups. This will be followed by an examination of five case studies of selected operations based on these strategies. The case studies focus on: counterinsurgency; counterterrorism; direct action raids; unconventional warfare; and crisis management of terrorist attacks.

**SEMINAR STUDENT EVALUATION AND PARTICIPATION**

Students are expected to produce one main deliverable for this course which is a research paper based on or related to one of the topics examined during the semester.

Successful assignments are 1) analytical rather than descriptive; 2) utilize the literature presented in the readings and/or class presentations, as appropriate; and 3) adhere to the time limitations and formatting requirements set forth below.

Class participation also contributes towards the final grade. A student will *not* be marked down for non-participation. However, those who actively participate and are in-between grades will be rewarded.

**RESEARCH PAPER**

Given the multitude of research interests in the class, students can select their paper topic to best address their research focus. I am happy to help refine topics during office hours and strongly encourage you to speak with me about your paper. The body of the paper should be 25-30 pages, double-spaced, 12-point font, with no less than one-inch margins. It is expected that all papers will be properly referenced, paginated and have a bibliography. Citations may be via footnotes or endnotes. Please refer to the Chicago Manual for the correct format. The paper is due at the last class meeting. The paper can serve as the basis for a student’s capstone.

**READINGS**

Under each topic heading on the following pages, you will find a list of suggested readings. They are all available electronically in CANVAS. It is important that you come to class prepared for discussion based on the readings. They will also serve as resources for your research papers.

**SEMINAR MEETING SCHEDULE AND TOPICS**

**I. The Changing Nature of Warfare And of States**

**(2 seminar meetings) – Jan. 22, 29**

War in modern times has been understood as an armed conflict resulting from the clash between independent states with different interests at stake. Rousseau theorized that this was a necessary outcome in an international system that lacked governance and enforceable laws. The post-World War II study of war within the context of international relations reinforced this argument through the writings of realists and neo-realists. However, since 1945, incidents of interstate wars have declined while intrastate wars have proliferated. This has particularly been true in the aftermath of the Cold War and in the shadow of 9/11 and the Arab Spring. Part I is divided into the following two sections that survey these developments.

1. **The Changing Nature of War**

*Section A* begins by examining how the changing conduct of war has been assessed in studies by four specialists: Martin Van Creveld, K. J. Holsti, Mary Kaldor, and Rupert Smith. Each is concerned with understanding why and how war has undergon a major transformation since the end of the Cold War from the predominance of interstate wars to intrastate wars. They seek to describe and explain intrastate war by addressing the following questions: What is intrastate war about today? What is it being fought for? How is it being fought? Where is it being fought? Who are the actors engaging in intrastate war?

Having examined the theoretical arguments that describe why and how war has undergone a major transformation since the end of the Cold War, we will next look at trends and patterns of internal war. In doing so, we will examine the following questions about internal wars: Are they increasing or decreasing? Are these wars more or less deadly? Who is doing the fighting and dying? Where are they taking place?

Readings

* Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: Free Press, 1991), ch. VII.

* K. J. Holsti, *The State, War and the State of War,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, chs. 1-2, 4-6.
* Mary Kaldor, “In Defence of New Wars,” *Stability* (No. 4, 2013), pp.1-16.
* Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (New York: Penguin, 2006), introduction and conclusion.

* Stathis Kalyvas, “’New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54 (October 2001), 99-118.
* Richard Shultz, “Changing Patterns of Conflict,” *Security Force Assistance and Security Sector Reform* (Tampa, FL: USSOCOM/JSOU Press, 2013), pp. 29-44.
* Sebastian von Einsiedel, “Civil War Trends and the Changing Nature of Armed Conflict,” *UNU-CPR Occasional Paper 10* (March 2017).
* Barbara Walter, “The New New Civil Wars,” *Annual Review of Political Science* ((2017), pp. 469-486.

1. **The Changing Nature of States**

*Section B* focuses on frameworks used to describe weak or failing states and how these frameworks help us understand the context surrounding internal conflicts today. There is a special emphasis on The Fund for Peace Fragile State Framework, as it is one of the most sophisticated frameworks for understanding state weakness. While the Fragile State Framework is a useful analytic tool it has its limitations. Specifically, it has proven limited in terms of predicting the outbreak of conflict because of the existence of certain factors, specifically human agency, that scholars have been unable to measure consistently. We also examine alternative ways of viewing fragile states and familiarize students with criticisms of the failed state concept.

The phenomenon of “ungoverned space” also makes states susceptible to internal conflict. We will explore this characteristic of state weakness as well, and why certain groups are able to form and thrive in this context.

* The Fund for Peace, “Fragile State Index 2017,” and The Fund for Peace, “Conflict Assessment Framework Manual.”
* Charles T. Call, “The Fallacy of the ‘Failed State,’” *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 8 (December 2008): 1491–1507.
* OECD, “Fragile States 2013: Resource Flows and Trends in a Shifting World,” 11-27.
* Querine Hanlon, Richard Shultz, Roy Godson, and Samantha Ravich, “States in the 21st Century,” *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 4, no.1, 2012: 9-31.
* Angel Rabasa and John E. Peters, *Ungoverned Territories: Understanding and Reducing Terrorism Risks,* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2007), pp. 1-32.
* Cristiana C. Brafman Kittner, “The Role of Safe Havens in Islamist Terrorism,” Terrorism and Political Violence (No. 3, 2007), pp. 307–329.
* Rem Korteweg, “Black Holes: On Terrorist Sanctuaries and Governmental Weakness,” Civil Wars ((March 2008), pp.60–71.
* Richard Shultz, *Security Force Assistance and Security Sector Reform* (JSOU Report 13-5, September 2013), pp. 15-27.
* PowerPoint Presentation: “Safe Havens and Ungoverned Territory: From Weak States to European Cities.”

**II. Global Trends, Gender Analysis, And The Causes Of Internal War**

**(2 seminar meetings) – Feb. 5, 12**

Before the Cold War ended, it was discernible that non-state actors were of growing in importance in an evolving international security environment. By the end of the 1990s, U.S. government agencies, public policy centers, and academic specialists were, to varying degrees, highlighting the impact of non-state actors on stability and conflict. A common theme running through these studies was that non-state actors were proliferating in number and importance. And within this context, political violence was pitting states against non-state armed groups. In the period since 9/11 and the Arab Spring a discernable escalation has taken place in the number and intensity of internal wars as was illustrated in Part I.

Part II of the syllabus will: describe the nature of the global security environment of the early 21st century and identify key developments that have contributed to the empowerment of armed groups. We will also introduce a new tool in understanding internal conflicts by examining armed groups through the lens of gender. Finally, Part II will present an overview of the causes of internal conflict.

**A. Globalization, Gender Analysis and Internal Conflicts**

In this section, we examine the global environment in which armed groups operate and increasingly challenge the capacity, authority, and legitimacy of states. Armed groups have exploited the interconnectedness of an increasingly globalized world. The first set of readings examines how globalization, information age technologies, and network-based organization has empowered Post-Cold War armed groups.

Gender analysis is another way to examine the context where armed groups operate and employ power. We will discuss how this tool can assist us in better understanding armed groups. The readings provide an overview of the types of gendered patterns one could examine in situations of internal conflict and provide guidance on using gender analysis as a tool in understanding conflict dynamics.

*Globalization, Information Age Technologies, and Network-Based Organization*

* Querine H. Hanlon, “Globalization and the Transformation of Armed Groups” in *Armed Groups: Studies in National Security, Counter-terrorism, and Counterinsurgency,* Jeffrey Norwitz, ed. (Newport: Naval War College Press, 2008), pp. 137-147.
* Norrin M. Ripsman and T. V. Paul, “Globalization and the National Security State: A Framework for Analysis,” *International Studies Review* 7 (2005): 199-227, specifically, pp. 199-205.
* Michele Zanini, “Middle Eastern Terrorism and Netwar,” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (1999), pp.247-256.
* Stanley, McChrystal, It Takes a Network: The New Frontline of Modern Warfare,” Foreign Policy (February 21, 2011).
* Martin Rudner, “Electronic Jihad: The Internet as Al Qaeda’s Catalyst for Global Terror,” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (No. 1, 2017), pp.10-23.
* Gabriel Weimann, “Terror on Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube,” Brown Journal of World Affairs (Spring/Summer 2010), pp. 45-54.
* Gabriel Weimann, “Going Dark: Terrorism on the Dark Web,” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (No. 3, 2016), pp.195-206.

*Gender Analysis*

* Carol Cohn, “Women and Wars: Towards a Conceptual Framework,” in *Women & Wars* ed. Carol Cohn, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013, pp. 1-35.
* Laura Sjoberg, Grace D. Cooke, and Stacy Reiter Neal, “Introduction: Women, Gender, and Terrorism,” in *Women, Gender, and Terrorism* eds. Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011, pp. 1-25.
* Dyan Mazurana, “Women, Girls, and Non-State Armed Opposition Groups,” in *Women & Wars* ed. Carol Cohn, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013, pp. 146-168.
* PowerPoints: “II A. Globalization and Instability-- the Empowerment of Armed Groups” and “IIA. Gender Analysis of Internal Conflict”

**B. Causes of Internal Conflict**

This section categorizes key debates related to the causes of internal conflict and reviews the different categories of their causes. The primary debate related to causes of internal conflict is referred to as the “greed grievance debate” and questions whether internal conflicts are more likely because of factors related to greed and personal enrichment or factors related to grievances such as ethnic and religious disputes. Within this debate, we will also examine the effect of the presence of resources on conflict likelihood as well as dynamics related to religion in causing conflict. Finally, we will review a section of literature that sees dynamics related to gender relations such as marriage practices, security of women, and gender inequality as key predictors of the likelihood of conflict.

* **Paul Collier, “Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy.”** In Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds. ***Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 197-218: 2007.**
* Michael Ross, “How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases,” International Organization 58(1): 35-67, 2004.
* Frances Stewart, “Horizontal inequalities and conflict: an introduction and some hypotheses,” in Frances Stewart, ed., *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
* **David Keen, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War,” *International Affairs* 88, no. 4 (2012): 757-777.**
* **Monica Toft, “Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War,” *International Security* 31, no. 4 (Spring 2007): 97-131.**
* **Ron E. Hassner, “’To Halve and to Hold’: Conflicts Over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility,” *Security Studies* 12, no .4 (Summer 2003): 1-33.**
* Valerie M. Hudson and Hilary Matfess, “In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict,” *International Security* 42, no.1 (Summer 2017): 7-40.

**III. TYPES OF ARMED GROUPS**

**(2 seminar meetings) – Feb. 21, 26**

Increasingly, the term “armed groups” is being employed by academic and policy analysts to describe different types of non-state actors who employ irregular warfare strategies to challenge the legitimacy and authority of states. Research organizations are likewise establishing databases on armed groups. These include the International Institute for Strategic Studies’ Armed Conflict Database which contains information on the composition, growth, and activities of armed groups. Databases have also been compiled by Jane’s Information Group/Sentinel Security Assessments; the Federation of American Scientists’ Intelligence Resource Program; and the Mapping Militants Project at Stanford University.

Likewise, nongovernmental organizations (NGO) concerned with both the human costs of internal war and conflict management programs to resolve them have adopted the term “armed groups.” One example is Conciliation Resources, an NGO that works mainly in the Caucasus, Uganda, and West Africa to “engage armed groups in peace processes.” Another is the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, which focuses on “armed groups and the involvement of children in armed conflict.”

Part III of the seminar will begin by describing the concept “armed group” and identifying the common characteristics that many armed groups share. Next, Part III will propose a classification or taxonomy of armed groups that divides them into four subtypes--insurgents, terrorists, international criminal organizations, and militias. Each subtype will first be described. Then we will highlight how armed groups in each of these four categories are dynamic actors that are capable of transforming and morphing from one subtype into another.

**A. Common Characteristics of Armed Groups**

What constitutes an armed group? Are there common characteristics that most armed groups share? **The** definition below is presented for discussion. It is based on the proposition that all armed groups share a common set of characteristics or features. This definition will serve as the basis for a discussion and critique.

**Armed groups (I) challenge the authority, power, and legitimacy of states, seeking to either undermine or co-opt them. (II) They seek to manipulate the rule of law and democratic principles. (III) Armed groups have at least a minimum degree of independence from state control. (IV) The leaders and followers of armed groups believe in the maintenance and use of force and violence to achieve political, religious, economic, and personal aims. They challenge the state’s monopoly on legitimate coercive power. (V) Groups that are armed employ strategies of irregular warfare to secure the loyalty or control over relevant populations. (VI) They operate within and across state boundaries, across geographical regions and, sometimes, globally. They may exercise some degree of territorial control. (VII) Armed groups maintain a secret or clandestine infrastructure as their key organizational method, although they may maintain overt political fronts as well. Their clandestine infrastructure includes “intelligence-counterintelligence” capabilities, as well as financial, logistical, and communications networks. These clandestine organizations have varying levels of cohesion. (VIII) Armed groups all have factional and external rivalries that affect their cooperation, interaction, and effectiveness.**

Specialists have divided armed groups into different sub-categories. We divide them into insurgents, terrorists, international criminal organizations, and militias. Peter Thompson and Eran Zohar suggest other categorizations.

Readings

* Peter Thompson, Armed Groups: The 21st Century Threat (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), ch. 4.
* Richard Shultz, Douglas Farah, and Itamara Lochard, Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority (USAF Institute for National Security Studies, 2004), pp. 1-35.
* Richard Shultz and Andrea Dew, Insurgents, Terrorists, and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), ch. 1-2.
* Eran Zohar, “A New Typology of Contemporary Armed Non-State Actors: Interpreting the Diversity,” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (No. 5, 2016), pp. 423-450.

**B. Categorizing Armed Groups**

The common characteristics noted in the previous section notwithstanding, armed groups have important differences among them. How should specific types of armed groups be defined, differentiated one from another, and categorized? We propose an armed groups taxonomy consisting of four sub-types: *insurgents, terrorists, international criminal organizations*, and *militias* This section will: suggest a working definition for each type of armed group; examine how different specialists describe and assess insurgents, terrorists, international criminal organizations, and militias; and identify key differences among them.

In our assessment of the different types of armed groups we will also engage in a gender analysis to better understand the groups. We will specifically focus on the gender dynamics of insurgent, terrorist, and international organized criminal groups. During this analysis, we will examine whether a gender analysis is useful in helping us further understand the modus operandi of insurgent, terrorist, and organized criminal groups.

***Insurgents***

Insurgents can threaten the state with complex political and paramilitary challenges based on the ways in which they organize and the strategies they employ. There is no generic type of insurgent group. They can differ based on their organizational forms which can range from ones with complex political, intelligence, and paramilitary dimensions to ones that are more narrowly structured along conspiratorial lines. Insurgents can also be distinguished by the aspirations they seek to accomplish. Finally, in the aftermath of 9/11 several specialists propose that the nature of insurgency was evolving from its primarily national-level focus in the 20th century to a global one today.

Insurgent groups are well known for having a high number of women and girls in their ranks. We will question whether this reveals anything unique about insurgent groups. It will be important to pay attention to the contradictions within these groups, as Stanski demonstrates through his analysis of the FARC in Colombia. The readings on insurgent groups and gender examine a variety of groups including the FARC, the FMLN in El Salvador, and the Maoists in Nepal.

Readings

* Bard O’Neill, *Insurgency & Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1990), chs. 1, 2, and 6.
* Seth Jones, Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Viet Cong to the Islamic State (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), ch. 3.
* Ian F.W. Beckett, *Insurgency in Iraq: A Historical Perspective* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, March 2005).
* Bruce Hoffman, “Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (March/April 2006).
* David J. Kilcullen, “Countering Global Insurgency,” The Journal of Strategic Studies

(August 2005), pp. 597-617.

* Keith Stanski, “Terrorism, Gender, and Ideology: A Case Study of Women who Join the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC),” in The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes Volume One: Recruitment, ed. James Forest, Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006.
* Ilja Luciak, *After the Revolution:* Gender and Democracy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala*,* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 1-31.
* Gautam, Shobha, Amrita Banskota and Rita Manchanda “Where There Are No Men: Women in the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal,” in Women, War and Peace in South Asia ed. Rita Manchanda. New Dehli: Sage, 2001.

***Terrorists***

Terrorism and those armed groups who employ it have been defined in a myriad of ways. Definitional disagreements persist over a range of issues including: 1) the line of division between terrorism and other forms of political violence; 2) whether the concept of terrorism should distinguish between the nature of the act or the nature of the group employing it; 3) whether terrorism should be defined as a criminal or a political act; 4) how terrorist organizations differ from other armed groups that sometimes employ terrorism.

This section begins by examining how Bruce Hoffman defines terrorism and contrasts terrorists with other types of armed groups. His perspective is compared with other definitions of terrorism. This is followed by an examination of the evolution of terrorist groups from the Cold War to the post-Cold War to the post-9/11 environments in terms of motivations and operations.

The section concludes by examining the more recent phenomenon within terrorism of female suicide terrorism. Using a gender analysis will explain why this trend is an appealing option to terrorist groups.

Readings

* Bruce Hoffman, “Defining Terrorism” in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment Readings and Interpretations*,* 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2006), pp. 3-23.
* Mark Juergensmeyer, “The Logic of Religious Violence,” in Howard and Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and* Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment, Readings and Interpretations*,* 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2006), pp. 168-186.
* Quintan Wiktorowicz, “Anatomy of the Salafi Movement,” Studies in Conflict & Terrorism(April-May 2006), pp. 207-239.
* Helen Dexter, “Terrorism,” in Karl Erik Haug and Ole Jorgen Maao, eds., Conceptualizing Modern War (London: Hurst & Company, 2011), ch. 6.
* Or Honig & Ido Yahel, “A Fifth Wave of Terrorism? The Emergence of Terrorist Semi-States,” Terrorism and Political Violence (2017), pp. 11-19.
* Lindsey, O’Rourke, “What’s Special about Female Suicide Terrorism,” Security Studies, 18(4): 681-718, 2009.
* Mia Bloom, Bombshell: Women and Terrorism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 233-249.

***International Criminal Organizations***

Perhaps the most pervasive of the armed groups in the taxonomy is that of organized crime. They have burgeoned over the last three decades and several have established international linkages and networks. Organized criminal groups are characterized by: 1) an identifiable structure operating outside the law; 2) engagement in a region, or globally in more than one criminal enterprise; 3) internal cohesion and loyalty derived from ethnicity and family ties; 4) employment of violence to promote and protect interests; 5) profit maximization. The following readings provide an overview of how international criminal organizations have evolved. Additionally, they describe how the active partnership between political actors--officeholders and the staff of the legal-governmental establishment of a state--and criminal actors function and the threats this collaboration poses for states. These arrangements are termed the political-criminal nexus (PCN).

Readings

* Michael Lyman and Gary Potter, Organized Crime (New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc., 2011), ch. 1-2.
* John Bailey and Roy Godson, Organized Crime and Democratic Governability(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), ch. 1.
* Roy Godson, ed., Menace to Society: Political-Criminal Collaboration around the World (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2003), ch. 1.
* James Bergeron, “Transnational Organized Crime and International Security,” The RUSI Journal (April/May 2013), pp. 6–9.

Next, the linkages between international criminal organizations and other armed groups are examined. A significant development since the end of the Cold War has been the increased involvement of insurgents, terrorists, and militias in criminal activities in order to diversify their resource base. For international criminal organizations these linkages are equally valuable and widen the scope and profitability of their enterprises. Yet an additional linkage is that between international criminal organizations and political actors to include officeholders and the staff of the legal governmental establishment of a state. The following readings illustrate these linkages.

Readings

* Russell Howard and Colleen Trauhber, “The Nexus of Extremism and Trafficking: Scourge of the World or So Much Hype,” in Howard and Bruce Hoffman, eds, Terrorism and Counterterrorism (New York: McGraw Hill, 2012).
* Europe’s Crime-Terror Nexus: Links between Terrorists and Organized Crime Groups in the European Union (European Parliament, 2012).
* Tamara Makarenko, “The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organized Crime and Terrorism,” Global Crime (February 2004).
* Thomas Sanderson, “Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines,” SAIS Review *(*No. 1, 2004), pp. 49-61.
* John P. Sullivan and Robert J. Bunker, “Drugs Cartels, Street Gangs, and Warlords,” in Bunker, ed., Nonstate Threats and Future Wars (London: Cass, 2003), pp. 40-54.
* Robert Orttung and Louise Shelley, “Linkages between Terrorist and Organized Crime Groups in Nuclear Smuggling: A Case Study of Chelyabinsk Oblast,” PONARS Policy Memo(No. 392, December 2005).

A new phenomenon in the 21st century world of organized crime is the emergence of the “Mafia State.” This is a state whose government has been penetrated by criminals to an unprecedented degree. The state is under the control of organized criminals. In such states, instead of the country having a Mafia, the Mafia has a country. Mafia states are different from the collusion and collaboration of the criminal-political nexus phenomenon. Political elites do not “occasionally rely” on criminal groups, but top government officials become integral players in criminal enterprises. Therefore, the protection, promotion and perseverance of these criminal organizations and their businesses become the unofficial priority of the state.

Readings

* Moises Naim, “Mafia States,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2012).
* Michael Miklaucic and Moisés Naím, “The Criminal State” in Convergence: Illicit Networks and National Security in the Age of Globalization (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 2013).
* Sarah Chayes, Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), ch. 6-8.
* Marco Vernaschi, “The Cocaine Coast,” The Virginia Quarterly Review (Winter, 2010), pp.42-65.

Organized criminal groups are not only increasing the number of women and girls in their ranks, but also are using gendered tactics, like human trafficking, to increase profits.

Readings

* Howard Campbell, “Female Drug Smugglers on the U.S.-Mexico Border: Gender, Crime, and Empowerment,” Anthropological Quarterly (No. 1, 2008), pp.233-267.
* News article about Mexican Drug Cartel “Queenpins”: <http://www2.macleans.ca/2012/07/16/drug-cartel-queenpins/>.
* Louise Shelley, “Human Trafficking and Transnational Organized Crime” in Louise Shelley, Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective (2010), pp. 83-111.

***Militias***

With the growing number of weak and failing states, a fourth category of armed groups—militias—have become increasingly numerous and prominent. They appear to thrive in states with ineffectual central governments and benefit from a global black market in various commodities that facilitates their growth. Militias and those who lead them in some cases represent an alternative political authority to that of the state. In other cases, they are the product of a failed state that is not easily reconstructed, and militias take the form of local gangs.

While individual militias have received attention, particularly those in Sub-Saharan Africa and Central Asia, there have been very few attempts to define this type of armed group in an analytically precise way or to develop a typology that identifies and categorizes different militia sub-types. Based on post-Cold War examples, armed militia groups can be differentiated in terms of the following characteristics: 1) how they are led; 2) the basis on which they are organized; 3) the objectives they seek to achieve; and 4) the ways in which they operate and conduct themselves. Literature that analytically categorizes militias with respect to these characteristics is uneven. The following studies address militia characteristics.

Readings

* John MacKinlay, “Defining Warlords,” *International Peacekeeping* (Spring 2000) pp. 48-62.
* Ulrich Schneckener. “Militias and the Politics of Legitimacy,” Small Wars & Insurgencies (No. 4-5, 2017), pp.799–816.
* Ches Thurber, “Militias as sociopolitical movements: Lessons from Iraq's Armed Shia Groups,” Small Wars & Insurgencies (No. 4-5, 2014), pp. 900–923.
* Kimberly Marten, “Warlordism in Comparative Perspective,” *International Security* (Winter 2006-2007), pp. 41-73.
* Paul Jackson, “Warlords as Alternative Forms of Governance,” *Small Wars & Insurgency* (Summer 2003), pp. 131-50.
* Alice Hills, “Warlords, Militias, and Conflict in Contemporary Africa,” *Small Wars & Insurgency* (Spring 1997), pp. 35-51.

Finally, the readings below provide an introduction to the role pro-government militias play in supporting authoritarian regimes both internally to maintain power and as an instrument of foreign policy.

Readings

* Ariel I. Ahram, “Pro-Government Militias and the Repertoires of Illicit State Violence,” Studies in Conflict & Terrorism (No. 3, 2016), pp. 207–226.
* Nadav Pollak, “The Transformation of Hezbollah by Its Involvement in Syria,” RESEARCH NOTES: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (No. 35, 2016).
* Konstantin Ash, “Threats to Leaders’ Political Survival and Pro-Government Militia Formation,” International Interactions (No. 5, 2016), pp. 703–728.
* Yelena Biberman, “Self-Defense Militias, Death Squads, and State Outsourcing of Violence in India and Turkey,” Journal of Strategic Studies (2016), p. 1-32).
* Michael Wigginton, et. al, “Al-Qods Force: Iran’s Weapon of Choice in Exporting Terrorism,” Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism (No. 2, 2015), pp. 153-165.

**IV. PROFILING ARMED GROUPS**

**(2 seminar meetings) – Mar. 5, 12 (and makeup an extra session)**

*Part IV* proposes a framework for profiling non-state armed groups based on seven characteristics. Little exists in the academic literature with respect to frameworks that can be used to develop profiles or narratives of armed groups based on a set of specific characteristics. *Section A* proposes a framework for developing armed group profiles or case study narratives based on seven interrelated variables. *Section B* highlights each of the seven characteristics and suggests questions to be addressed and information to be collected on each characteristic to serve as the basis for an armed group profile.

**A. Framework for Profiling Armed Groups**

The objective of the framework is to provide a method for gaining an understanding of armed groups at the operational and tactical levels. The framework can serve as a way of ordering knowledge about an armed group. The characteristics of armed groups, at minimum, can be divided into the following seven interrelated categories: 1) leadership; 2) rank and file membership; 3) organizational structure; 4) ideology and political code of beliefs; 5) strategy and tactics; 6) communications and information; and 7) links with other non-state and state actors. These should not be construed as final. Additional factors could be added as the framework is adapted and employed in individual cases. For each category, specific questions should be examined, examples of which are proposed in the readings for this section. Answers to these questions provide the particulars needed to develop an armed group narrative or profile.

Readings

* Richard Shultz, Douglas Farah, Itamara Lochard, *Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority* (Colorado Springs, CO: INSS, USAF Academy, 2004), pp. 45-52.
* Peter Thompson, Armed Groups: The 21st Century Threat (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), ch. 5-6.

**B. Elements of the Framework**

While there is a scarcity of literature with respect to analytic frameworks that can be used to develop profiles or narratives of armed groups, a significant body of literature does exist that provides insight into each of the characteristics that constitute the framework. Here we identify some of that literature as it relates to each of the seven characteristics. The articles illustrate a sampling of the issues that each of these characteristics entails. The readings highlight the kinds of information that should be collected and assessed when examining each characteristic within the context of a profile or narrative of an armed group. We will also be weaving the concept of gender into existing frameworks, especially in our discussion of the Rank & File Membership.

***Leadership***

In the past, competent leadership was seen as indispensable for armed groups which challenged much stronger state organizations. Leadership was a key ingredient for identifying and accomplishing the goals and objectives of the armed group. Therefore, an understanding of the roles, styles, personalities, beliefs, and abilities of leaders was critical. Understanding the differences and competition among an armed group’s leaders was also of crucial importance. The readings begin by introducing the concept of charismatic leadership and then highlight examples of specific armed group leaders to include Ahmad Massoud, Ayman Al-Zawahiri, and Abu Musab Al Suri. However, the concept of leadership has been changing as armed group organizations take new networked forms. This is reflected in the last three articles.

Readings

* Robert C. Tucker, “The Theory of Charismatic Leadership,” *Daedalus* (1968), pp. 731-756.
* Casey Johnson, “Charisma in Modern Islamic Revolutionary Movements: The Case of Ahmad Shah Massoud,” *al Nakhlah* (Fall 2007), pp. 35-45.
* Nimrod Raphaeli, “Ayman Muhammad Rabi’ Al-Zawahiri: The Making of an Arch-Terrorist,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (Winter 2002), pp. 347-364.
* Paul Cruickshank and Mohannad Hage Ali, “Abu Musab Al Suri: Architect of the New al Qaeda,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (January 2007), pp. 1-14**.**
* Peter Neumann, Ryan Evans, and Raffaello Pantucci, “Locating *Al Qaeda’s Center of Gravity: The Role of Middle Managers,” Studies* in Conflict & Terrorism (No. 11, 2011).
* Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. vii and 29–46
* Lindsay Clutterbuck, “Rethinking Al Qaeda: Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, (No. 2, 2008), pp. 196-200.

***Constituent Support and Rank and File Recruitment***

To offset the advantages and superior resources of government, armed groups seek to gain support from a relevant population. In the first reading, Boylan proposes a typology of constituent support for an armed group that is comprised of four types of support--what can be called impelled, auspicious, compelled, and deterred support--that serve as a framework to begin the examination of this variable. Other readings highlight the ways in which armed groups identify and recruit able and skilled individuals into their organization through the traditional recruitment process and train, motivate, and retain them. Armed groups focus on recruiting different types of individuals, to include young girls or young boys. What methods and approaches do they use? Articles assigned for this section examine these issues. With the information revolution, the traditional process of recruitment has evolved with what Cronin describes as cyber-mobilization. The information age has also generated self-recruited individuals, described in two readings for this section by Kirby and Gartenstein-Ross. Finally, yet another new development related to the issue of rank and file membership is the exponential surge in foreign fighters since the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Readings

* Brandon Boylan, “Sponsoring Violence: A Typology of Constituent Support for Terrorist Organizations,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2015), pp. 652-670.
* Jerrold Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita Denny, “The Terrorists in Their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (Spring 2003), pp. 171-184.

* Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Cyber-mobilization: The New *Levée en Masse*,” *Parameters* (Summer 2006).
* Aidan Kirby, “The London Bombers as ‘Self-Starters’: A Case Study in Indigenous Radicalization and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (May 2007), pp. 415-428.
* Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, “Lone Wolf Islamic Terrorism: Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad (Carlos Bledsoe) Case Study,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2014), pp. 110–128.
* *Beyond the Caliphate: Foreign Fighters and the Threat of Returnees* (Report by The Soufan Center and The Global Strategy Network, October 2017).
* Fathali Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration,” *American Psychologist*, (February-March 2005), pp. 161-169
* Dyan Mazurana and Susan McKay, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After War*, Rights & Democracy, 2004, pp. 13-26.
* Marc Sommers, “Fearing Africa’s Young Men: Male Youth, Conflict, Urbanization, and the Case of Rwanda,” in *The Other Half of Gender: Men’s Issues in Development* ed. Ian Bannon and Maria C. Correia. Washington: The World Bank, 2006.

***Organizational Structure and Functions***

Understanding how armed groups organize themselves is an understudied component of the literature on internal and transnational conflict. Armed groups adopt various organizational models that can differ widely along structural and functional lines. At minimum, such organizations can take two forms. Hierarchal groups, which has been the most common approach in the period since WWII, have clear structural boundaries, lines of authority, and a top down decision-making process. Networked armed groups, a more recent phenomenon, consists of dispersed actors that are involved in various functions and operate across great distances. Networks do have leaders but they are not operational decision makers in networked organizations because they do not have central control. Mid-level commanders and managers carry out that function. The rise of the networked armed groups is a product of the information revolution. The readings below look at examples of different types of organizational structures, contrasting hierarchical with networked.

Readings

* Bard O’Neill, *Insurgency & Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1990), ch. 6.
* Anthony Richards, “Terrorist Groups and Political Fronts: The IRA, Sinn Fein, the Peace Process and Democracy,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (Winter 2001), pp. 72-89.
* John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, and Michele Zanini, “Networks, Netwar, and Information Age Terrorism,” in Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment, Readings, and Interpretations* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2006).
* Boaz Ganor, “Terrorist Organization Typologies and the Probability of a Boomerang Effect,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, (No. 4, 2008), pp.269-283.
* Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), ch. 5.

***Ideology and Political Code of Beliefs***

Armed groups may follow a coherent ideology or a more *ad hoc* set of beliefs and/or objectives that perform social, political, economic, and psychological functions important to their organizational cohesion and effectiveness. Whatever form it takes, all armed groups are bound together by ideas, beliefs, and values. During the Cold War, armed groups tended to be committed to various leftwing ideologies. In the post-Cold War period, as illustrated in the readings below, ethnic, ethno-national, and religious ideologies have predominated. In other cases, armed groups are motivated by financial and other material objectives.

Readings

* Thomas Marks, “Ideology of Insurgency: New Ethnic Focus or Old Cold War Distortions?” *Small Wars & Insurgency* (Spring 2004), pp.107-128.
* John C. Zimmerman, “Sayyid Qutb’s Influence on the 11 September Attacks,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (Summer 2004) pp. 222-252.
* Quintan Wiktorowicz, “A Genealogy of Radical Islam,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (March-April 2005), pp. 75-97.
* Daphne Burdman, “Education, Indoctrination, and Incitement: Palestinian Children on Their Way to Martyrdom,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (Spring 2003), pp. 96-123.
* Mohammed M. Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq: How Jihadists Frame Suicide Terrorism in Videos and Biographies,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (March 2007), pp. 707-729.
* J. M. Drake, “The Role of Ideology in Terrorists’ Target Selection,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (Summer 1998), pp. 53-79.

***Strategy and Tactics***

Armed groups employ a range of different tactics--intelligence methods, political action, psychological operations, economic activities, and violence--to achieve their objectives. Sometimes these are integrated into a coherent strategy while at other times they are used exclusively. Analysts have examined how specific armed groups have made use of different violent and non-violent methods. Below is a sampling of a few of the different tactics employed by armed groups. They include both violent and non-violent means. This section also examines a particular kind of violent tactic, sexual violence. Using a gender analysis will help us understand why certain groups use sexual violence as a tactic and others abstain from its use. Carol Cohn explains, “Even something that may at first appear to be ineluctably biological – women’s vulnerability to rape in war, for example – is so deeply and multiply constituted by gender that any attempt to address it without a multifaceted gender analysis can only be deeply flawed and utterly inadequate.”

Readings

* Jonathan Stevenson, “Exploiting Democracy: The IRA’s Tactical Cease-Fire,” *Review of International Affairs* (Spring 2003), pp. 159-170.
* Alexus G. Grynkewich, “Welfare as Warfare: How Violent Nonstate Groups Use Social Services to Attack the State,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (April 2008), pp. 350-370.
* Frederic M. Wehrey, “A Clash of Wills: Hizballah’s Psychological Campaign against Israel in South Lebanon,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* (Autumn 2002), pp. 53-74.
* Stathis N. Kalyvas*, The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 1-15.
* John Horgan & Jeffrey Lovelace, “Improvised Explosive Device: The Problem of Definition,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, (No. 9, 2011), pp. 732-748.
* Montgomery McFate, “Iraq: The Social Context of IEDs,” *Military Review* (May-June 2005), pp. 37-41.
* Jerrold Post, “The Psychology of Suicide Terrorism,”  [*Psychiatry*](https://search.proquest.com/pubidlinkhandler/sng/pubtitle/Psychiatry/$N/40665/DocView/220656477/fulltext/EA6E4D3EFDF94809PQ/1?accountid=14434) (Spring 2009), pp. 13-31.
* Adam Dolnik and Rohan Gunaratna, "Jemaah Islamiyah and the Threat of Chemical and Biological Terrorism," in *Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism*, Russell D. Howard and James J. F. Forest (New York: McGraw Hill, 2007), pp. 280-294.
* Elisabeth Wood, “Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When is Wartime Rape Rare?” *Politics & Society* 37, No. 1, March 2009, 131-162.
* Dara Kay Cohen, Amelia Hoover Green and Elisabeth Wood, *USIP Special Report*, “Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications and Ways Forward,” United Institute of Peace, February 2013.
* Egypt case study:
  + Al Jazeera, “Egypt’s Sexual Assault Epidemic,” <http://aje.me/19hw86m>

***Communication and Information***

Armed groups may also employ communication and information operations to achieve their objectives. Of course, this is not new. Propaganda has long been a means employed by armed insurgent groups. And in the 1980s, terrorist groups increasingly came to see publicity as essential if they were to gain attention, inspire fear, and secure favorable understanding of their cause, if not their acts. Since that time, the information age has provided armed groups with new and more sophisticated means for information operations. These instruments permit more effective information strategies by armed groups who are able to employ them.

Readings

* Gabriel Weimann, “How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet,” *United States Institute of Peace Special Report 116* (March 2004).
* Gabriel Weimann, “Hezbollah Dot Com: Hezbollah’s Online Campaign,” in *New Media and Innovative Technologies*, Ed. D. Caspi and T. Azran (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Press, 2007) pp. 17-38.
* Manuel R. Torres, Javier Jordán, and Nicola Horsburgh, “Analysis and Evolution of the Global Jihadist Movement Propaganda,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* (September 2006), pp. 399-421.
* Haroro J. Ingram, “An Analysis of Inspire and Dabiq: Lessons from AQAP and Islamic State's Propaganda War,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (No. 5, 2017), pp. 357-375.
* Khalil Sardarnia & Rasoul Safizadeh, “The Internet and Its Potentials for Networking and Identity Seeking: A Study on ISIS,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2017), pp. 1-18.
* Angela Gendron, “The Call to Jihad: Charismatic Preachers and the Internet,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (No. 1, 2017), pp. 44-61.

***Linkages with other Non-state and State Actors***

Finally, armed groups often establish links with other state and non-state actors for a number of tactical and strategic reasons. These include acquiring various kinds of resources, be they political, financial, or military. Since armed groups are always weaker than the states they challenge, they frequently seek the assistance and resources of others to level the playing field, even though this does not come without costs to the group. Earlier in the course, we examined the linkages between international criminal organizations and other armed groups, noting how these arrangements allow each to diversify their resource base. The readings in this section provide other examples of how armed groups establish arrangements with other state and non-state actors to gain access to various kinds of resources. In the first reading--*Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movements--*a categorization of various kinds of support sought by armed groups is proposed. Other readings provide examples of specific kinds of assistance.

Readings

* Daniel Byman et al., *Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movements* (Santa Monica, CA; RAND, 2001).
* Jeffrey Record, “External Assistance: Enabler of Insurgent Success,” *Parameters* (Autumn 2006), pp. 36-49.
* Michael Freeman, “Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2011), pp. 461-475.
* Maria Koinova, “Diasporas and Secessionist Conflicts: the Mobilization of the Armenian, Albanian and Chechen Diasporas,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (July 2010), pp. 333-356.

**V. IRREGULAR WARFARE, ARMED GROUP CHALLENGES AND**

**U.S. STRATEGIES FOR RESPONDING**

**(5 seminar meetings) – Mar. 26, Apr. 2, 9, 23, 30**

Since the attacks on September 11, the United States has engaged in irregular warfare operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria and has also employed various irregular warfare tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs) against armed groups in other areas as well. The importance of “addressing irregular challenges to national security” was elevated in importance in 2008 Department of Defense Directive 3000.07. According to Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon English, author of the Directive, war was to be divided into two equally important categories. The Directive stated that “Irregular Warfare is as strategically important as traditional [or conventional] warfare and DOD must be equally capable in both.” In 2014, Deputy Secretary of Defense Robert Work reissued Directive 3000.07.

Irregular warfare has received considerable attention in U.S. Department of Defense documents in the post-9/11 period. It has been described in those documents as “A violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over relevant populations. Irregular warfare favors indirect and asymmetric approaches, though it may employ the full range of military and other capabilities, in order to erode an adversary’s power, influence, and will.” Below are the elements of a working definition of irregular warfare:

* ***IW is Intra-state warfare. It can occur between the government of a state and internal armed opposition groups without intervention from other states. But it can also occur with the outside support of these armed groups by other states.***
* ***Irregular warfare focuses on the control or influence of population and territory (not on defeating opposing armed forces on battlefields). IW is used to challenge the authority, power and legitimacy of a state. IW is population-centric or “war amongst the people.”***

* ***Those employing irregular warfare seek to isolate their state adversaries from relevant population and territory.***
* ***IW is a political struggle waged by political and paramilitary tactics, techniques, and procedures. However, These TTPs are employed by armed groups but they can also be used by states to support armed groups.***
* ***The leaders of different armed groups (as well as states supporting them) all believe in the effectiveness of violence to achieve their objectives. Violence is used in unconventional, asymmetric, and increasingly indiscriminate ways. It may also be used in catastrophic ways through CBRN means.***

Since 9/11 operational-level strategies have been developed and employed by the U.S. to meet the challenges posed by irregular warfare and armed groups. Part V of the syllabus will begin with an overview presentation of “21st Century Irregular Warfare: Theory and Practice,” with particular attention to outlining U.S. operational-level strategies that have been proposed for responding to the challenges posed by IW and armed groups. This will be followed by an examination of five case studies of selected operations based on several of these strategies.

1. **21st Century Irregular Warfare: Theory and Practice,**

* PowerPoint Presentation--“21st Century Irregular Warfare: Theory and Practice.”
* **Readings**

--“Complex Irregular Warfare: The Face of Contemporary Conflict,” *The*

*Military Balance* (2005), ch. 9.

--Eric V. Larson, *Assessing Irregular Warfare: A Framework for Intelligence*

*Analysis* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008).

--*Irregular Warfare: Countering Irregular Threats--Joint Operating Concept*

(Version 2.0, May 2010).

--Maria Ryan, “Full spectrum dominance: Donald Rumsfeld, the Department of

Defense, and US irregular warfare strategy, 2001–2008,” *Small Wars &*

*Insurgencies* (No. 1, 2014), pp. 41–68.

--Robert Gates, “A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for A New

Age,” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2009).

--Richard Shultz and Roy Godson, “A QDR for all Seasons,” *Joint Forces*

*Quarterly* (No. 4, 2010).

--Barak Salmoni, “The Fallacy of ‘Irregular’ Warfare,” *The RUSI Journal* (No. 4,

2007), pp. 18-24.

1. **Counterinsurgency: A Case Study of the U.S. Marine Corps in Anbar.**

* PowerPoint Presentation--“Counterinsurgency History, Theory, Practice--A Case Study of the U.S. Marine Corps in Anbar.”
* **Readings**

--Richard Shultz, *Organizational Learning and the Marine Corps: The*

*Counterinsurgency Campaign in Iraq* (Newport, RI: U.S. Naval War College,

CIWAG case study series 2011-2012).

--James Russell, “Counterinsurgency American-style: David Petraeus and

Twenty-First Century War,” in Andrew Mumford and Bruno Reis, eds., *The*

*Theory and Practice of Irregular Warfare: Warrior-Scholarship in*

*Counterinsurgency* (London: Routledge, 2014), ch. 8.

--Andrew Mumford, “Warrior-Scholarship in the Age of Globalized Insurgency,”

in Andrew Mumford and Bruno Reis, eds., *The Theory and Practice of Irregular*

*Warfare: Warrior-Scholarship in Counterinsurgency* (London: Routledge, 2014),

ch. 8.

--Kalev Sepp, “Best Practices in Counterinsurgency,” *Military Review* (May-June

2005), pp. 8-12.

--Eliot Cohn et. al., “Principles, Imperatives, and Paradoxes of

Counterinsurgency,” *Military Review* (March-April 2006), pp. 49-53.

--Ian Roxbborough, “Learning and Diffusing the Lessons of Counterinsurgency:

The U.S. Military from Vietnam to Iraq,” *Sociological Focus* (November 2006),

pp. 319-346.

--James A. Russell, “Innovation in War: Counterinsurgency Operations in Anbar

and Ninewa Provinces, Iraq, 2005–2007,” *The Journal of Strategic Studies* (No.

2010), pp. 596-624.

-- David H. Ucko, “Critics Gone Wild: Counterinsurgency as the Root of all Evil,”

*Small Wars & Insurgencies*, (No. 1, 2014).1, 161-179.

-- Martin, Kitzen, “Legitimacy is the Main Objective’: Legitimation in Population-

Centric Counterinsurgency,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, (No. 4-5, 2017) pp.

853-866.

--Stephen Pampinella, “The Effectiveness of Coercive and Persuasive

Counterinsurgency Practices since 1945,” *Civil Wars*, (No. 4, 2016), pp. 503-526.

--Richard Shultz, “Breaking the Will of the Enemy During the Vietnam War: The

Operationalization of the Cost-Benefit Model of Counterinsurgency,” *Journal of*

*Peace Research* (No. 2, 1978).

1. **Counterterrorism: Military Innovation in War: A Case Study of Task Force**

**714 in Iraq.**

* PowerPoint Presentation--“Military Innovation in War: It Takes a Learning Organization-A Case Study of Task Force 714 in Iraq.”
* **Readings**

--Richard Shultz, *Military Innovation in War: It Takes a Learning Organization-A*

*Case Study of Task Force 714 in Iraq* ((Tampa, FL: USSOCOM/JSOU Press,

2016).

--Richard Shultz, “U.S Counterterrorism Operations during the Iraq War: A Case

Study of Task Force 714,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (Fall 2016), pp.

809-837.

--William B. Ostlund, *Irregular Warfare: Counterterrorism Forces in Support of*

*Counterinsurgency Operations* (Association of the U.S. Army, The Institute of

Land Warfare, 2012).

--Michael Flynn, Rich Juergens, and Thomas Cantrell, “Employing ISR: SOF Best

Practices,” *Joint Forces Quarterly* (No. 3, 2008), pp. 56-61.

--Richard Shultz and Roy Godson, “Intelligence Dominance,” *The Weekly Standard*

(July 2006).

--Charles Faint and Michael Harris, “F3EAD: Ops/Intel Fusion Feeds the SOF

Targeting Process,” *Small Wars Journal* (January 2012).

--William Rosenau and Austin Long, *The Phoenix Program and Contemporary*

*Counterinsurgency* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009).

--Peter Neumann, Ryan Evans, and Raffaello Pantucci, “Locating Al Qaeda’s

Center of Gravity: The Role of Middle Managers,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*

(No. 11, 2011).

--Steve Niva, “Disappearing Violence: JSOC and the Pentagon’s New Cartography

of Network Warfare,” *Security Dialogue* 2013), pp. 185-202.

1. **Direct Action Raids: A Case Study of Operation** **Neptune Spear.**

* PowerPoint Presentation--“Direct Action Raids: A Special Operations Core Activity-- A Case Study of Operation Neptune Spear.”
* **Readings**

--William McRaven, *Spec Ops: Case Studies in Special Operations Warfare:*

*Theory and Practice* (Novato, CA: Presido Press 1996), ch. 1, 10.

--Bernd Horn and Tony Balasevicius, *Slaying the Dragon: The Killing of Bin*

*Laden* (Kingston, Ontario: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2012).

--Nicholas Schmidle, “Getting Bin Laden: What happened that Night in

Abbottabad,” *The New Yorker* (August 8, 2011).

--Adam Cobb, “Intelligence Adaptation: The Bin Laden Raid and Its

Consequences for US Strategy,” *The RUSI Journal* (No. 4, 2011), pp. 54-62.

--Damien Van Puyvelde, Review of *No Easy Day: The Firsthand Account of the*

*Mission That Killed Osama bin Laden: The Autobiography of a Navy SEAL in*

*Intelligence and National Security* (No. 3, 2013), pp. 449-451.

--James Walsh, “The Rise of Targeted Killing,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*

(2017), pp. 1-15.

-- Michael Carl Haas & Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, “The Evolution of Targeted

Killing Practices: Autonomous Weapons, Future Conflict, and the International

Order,” *Contemporary Security Policy*, No. 2, 2017), pp. 281-306.

1. **Unconventional Warfare: Operation Enduring Freedom and Task Force** **Viking.**

* PowerPoint Presentation--“Unconventional Warfare: Operation Enduring Freedom and Task Force Viking.”
* **Readings**

--*Special Forces Unconventional Warfare* (Washington, DC: Department of the

Army, 2010), ch. 1-3.

--*Unconventional Warfare* (Fort Bragg, NC: U.S. Army Special Operations

Command, Deputy Chief of Staff G3, Sensitive Activities Division, 2016).

--Joseph L. Votel, Charles T. Cleveland, Charles T. Connett, and Will Irwin,

“Unconventional Warfare in the Gray Zone,” *Joint Forces Quarterly* (2016),

pp. 101-109.

--David G. Fox, *A Joint and Interagency Unconventional Warfare Training*

*Strategy for Special Forces in the 21st Century* (U.S. Army War College,

USAWC Strategy Research Project, 2005).

--Henry Crumpton, *The Art of Intelligence* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2012).

--Richard B. Andres, Craig Wills, Thomas E. Griffith, “Winning with Allies: The

Strategic Value of the Afghan Model,” *International Security* (Winter 2005/06),

pp. 124-160

--Hy Rothstein, *Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare*

(Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), ch. 1, 4.

--Timothy D. Brown, *Unconventional Warfare as a Strategic Force Multiplier:*

*Task Force Viking in Northern Iraq, 2003* (Joint Special Operations University,

Center for Strategic Studies, Occasional Paper, 2017).

--Linda Robinson, *Masters of Chaos: The Secret History of the Special Forces*

(New York: Public Affairs, 2005), ch. 13.

1. **Crisis Management of Terrorist Attacks: 2013 Boston Marathon and 2008 Mumbai Incidents.**

* PowerPoint Presentation--“21st Century Crisis Management Demands   
  Interagency Collaboration--2013 Boston Marathon and 2008 Mumbai Terrorist Attacks.”
* **Readings**

--James Orton with Christopher Lamb, “Interagency National Security

Teams,” *PRISM* (No.2, 2014).

--General Stanley McChrystal Team Teams (May 29 2015 Video).

<https://www.c-span.org/video/?...1/...stanley-mcchrystal-team-teams>.

--After Action Report for the Response to the 2013 Boston Marathon

Bombings (Dec. 2014).

--Crisis Meta-Leadership Lessons from the Boston Marathon Bombings

Response: the Ingenuity of Swarm Intelligence (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

Kennedy School of Government, Center for Public Leadership, 2014).

--House Homeland Security Committee Report, The Road to Boston: Counter-

terrorism Challenges and Lessons from the Marathon Bombings (March

2014).

--Angel Rabasa, *The Lessons of Mumbai* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand

Corporation, 2009).

-- Arabinda Acharya & Sonal Marwah, “Nizam, la Tanzim (System, not

Organization): Do Organizations Matter in Terrorism Today? A Study of the

November 2008 Mumbai Attacks,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (No. 1,

2011), pp.1-16.

--Adam Dolnik, “Fighting to The Death Mumbai And the Future Fedayeen

Threat,” *The RUSI Journal* (No. 2, 2010), pp. 60-68.