

ADVERSARY DOCTRINE

INTERDIS 495 – Fall 2024

U.S. Air Force Academy

M3: 1000-1053

Fairchild 4D23

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides an overview of the military doctrines employed by U.S. adversaries, as defined by the 2022 U.S. National Defense Strategy. Students in this course will learn how U.S. adversaries plan to fight, why U.S. adversaries develop military doctrine in the ways they do, and the opportunities and constraints these doctrines create for U.S. military planners.

The course contains three major sections. First, the course covers foundational conceptual frameworks for studying the characteristics, causes, and consequences of adversary doctrine. Second, the course evaluates the key features of military doctrine employed by the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Russia, Iran, and violent extremist organizations. Third, the course includes a tabletop exercise in which students participate as representatives of U.S. allies and adversaries involved in a crisis scenario to apply lessons from the course to a tangible policy scenario.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course contributes to developing and assessing the National Security of the American Republic in a Complex Global Environment outcome at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The course is designed to ensure cadets meet the following proficiencies:

Proficiency 4: explain the relationship between the international environment's structure, and the values and interests of the United States and others

Proficiency 6: design and defend a plan to achieve national security objectives using appropriate forms and instruments of power

Proficiency 7: design and defend a plan to achieve military objectives through force consistent with relevant military theory

COURSE AND ACADEMY POLICIES

GRADING POLICY

In the case of grading disputes, students must e-mail the professor a 50- to 200-word written rationale for the dispute within 48 hours of receiving the contested grade to request clarification and reevaluation. If the instructor deems the justification for re-grading as compelling, the instructor will then re-grade the disputed work and may assign a grade that is higher, lower, or the same as the original.

EXTRA CREDIT POLICY

There are no extra credit opportunities for this course. All requests for extra credit will be denied by the professor. There will be no exceptions to this policy.

LATE ASSIGNMENT POLICY

Assignments that are turned in 1 minute to 24 hours late after their due date will be penalized by 1/3 of a letter grade. Assignments will be marked down a full letter grade for each additional 24-hour period they are late. Assignments will not be accepted more than 72 hours after the due date.

When submitting assignments electronically, it is the student's responsibility to ensure that the correct file is attached and submitted on time. Failing to attach a file or attaching the wrong file will result in a penalty as identified above. Students should also adopt the practice of saving files on multiple platforms, as corrupted files, crashed computers, etc. will not be exempted from the late assignment policy.

TECHNOLOGY POLICY

The use of cell phones during class is prohibited. Students using cell phones will be asked to leave class for the day and will receive a 0 for that day's participation score.

Students may use laptops and tablets for readings or note-taking. However, if a student is using their laptop for purposes not related to class (social media, e-mail, etc.), that student will be asked to leave class for the day and will receive a 0 for that day's participation score.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The U.S. Air Force Academy's academic honor code holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Violations of this code will lead to failure of the course and a potential hearing with the judicial board.

Violations of the academic honor code include plagiarism, cheating, fabrication and falsification of information, multiple submission of a student's work, misuse of academic materials, and complicity in academic dishonesty.

The use of any artificial intelligence programs to produce papers or content for this course will be viewed as plagiarism and subject to the penalties described above.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

READINGS

All readings for this course are uploaded to Microsoft Teams (MS Teams) and available for student use in PDF format. Students are not required to purchase any books for the course.

GRADING

Grades are comprised of four components:

Participation	25%
Policy memos (x3)	30%
TTX briefing	25%
TTX final paper	20%

PARTICIPATION (25%)

As an upper-division course, this class is reading intensive. The course is built around readings and discussion, rather than lecture. Accordingly, active participation is required to accomplish the objectives of the course. Students are expected to read all material before each class and arrive prepared to actively discuss the readings. Students will be graded for each class on the following scale:

3 points	Thoughtful engagement with readings and class discussion
2 points	Satisfactory participation and engagement
1 point	Present for class, but lack of preparation and engagement
0 points	Absent or dismissed from class

Note that attendance is a necessary but not sufficient condition for participation scores. Students should report excused absences within 24 hours of the class period, if possible, and accompanied by documentation to justify the excusal (e.g., doctor's note, SCA, etc.).

POLICY MEMOS (30%)

Each student will complete three policy memos during the course. A memo topic will be available at the end of each section devoted to a U.S. adversary in the course. Students will therefore select three of the five prompts at their discretion during the semester. Each memo is worth 10% of the student's final grade.

Policy memos must be no more than 500 words in length, submitted as a Microsoft Word document, and written in Times New Roman, 12-point font with 1-inch margins. Memos exceeding the word limit will be returned to students and will not be graded until memos fall within the guidelines. Returned memos will automatically lose 1/3 of a letter grade (e.g., a paper that would have otherwise been an A- would become a B+). These policy memos serve to train students on how to write clear, concise, and persuasive policy arguments on complex policy topics.

Prompts for each memo will be posted on MS Teams one week before the due date. Policy memos are due by 2359 via email on the following dates:

Policy memo 1 – M13, September 13: People's Republic of China

Policy memo 2 – M18, September 27: North Korea

Policy memo 3 – M25, October 21: Russia

Policy memo 4 – M30, November 4: Iran

Policy memo 5 – M40, December 6: violent extremist organizations

TTX BRIEFING (25%)

After the course addresses the United States' state-level adversaries, all students will participate in a tabletop exercise (TTX). In this exercise, students will be assigned to teams in which they represent a country involved in a crisis scenario.

Students will receive the crisis background summary via MS Teams one week before the TTX planning session, in which students work with their teams to develop a campaign plan for achieving their objectives.

The TTX briefing assignment entails two components. First, each group will submit a 1-page memo summarizing each group's campaign plan—including a description of the plan, expected benefits, potential risks, and risk management methods—by 2359 on Wednesday, November 6. This memo will be circulated to a group of general officers and civilian experts who will serve as a review panel for the campaign plans. Second, each group will brief their plans to the panel of experts and receive guidance on how to improve their campaign plan before the TTX officially begins.

Students will be graded on the combined quality of the briefing memo and campaign plan presentation. All members of the group will receive the same grade.

TTX FINAL PAPER (20%)

After the tabletop exercise concludes, each group will write a paper that details their lessons learned from the exercise. The TTX final paper will require students to clearly connect their observations from the TTX to theoretical, conceptual, and empirical topics of conversation covered in the course. The paper will respond to a prompt motivated by the class's moves throughout the TTX, and the professor will provide students with more detailed instructions and expectations at the time of the crisis simulation exercise.

The TTX final paper should be 1,500-2,500 words in length, submitted as a Microsoft Word document, and written in Times New Roman, 12-point font with 1-inch margins. There is no required citation format; however, students should clearly source any quotations or references that appear in the paper with consistent citation format (MLA, Chicago, APA, etc.). Papers falling outside the required word count range will automatically lose 1/3 of a letter grade (e.g., a paper that would have otherwise been an A- would become a B+). These papers are due via email by 2359 on Monday, December 2. All members of the group will receive the same grade.

SUMMARY OF ASSIGNMENT DEADLINES

M13, September 13:	Policy memo 1 (People's Republic of China)
M18, September 27:	Policy memo 2 (North Korea)
M25, October 21:	Policy memo 3 (Russia)
M30, November 4:	Policy memo 4 (Iran)
M31, November 6:	TTX briefing memo
M32, November 8:	TTX briefing to general officers
M38, December 2:	TTX final paper
M40, December 6:	Policy memo 5 (violent extremist organizations)

COURSE SCHEDULE

I. FOUNDATIONS

M1 (AUGUST 8) – COURSE INTRODUCTION

1. U.S. Department of Defense, *2022 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 2022), pp. 1-23.

M2 (AUGUST 12) – PRINCIPLES OF MILITARY DOCTRINE

Guest Lecture: Maj Gen (ret) David Scott

1. “A Primer on Doctrine,” Curtis E. LeMay Center for Doctrine Development and Education, Maxwell Air Force Base (October 8, 2020), pp. 1-11.
2. Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 13-33.

M3 (AUGUST 14) – SOURCES OF DOCTRINE I: DOMESTIC POLITICS

1. Jack Snyder, “Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984,” *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984), pp. 108-146.

M4 (AUGUST 16) – SOURCES OF DOCTRINE II: EXTERNAL THREATS

1. Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 34-37, 59-80.

M5 (AUGUST 20) – SOURCES OF DOCTRINE III: STRATEGIC CULTURE

1. Elizabeth Kier, “Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Spring 1995), pp. 65-93.

M6 (August 22) – EFFECTS OF DOCTRINE: MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS

1. Caitlin Talmadge, *The Dictator’s Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015), pp. 1-33.

II. PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC)

M7 (AUGUST 26) – PRC COMMAND STRUCTURE AND STRATEGIC CULTURE

Guest Lecture: Brig Gen (ret) David Stilwell

1. Susan V. Lawrence, “China Primer: China’s Political System” (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2024).
2. Defense Intelligence Agency, *China Military Power: Modernizing a Force to Fight and Win* (Washington, D.C., 2019), pp. 1-21.
3. John F. Sullivan, “Sun Tzu’s Fighting Words,” *Strategy Bridge*, June 15, 2020.

M8 (AUGUST 28) – PRC NATIONAL MILITARY STRATEGY

1. Defense Intelligence Agency, *China Military Power: Modernizing a Force to Fight and Win* (Washington, D.C., 2019), pp. 23-28.
2. Edmund J. Burke et al., *People’s Liberation Army Operational Concepts* (Santa Monica, C.A.: RAND, 2020).

M9 (SEPTEMBER 3) – INFORMATIZATION AND INTEGRATED JOINT OPERATIONS

1. M. Taylor Fravel, *Active Defense: China’s Military Strategy since 1949* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2019), pp. 217-235.
2. Joel Wuthnow, “China’s New Info Warriors: The Information Support Force Emerges,” *War on the Rocks*, June 24, 2024.

M10 (SEPTEMBER 5) – PRC NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND OPERATIONS

1. Peter Wood, Alex Stone, and Thomas Corbett, *Chinese Nuclear Command, Control, and Communications* (Montgomery, A.L.: China Aerospace Studies Institute, 2024), pp. 9-29.
2. Hans M. Kristensen, Matt Korda, Eliana Johns, and Mackenzie Knight, “Chinese Nuclear Weapons, 2024,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (January 2024), pp. 55-57.
3. Fiona S. Cunningham, “The Unknowns about China’s Nuclear Modernization Program,” *Arms Control Today*, June 2023.

M11 (SEPTEMBER 9) – PRC GRAY ZONE TACTICS

1. Bonny Lin et al., *Competition in the Gray Zone: Countering China's Coercion Against U.S. Allies and Partners in the Indo-Pacific* (Santa Monica, C.A.: RAND, 2022), pp. 11-40.
2. Jacob Stokes, "Resisting China's Gray Zone Military Pressure on Taiwan," *Center for a New American Security*, December 2023.

M12 (SEPTEMBER 11) – ANTI-ACCESS/AREA DENIAL

1. Alex Vershinin, "The Challenge of Dis-Integrating the A2/AD Zone: How Emerging Technologies Are Shifting the Balance Back to the Defense," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Vol. 97, No. 2 (2020), pp. 13-19.
2. John Richardson, "Chief of Naval Operations Adm. John Richardson: Deconstructing A2AD," *National Interest*, October 3, 2016.
3. Luis Simón, "Demystifying the A2/AD Buzz," *War on the Rocks*, January 4, 2017.

M13 (SEPTEMBER 13) – LOGISTICS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC

Policy memo 1 due by 2359

Guest Lecture: Lt Gen (ret) Sam Barrett

1. Joel Wuthnow, "A New Era for Chinese Military Logistics," *Asian Security*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (September 2021), pp. 279-293.
2. John Sattely and Jesse Johnson, "Sustaining Distributed Forces in a Conflict with China," *War on the Rocks*, April 21, 2023.

III. NORTH KOREA (DPRK)

M14 (SEPTEMBER 17) – DPRK COMMAND STRUCTURE AND STRATEGIC CULTURE

1. Ryo Hinata-Yamaguchi, *Defense Planning and Readiness of North Korea: Armed to Rule* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2021), pp. 47-69.
2. Steve S. Sin, “Reinterpreting the (Relatively) Immutable Features of the North Korean Strategic Culture,” in Kerry M. Kartchner, Briana D. Bowen, and Jeannie L. Johnson, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Strategic Culture* (London: Routledge, 2023), pp. 251-265.

M15 (SEPTEMBER 19) – DPRK NATIONAL MILITARY STRATEGY

1. Defense Intelligence Agency, *North Korea Military Power: A Growing Regional and Global Threat* (Washington, D.C., 2021), pp. 1-18.
2. Office of the Secretary of Defense, “Military and Security Developments Involving the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea: Report to Congress,” February 13, 2018, pp. 1-7.
3. D. Sean Barnett et al., *North Korean Conventional Artillery: A Means to Retaliate, Coerce, Deter, or Terrorize Populations* (Santa Monica, C.A.: RAND, 2020).

M16 (SEPTEMBER 23) – DPRK ANTI-AIR OPERATIONS

Guest Lecture: Maj Joseph Bledsoe

1. Defense Intelligence Agency, *North Korea Military Power: A Growing Regional and Global Threat* (Washington, D.C., 2021), pp. 45-47.
2. A. B. Abrams, “Air-to-Air Missiles Could Be the North Korean Defense Sector’s Next Breakthrough: Why It Matters,” *38 North*, October 27, 2022.
3. Tianran Xu, “Developments of North Korea’s Land-Based Air Defense Systems,” *38 North*, July 19, 2024.

M17 (SEPTEMBER 25) – DPRK INTEGRATED OPERATIONS

Guest Lecture: Maj Gen (ret) David Scott

1. Defense Intelligence Agency, *North Korea Military Power: A Growing Regional and Global Threat* (Washington, D.C., 2021), pp. 19-37.
2. Michael J. Mazarr et al., *What Deters and Why: Applying a Framework to Assess Deterrence of Gray Zone Aggression* (Santa Monica, C.A.: RAND, 2021), pp. 73-87.

M18 (SEPTEMBER 27) – DPRK NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND OPERATIONS

Policy memo 2 due by 2359

1. Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, "Law on DPRK's Policy on Nuclear Forces Promulgated," September 9, 2022.
2. Hans M. Kristensen et al., "North Korean Nuclear Weapons, 2024," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (July 2024), pp. 251-266.
3. Paul I. Bernstein and Shane Smith, "Through a Glass, a Little Less Darkly: North Korean Nuclear Command and Control in Light of Recent Developments," *38 North*, November 14, 2022.

IV. RUSSIA

M19 (OCTOBER 1) – RUSSIAN COMMAND STRUCTURE AND STRATEGIC CULTURE

1. Michael Kofman et al., "Russian Military Strategy: Core Tenets and Operational Concepts," *Center for Naval Analyses*, August 2021, pp. 37-44.
2. Mette Skak, "Russian Strategic Culture: A Critical Survey of the Literature," in Kerry M. Kartchner, Briana D. Bowen, and Jeannie L. Johnson, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Strategic Culture* (London: Routledge, 2023), pp. 164-178.

M20 (OCTOBER 3) – RUSSIAN NATIONAL MILITARY STRATEGY

1. Russia Strategic Initiative, “Russian Military Doctrine,” Spring 2022, pp. 25-42.
2. Scott Boston and Dara Massicot, “The Russian Way of Warfare: A Primer,” *RAND*, December 7, 2017, pp. 1-12.

M21 (OCTOBER 7) – RUSSIAN INTEGRATED AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS

Guest Lecture: Maj Isaiah Harp

1. Justin Bronk, “Modern Russian and Chinese Integrated Air Defence Systems: The Nature of the Threat, Growth Trajectory, and Western Options,” *RUSI Occasional Paper*, January 2020, pp. 1-20.

M22 (OCTOBER 9) – RUSSIAN OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS BEFORE UKRAINE, 2022

1. Michael Kofman et al., “Russian Military Strategy: Core Tenets and Operational Concepts,” *Center for Naval Analyses*, August 2021, pp. 5-36.
2. Lester W. Grau and Charles K. Bartles, “Getting to Know the Russian Battalion Tactical Group,” *RUSI*, April 14, 2022.

M23 (OCTOBER 11) – ABANDONING DOCTRINE IN UKRAINE

1. Pavel Baev, *Russia’s War in Ukraine: Misleading Doctrine, Misguided Strategy* (Paris: French Institute of International Relations, 2022), pp. 5-24.
2. Dara Massicot, “What Russia Got Wrong: Can Moscow Learn from Its Failures in Ukraine?” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2023.

M24 (OCTOBER 16) – RUSSIAN GRAY ZONE TACTICS

1. Lyle J. Morris et al., *Gaining Competitive Advantage in the Gray Zone: Response Options for Coercive Aggression Below the Threshold of Major War* (Santa Monica, C.A.: RAND, 2019), pp. 13-27
2. Raphael S. Cohen, “Has the War in Ukraine Damaged Russia’s Gray Zone Capabilities?” *National Interest*, June 22, 2022.

M25 (OCTOBER 21) – RUSSIAN NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND OPERATIONS

Policy memo 3 due by 2359

1. President of the Russian Federation, “On the Basic Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation on Nuclear Deterrence,” Executive Order No. 355, June 2, 2020.
2. Anya L. Fink, “Russia’s Nuclear Weapons,” Congressional Research Service Report IF12672, May 21, 2024.
3. William Alberque, *Russian Military Thought and Doctrine Related to Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons: Change and Continuity* (Washington, D.C.: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2024), pp. 4-18.
4. Leonid Ryabikhin, “Russia’s NC3 and Early Warning Systems,” NAPSNet Special Reports, July 11, 2019, pp. 2-10.

V. IRAN

M26 (OCTOBER 23) – IRANIAN COMMAND STRUCTURE AND STRATEGIC CULTURE

1. Defense Intelligence Agency, *Iran Military Power: Ensuring Regime Survival and Securing Regional Dominance* (Washington, D.C.: 2019), pp. 1-9, 24-27.
2. Ali Parchami, “An Iranian Worldview: The Strategic Culture of the Islamic Republic,” in Kerry M. Kartchner, Briana D. Bowen, and Jeannie L. Johnson, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Strategic Culture* (London: Routledge, 2023), pp. 341-354.

M27 (OCTOBER 25) – IRANIAN NATIONAL MILITARY STRATEGY

1. Defense Intelligence Agency, *Iran Military Power: Ensuring Regime Survival and Securing Regional Dominance* (Washington, D.C.: 2019), pp. 10-23.
2. Hadi Ajili and Mahsa Rouhi, “Iran’s Military Strategy,” *Survival*, Vol. 61, No. 6 (December 2019/January 2020), pp. 139-152.

M28 (OCTOBER 29) – PROXY NETWORKS

1. Clayton Thomas, “Iran-Supported Groups in the Middle East and U.S. Policy,” Congressional Research Service Report IF12587, August 1, 2024.
2. Nakissa Jahanbani and Suzanne Weedon Levy, “Iran’s Proxy War Strategy,” in Assaf Moghadam, Vladimir Rauta, and Michel Wyss, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Proxy Wars* (London: Routledge, 2023), pp. 340-353.
3. Erwin Van Veen and Hamidreza Azizi, “Playing with Fire: Patterns of Iranian-Israeli Military Confrontation,” *War on the Rocks*, June 25, 2024.

M29 (OCTOBER 31) – EXTERNAL ENGAGEMENT

1. Nakissa Jahanbani et al., “Iranian Drone Proliferation is Scaling Up and Turning More Lethal,” *War on the Rocks*, September 8, 2023.
2. Danny Citrinowicz, “Iran Is on Its Way to Replacing Russia as a Leading Arms Exporter. The U.S. Needs a Strategy to Counter This Trend,” *Atlantic Council*, February 2, 2024.
3. Hanna Notte and Jim Lamson, “The Uncomfortable Reality of Russia and Iran’s New Defense Relationship,” *War on the Rocks*, July 24, 2024.

M30 (NOVEMBER 4) – NUCLEAR LATENCY

Policy memo 4 due by 2359

1. Eric Brewer, “Iran’s New Nuclear Threat: How Tehran Has Weaponized Its Threshold Status,” *Foreign Affairs*, June 25, 2024.
2. Peyman Asadzade, “A Majority of Iranians Now Favor Possessing Nuclear Weapons. Their Leaders Take Note,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June 13, 2024.
3. Toby Dalton and Ariel (Eli) Levite, “Iran’s Nuclear Threshold Challenge,” *War on the Rocks*, May 23, 2024.

VI. TABLETOP EXERCISE (TTX)

M31 (NOVEMBER 6) – TTX PLANNING SESSION

TTX briefing memo due by 2359

M32 (NOVEMBER 8) – TTX BRIEF TO GENERAL OFFICERS

Guest Panel: IFC general officers

M33 (NOVEMBER 13) – TTX MOVE 1

M34 (NOVEMBER 15) – TTX MOVE 2

M35 (NOVEMBER 19) – TTX MOVE 3

M36 (NOVEMBER 21) – TTX DEBRIEF

VII. VIOLENT EXTREMIST ORGANIZATIONS

M37 (NOVEMBER 25) – THE LOGIC OF TERRORISM

1. Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, “The Strategies of Terrorism,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 49-80.

M38 (DECEMBER 2) – AL QAEDA AND ISIS

TTX final paper due by 2359

1. Daniel Byman and Asfandyar Mir, “Assessing al-Qaeda: A Debate,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2022), pp. 1-21, 28-30.
2. Hassanein Ali, “The Rise and Fall of Islamic State: Current Challenges and Future Prospects,” *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2020), pp. 71-88.

M39 (DECEMBER 4) – HYBRID GROUPS: HEZBOLLAH AND THE HOUTHIS

Guest Lecture: Dr. Gregory Johnsen

1. Eitan Azani, “The Hybrid Terrorist Organization: Hezbollah as a Case Study,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 36, No. 11 (2013), pp. 899-912.
2. Kali Robinson, “What is Hezbollah?” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 30, 2024.
3. Christopher M. Blanchard, “Yemen: Conflict, Red Sea Attacks, and U.S. Policy,” *Congression Research Service Report IF12581*, August 5, 2024.
4. Gregory D. Johnsen, “No Good Options: The U.S. Dilemma in Yemen,” *Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington*, March 5, 2024.

M40 (DECEMBER 6) – COUNTERTERRORISM

Policy memo 5 due by 2359

1. Christine Abizaid and Paul Pope, “Counter-Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy Priorities,” *Horns of a Dilemma Podcast*, December 8, 2023, <<https://warontherocks.com/2023/12/counter-terrorism-and-u-s-foreign-policy-priorities/>>.
2. Sahr Muhammedally, “Counter-Terrorism Hangover or Legal Obligation? The Requirement to Protect Civilians in War,” *War on the Rocks*, March 30, 2021.
3. Karen M. Sudkamp, “Learning from the War on Terror,” *War on the Rocks*, March 21, 2024.