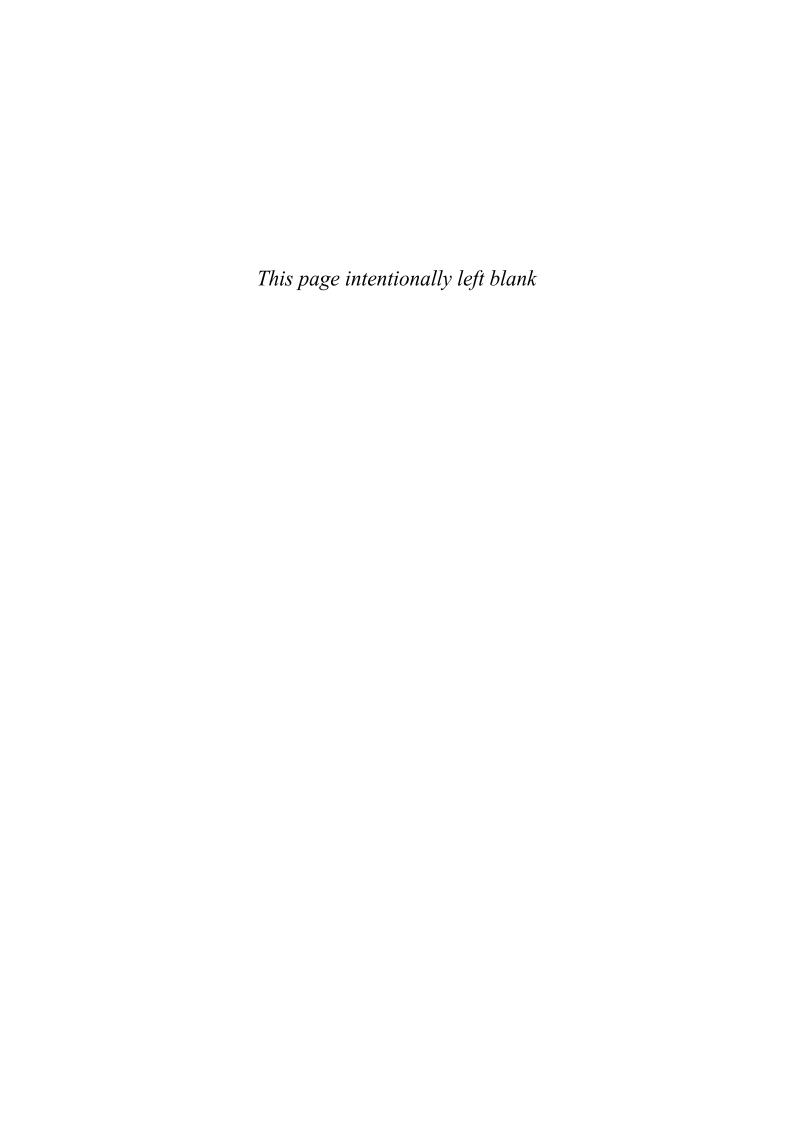


THE COMING AGE OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA

DAVID KILCULLEN



## OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS



# OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS

THE COMING AGE OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA

David Kilcullen



### OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide.

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

#### © David Kilcullen 2013

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization. Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form, and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Kilcullen, David.

Out of the mountains: the coming age of the urban guerrilla / David Kilcullen.

pages cm

ISBN 978-0-19-973750-5 (hardback)

1. Guerrilla warfare. 2. Urban warfare.

3. Low-intensity conflicts (Military science)

4. Conflict management.

5. Non-governmental organizations. I. Title.

U240.K493 2013

355.02′18091732—dc23 2013014396

#### CONTENTS

#### Acknowledgments vii

| Introduction: Ambush in Afghanistan | 3 |
|-------------------------------------|---|
|-------------------------------------|---|

- 1. Out of the Mountains 18
- 2. Future Cities, Future Threats 52
- 3. The Theory of Competitive Control 116
  - 4. Conflict in Connected Cities 169
  - 5. Crowded, Complex, and Coastal 232

Appendix: On War in the Urban, Networked Littoral 263

Notes 295

Index 331