



FM 3-24
MCWP 3-33.5

COUNTERINSURGENCY

DECEMBER 2006

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HEADQUARTERS
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Foreword

This manual is designed to fill a doctrinal gap. It has been 20 years since the Army published a field manual devoted exclusively to counterinsurgency operations. For the Marine Corps it has been 25 years. With our Soldiers and Marines fighting insurgents in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is essential that we give them a manual that provides principles and guidelines for counterinsurgency operations. Such guidance must be grounded in historical studies. However, it also must be informed by contemporary experiences.

This manual takes a general approach to counterinsurgency operations. The Army and Marine Corps recognize that every insurgency is contextual and presents its own set of challenges. You cannot fight former Saddamists and Islamic extremists the same way you would have fought the Viet Cong, Moros, or Tupamaros; the application of principles and fundamentals to deal with each varies considerably. Nonetheless, all insurgencies, even today's highly adaptable strains, remain wars amongst the people. They use variations of standard themes and adhere to elements of a recognizable revolutionary campaign plan. This manual therefore addresses the common characteristics of insurgencies. It strives to provide those conducting counterinsurgency campaigns with a solid foundation for understanding and addressing specific insurgencies.

A counterinsurgency campaign is, as described in this manual, a mix of offensive, defensive, and stability operations conducted along multiple lines of operations. It requires Soldiers and Marines to employ a mix of familiar combat tasks and skills more often associated with nonmilitary agencies. The balance between them depends on the local situation. Achieving this balance is not easy. It requires leaders at all levels to adjust their approach constantly. They must ensure that their Soldiers and Marines are ready to be greeted with either a handshake or a hand grenade while taking on missions only infrequently practiced until recently at our combat training centers. Soldiers and Marines are expected to be nation builders as well as warriors. They must be prepared to help reestablish institutions and local security forces and assist in rebuilding infrastructure and basic services. They must be able to facilitate establishing local governance and the rule of law. The list of such tasks is long; performing them involves extensive coordination and cooperation with many intergovernmental, host-nation, and international agencies. Indeed, the responsibilities of leaders in a counterinsurgency campaign are daunting; however, the discussions in this manual alert leaders to the challenges of such campaigns and suggest general approaches for grappling with those challenges.

Conducting a successful counterinsurgency campaign requires a flexible, adaptive force led by agile, well-informed, culturally astute leaders. It is our hope that this manual provides the guidelines needed to succeed in operations that are exceedingly difficult and complex. Our Soldiers and Marines deserve nothing less.



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Field Manual
No. 3-24

Headquarters
Department of the Army
Washington, DC

Marine Corps Warfighting Publication
No. 3-33.5

Headquarters
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Department of the Navy
Headquarters
United States Marine Corps
Washington, DC

15 December 2006

COUNTERINSURGENCY

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*This publication supersedes FMI 3-07.22, 1 October 2004, and MCWP 3-33.5, 29 January 1980.

Marine Corps PCN: 143 000124 00

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Preface

This field manual/Marine Corps warfighting publication establishes doctrine (fundamental principles) for military operations in a counterinsurgency (COIN) environment. It is based on lessons learned from previous counterinsurgencies and contemporary operations. It is also based on existing interim doctrine and doctrine recently developed.

Counterinsurgency operations generally have been neglected in broader American military doctrine and national security policies since the end of the Vietnam War over 30 years ago. This manual is designed to reverse that trend. It is also designed to merge traditional approaches to COIN with the realities of a new international arena shaped by technological advances, globalization, and the spread of extremist ideologies—some of them claiming the authority of a religious faith.

The manual begins with a description of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies. The first chapter includes a set of principles and imperatives necessary for successful COIN operations. Chapter 2 discusses nonmilitary organizations commonly involved in COIN operations and principles for integrating military and civilian activities. Chapter 3 addresses aspects of intelligence specific to COIN operations. The next two chapters discuss the design and execution of those operations. Developing host-nation security forces, an essential aspect of successful COIN operations, is the subject of chapter 6. Leadership and ethical concerns are addressed in chapter 7. Chapter 8, which concerns sustainment of COIN operations, concludes the basic manual. The appendixes contain useful supplemental information. Appendix A discusses factors to consider during the planning, preparation, execution, and assessment of a COIN operation. Appendixes B and C contain supplemental intelligence information. Appendix D addresses legal concerns. Appendix E describes the role of airpower.

Doctrine by definition is broad in scope and involves principles, tactics, techniques, and procedures applicable worldwide. Thus, this publication is not focused on any region or country and is not intended to be a stand-alone reference. Users should assess information from other sources to help them decide how to apply the doctrine in this publication to the specific circumstances facing them.

The primary audience for this manual is leaders and planners at the battalion level and above. This manual applies to the United States Marine Corps, the Active Army, the Army National Guard/Army National Guard of the United States, and the United States Army Reserve unless otherwise stated.

This publication contains copyrighted material. Copyrighted material is identified with footnotes. Other sources are identified in the source notes.

Terms that have joint, Army, or Marine Corps definitions are identified in both the glossary and the text. FM 3-24 is not the proponent field manual (the authority) for any Army term. For definitions in the text, the term is italicized and the number of the proponent manual follows the definition.

Headquarters, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command is the proponent for this publication. The preparing agency is the Combined Arms Doctrine Directorate, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center. Send written comments and recommendations on DA Form 2028 (Recommended Changes to Publications and Blank Forms) directly to Commander, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center and Fort Leavenworth, ATTN: ATZL-CD (FM 3-24), 201 Reynolds Avenue (Building 285), Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 66027-1352. Send comments and recommendations by e-mail to web-cadd@leavenworth.army.mil. Follow the DA Form 2028 format or submit an electronic DA Form 2028.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Introduction

This is a game of wits and will. You've got to be learning and adapting constantly to survive.

General Peter J. Schoomaker, USA, 2004

The United States possesses overwhelming conventional military superiority. This capability has pushed its enemies to fight U.S. forces unconventionally, mixing modern technology with ancient techniques of insurgency and terrorism. Most enemies either do not try to defeat the United States with conventional operations or do not limit themselves to purely military means. They know that they cannot compete with U.S. forces on those terms. Instead, they try to exhaust U.S. national will, aiming to win by undermining and outlasting public support. Defeating such enemies presents a huge challenge to the Army and Marine Corps. Meeting it requires creative efforts by every Soldier and Marine.

Throughout its history, the U.S. military has had to relearn the principles of counterinsurgency (COIN) while conducting operations against adaptive insurgent enemies. It is time to institutionalize Army and Marine Corps knowledge of this longstanding form of conflict. This publication's purpose is to help prepare Army and Marine Corps leaders to conduct COIN operations anywhere in the world. It provides a foundation for study before deployment and the basis for operations in theater. Perhaps more importantly, it provides techniques for generating and incorporating lessons learned during those operations—an essential requirement for success against today's adaptive foes. Using these techniques and processes can keep U.S. forces more agile and adaptive than their irregular enemies. Knowledge of the history and principles of insurgency and COIN provides a solid foundation that informed leaders can use to assess insurgencies. This knowledge can also help them make appropriate decisions on employing all instruments of national power against these threats.

All insurgencies are different; however, broad historical trends underlie the factors motivating insurgents. Most insurgencies follow a similar course of development. The tactics used to successfully defeat them are likewise similar in most cases. Similarly, history shows that some tactics that are usually successful against conventional foes may fail against insurgents.

One common feature of insurgencies is that the government that is being targeted generally takes awhile to recognize that an insurgency is occurring. Insurgents take advantage of that time to build strength and gather support. Thus, counterinsurgents often have to “come from behind” when fighting an insurgency. Another common feature is that forces conducting COIN operations usually begin poorly. Western militaries too often neglect the study of insurgency. They falsely believe that armies trained to win large conventional wars are automatically prepared to win small, unconventional ones. In fact, some capabilities required for conventional success—for example, the ability to execute operational maneuver and employ massive firepower—may be of limited utility or even counterproductive in COIN operations. Nonetheless, conventional forces beginning COIN operations often try to use these capabilities to defeat insurgents; they almost always fail.

The military forces that successfully defeat insurgencies are usually those able to overcome their institutional inclination to wage conventional war against insurgents. They learn how to practice COIN and apply that knowledge. This publication can help to compress the learning curve. It is a tool for planners, trainers, and field commanders. Using it can help leaders begin the learning process sooner and build it on a larger knowledge base. Learning done before deployment results in fewer lives lost and less national treasure spent relearning past lessons in combat.

In COIN, the side that learns faster and adapts more rapidly—the better learning organization—usually wins. Counterinsurgencies have been called learning competitions. Thus, this publication identifies “Learn and Adapt” as a modern COIN imperative for U.S. forces. However, Soldiers and Marines cannot wait until they are alerted to deploy to prepare for a COIN mission. Learning to conduct complex COIN operations begins with study beforehand. This publication is a good place to start. The annotated bibliography lists a number of

other sources; however, these are only a sample of the vast amount of available information on this subject. Adapting occurs as Soldiers and Marines apply what they have learned through study and experience, assess the results of their actions, and continue to learn during operations.

As learning organizations, the Army and Marine Corps encourage Soldiers and Marines to pay attention to the rapidly changing situations that characterize COIN operations. Current tactics, techniques, and procedures sometimes do not achieve the desired results. When that happens, successful leaders engage in a directed search for better ways to defeat the enemy. To win, the Army and Marine Corps must rapidly develop an institutional consensus on new doctrine, publish it, and carefully observe its impact on mission accomplishment. This learning cycle should repeat continuously as U.S. counterinsurgents seek to learn faster than the insurgent enemy. The side that learns faster and adapts more rapidly wins.

Just as there are historical principles underlying success in COIN, there are organizational traits shared by most successful learning organizations. Forces that learn COIN effectively have generally—

- Developed COIN doctrine and practices locally.
- Established local training centers during COIN operations.
- Regularly challenged their assumptions, both formally and informally.
- Learned about the broader world outside the military and requested outside assistance in understanding foreign political, cultural, social and other situations beyond their experience.
- Promoted suggestions from the field.
- Fostered open communication between senior officers and their subordinates.
- Established rapid avenues of disseminating lessons learned.
- Coordinated closely with governmental and nongovernmental partners at all command levels.
- Proved open to soliciting and evaluating advice from the local people in the conflict zone.

These are not always easy practices for an organization to establish. Adopting them is particularly challenging for a military engaged in a conflict. However, these traits are essential for any military confronting an enemy who does not fight using conventional tactics and who adapts while waging irregular warfare. Learning organizations defeat insurgencies; bureaucratic hierarchies do not.

Promoting learning is a key responsibility of commanders at all levels. The U.S. military has developed first-class lessons-learned systems that allow for collecting and rapidly disseminating information from the field. But these systems only work when commanders promote their use and create a command climate that encourages bottom-up learning. Junior leaders in the field often informally disseminate lessons based on their experiences. However, incorporating this information into institutional lessons learned, and then into doctrine, requires commanders to encourage subordinates to use institutional lessons-learned processes.

Ironically, the nature of counterinsurgency presents challenges to traditional lessons-learned systems; many nonmilitary aspects of COIN do not lend themselves to rapid tactical learning. As this publication explains, performing the many nonmilitary tasks in COIN requires knowledge of many diverse, complex subjects. These include governance, economic development, public administration, and the rule of law. Commanders with a deep-rooted knowledge of these subjects can help subordinates understand challenging, unfamiliar environments and adapt more rapidly to changing situations. Reading this publication is a first step to developing this knowledge.

COIN campaigns are often long and difficult. Progress can be hard to measure, and the enemy may appear to have many advantages. Effective insurgents rapidly adapt to changing circumstances. They cleverly use the tools of the global information revolution to magnify the effects of their actions. They often carry out barbaric acts and do not observe accepted norms of behavior. However, by focusing on efforts to secure the safety and support of the local populace, and through a concerted effort to truly function as learning organizations, the Army and Marine Corps can defeat their insurgent enemies.

Chapter 1

Insurgency and Counterinsurgency

Counterinsurgency is not just thinking man's warfare—it is the graduate level of war.
Special Forces Officer in Iraq, 2005

This chapter provides background information on insurgency and counterinsurgency. The first half describes insurgency, while the second half examines the more complex challenge of countering it. The chapter concludes with a set of principles and imperatives that contribute to success in counterinsurgency.

OVERVIEW

1-1. Insurgency and counterinsurgency (COIN) are complex subsets of warfare. Globalization, technological advancement, urbanization, and extremists who conduct suicide attacks for their cause have certainly influenced contemporary conflict; however, warfare in the 21st century retains many of the characteristics it has exhibited since ancient times. Warfare remains a violent clash of interests between organized groups characterized by the use of force. Achieving victory still depends on a group's ability to mobilize support for its political interests (often religiously or ethnically based) and to generate enough violence to achieve political consequences. Means to achieve these goals are not limited to conventional forces employed by nation-states.

1-2. Insurgency and its tactics are as old as warfare itself. Joint doctrine defines an *insurgency* as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict (JP 1-02). Stated another way, an insurgency is an organized, protracted politico-military struggle designed to weaken the control and legitimacy of an established government, occupying power, or other political authority while increasing insurgent control. *Counterinsurgency* is military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency (JP 1-02). These definitions are a good starting point, but they do not properly highlight a key paradox: though insurgency and COIN are two sides of a phenomenon that has been called revolutionary war or internal war, they are distinctly different types of operations. In addition, insurgency and COIN are included within a broad category of conflict known as irregular warfare.

1-3. Political power is the central issue in insurgencies and counterinsurgencies; each side aims to get the people to accept its governance or authority as legitimate. Insurgents use all available tools—political (including diplomatic), informational (including appeals to religious, ethnic, or ideological beliefs), military, and economic—to overthrow the existing authority. This authority may be an established government or an interim governing body. Counterinsurgents, in turn, use all instruments of national power to sustain the established or emerging government and reduce the likelihood of another crisis emerging.

1-4. Long-term success in COIN depends on the people taking charge of their own affairs and consenting to the government's rule. Achieving this condition requires the government to eliminate as many causes of the insurgency as feasible. This can include eliminating those extremists whose beliefs prevent them from ever reconciling with the government. Over time, counterinsurgents aim to enable a country or regime to provide the security and rule of law that allow establishment of social services and growth of economic activity. COIN thus involves the application of national power in the political, military, economic, social, information, and infrastructure fields and disciplines. Political and military leaders and planners should never underestimate its scale and complexity; moreover, they should recognize that the Armed Forces cannot succeed in COIN alone.

ASPECTS OF INSURGENCY

1-5. Governments can be overthrown in a number of ways. An unplanned, spontaneous explosion of popular will, for example, might result in a revolution like that in France in 1789. At another extreme is the coup d'état, where a small group of plotters replace state leaders with little support from the people at large. Insurgencies generally fall between these two extremes. They normally seek to achieve one of two goals: to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within a single state, or to break away from state control and form an autonomous entity or ungoverned space that they can control. Insurgency is typically a form of internal war, one that occurs primarily within a state, not between states, and one that contains at least some elements of civil war.

1-6. The exception to this pattern of internal war involves resistance movements, where indigenous elements seek to expel or overthrow what they perceive to be a foreign or occupation government. Such a resistance movement could be mounted by a legitimate government in exile as well as by factions competing for that role.

1-7. Even in internal war, the involvement of outside actors is expected. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the United States participated in many such conflicts. Today, outside actors are often transnational organizations motivated by ideologies based on extremist religious or ethnic beliefs. These organizations exploit the unstable internal conditions plaguing failed and failing states. Such outside involvement, however, does not change one fact: the long-term objective for all sides remains acceptance of the legitimacy of one side's claim to political power by the people of the state or region.

1-8. The terrorist and guerrilla tactics common to insurgency have been among the most common approaches to warfare throughout history. Any combatant prefers a quick, cheap, overwhelming victory over a long, bloody, protracted struggle. But to succeed against superior resources and technology, weaker actors have had to adapt. The recent success of U.S. military forces in major combat operations undoubtedly will lead many future opponents to pursue asymmetric approaches. Because the United States retains significant advantages in fires and technical surveillance, a thinking enemy is unlikely to choose to fight U.S. forces in open battle. Some opponents have attempted to do so, such as in Panama in 1989 and Iraq in 1991 and 2003. They were defeated in conflicts measured in hours or days. Conversely, other opponents have offset America's fires and surveillance advantages by operating close to civilians, as Somali clans did in 1993 and insurgents in Iraq have done since mid-2003; these enemies have been more successful in achieving their aims. This situation does not mean that counterinsurgents do not face open warfare. Although insurgents frequently use nonviolent means like political mobilization and work stoppages (strikes), they do resort to conventional military operations when conditions seem right.

1-9. The contest of internal war is not "fair"; many of the "rules" favor insurgents. That is why insurgency has been a common approach used by the weak against the strong. At the beginning of a conflict, insurgents typically hold the strategic initiative. Though they may resort to violence because of regime changes or government actions, insurgents generally initiate the conflict. Clever insurgents strive to disguise their intentions. When these insurgents are successful at such deception, potential counterinsurgents are at a disadvantage. A coordinated reaction requires political and military leaders to recognize that an insurgency exists and to determine its makeup and characteristics. While the government prepares to respond, the insurgents gain strength and foster increasing disruption throughout the state or region. The government normally has an initial advantage in resources; however, that edge is counterbalanced by the requirement to maintain order and protect the population and critical resources. Insurgents succeed by sowing chaos and disorder anywhere; the government fails unless it maintains a degree of order everywhere.

1-10. For the reasons just mentioned, maintaining security in an unstable environment requires vast resources, whether host nation, U.S., or multinational. In contrast, a small number of highly motivated insurgents with simple weapons, good operations security, and even limited mobility can undermine security over a large area. Thus, successful COIN operations often require a high ratio of security forces to the protected population. (See paragraph 1-67.) For that reason, protracted COIN operations are hard to sustain. The effort requires a firm political will and substantial patience by the government, its people, and the countries providing support.

1-11. Revolutionary situations may result from regime changes, external interventions, or grievances carefully nurtured and manipulated by unscrupulous leaders. Sometimes societies are most prone to unrest not when conditions are the worst, but when the situation begins to improve and people's expectations rise. For example, when major combat operations conclude, people may have unrealistic expectations of the United States' capability to improve their lives. The resulting discontent can fuel unrest and insurgency. At such times, the influences of globalization and the international media may create a sense of relative deprivation, contributing to increased discontent as well.

1-12. The information environment is a critical dimension of such internal wars, and insurgents attempt to shape it to their advantage. One way they do this is by carrying out activities, such as suicide attacks, that may have little military value but create fear and uncertainty within the populace and government institutions. These actions are executed to attract high-profile media coverage or local publicity and inflate perceptions of insurgent capabilities. Resulting stories often include insurgent fabrications designed to undermine the government's legitimacy.

1-13. Insurgents have an additional advantage in shaping the information environment. Counterinsurgents seeking to preserve legitimacy must stick to the truth and make sure that words are backed up by deeds; insurgents, on the other hand, can make exorbitant promises and point out government shortcomings, many caused or aggravated by the insurgency. Ironically, as insurgents achieve more success and begin to control larger portions of the populace, many of these asymmetries diminish. That may produce new vulnerabilities that adaptive counterinsurgents can exploit.

1-14. Before most COIN operations begin, insurgents have seized and exploited the initiative, to some degree at the least. Therefore, counterinsurgents undertake offensive and defensive operations to regain the initiative and create a secure environment. However, killing insurgents—while necessary, especially with respect to extremists—by itself cannot defeat an insurgency. Gaining and retaining the initiative requires counterinsurgents to address the insurgency's causes through stability operations as well. This initially involves securing and controlling the local populace and providing for essential services. As security improves, military resources contribute to supporting government reforms and reconstruction projects. As counterinsurgents gain the initiative, offensive operations focus on eliminating the insurgent cadre, while defensive operations focus on protecting the populace and infrastructure from direct attacks. As counterinsurgents establish military ascendancy, stability operations expand across the area of operations (AO) and eventually predominate. Victory is achieved when the populace consents to the government's legitimacy and stops actively and passively supporting the insurgency.

THE EVOLUTION OF INSURGENCY

1-15. Insurgency has taken many forms over time. Past insurgencies include struggles for independence against colonial powers, the rising up of ethnic or religious groups against their rivals, and resistance to foreign invaders. Students and practitioners of COIN must begin by understanding the specific circumstances of their particular situation. The history of this form of warfare shows how varied and adaptive it can be, and why students must understand that they cannot focus on countering just one insurgent approach. This is particularly true when addressing a continually complex, changing situation like that of Iraq in 2006.

1-16. Insurgencies and counterinsurgencies have been common throughout history, but especially since the beginning of the 20th century. The United States began that century by defeating the Philippine Insurrection. The turmoil of World War I and its aftermath produced numerous internal wars. Trotsky and Lenin seized power in Russia and then defended the new regime against counterrevolutionaries. T.E. Lawrence and Arab forces used guerrilla tactics to overcome the Ottoman Turks during the Arab Revolt.

1-17. Before World War I, insurgencies were mostly conservative; insurgents were usually concerned with defending hearth, home, monarchies, and traditional religion. Governments were seldom able to completely defeat these insurgencies; violence would recur when conditions favored a rebellion. For example, the history of the British Isles includes many recurring insurgencies by subjugated peoples based on ethnic identities. Another example of a conservative insurgency is the early 19th century Spanish uprising against Napoleon that sapped French strength and contributed significantly to Napoleon's defeat.

1-18. Since World War I, insurgencies have generally had more revolutionary purposes. The Bolshevik takeover of Russia demonstrated a conspiratorial approach to overthrowing a government; it spawned a communist movement that supported further “wars of national liberation.” Lawrence’s experiences in the Arab Revolt made him a hero and also provide some insights for today.

1-19. The modern era of insurgencies and internal wars began after World War II. Many of the resistance movements against German and Japanese occupation continued after the Axis defeat in 1945. As nationalism rose, the imperial powers declined. Motivated by nationalism and communism, people began forming governments viewed as more responsive to their needs. The development of increasingly lethal and portable killing technologies dramatically increased the firepower available to insurgent groups. As important was the increase in the news media’s ability to get close to conflicts and transmit imagery locally and globally. In 1920, T.E. Lawrence noted, “The printing press is the greatest weapon in the armory of the modern commander.” Today, he might have added, “and the modern insurgent,” though certainly the Internet and compact storage media like cassettes, compact disks, and digital versatile disks (DVDs) have become more important in recent years.

1-20. Thus, 20th century events transformed the purpose and character of most insurgencies. Most 19th century insurgencies were local movements to sustain the status quo. By the mid-20th century they had become national and transnational revolutionary movements. Clausewitz thought that wars by an armed populace could only serve as a strategic defense; however, theorists after World War II realized that insurgency could be a decisive form of warfare. This era spawned the Maoist, Che Guevara-type focoist, and urban approaches to insurgency.

1-21. While some Cold War insurgencies persisted after the Soviet Union’s collapse, many new ones appeared. These new insurgencies typically emerged from civil wars or the collapse of states no longer propped up by Cold War rivalries. Power vacuums breed insurgencies. Similar conditions exist when regimes are changed by force or circumstances. Recently, ideologies based on extremist forms of religious or ethnic identities have replaced ideologies based on secular revolutionary ideals. These new forms of old, strongly held beliefs define the identities of the most dangerous combatants in these new internal wars. These conflicts resemble the wars of religion in Europe before and after the Reformation of the 16th century. People have replaced nonfunctioning national identities with traditional sources of unity and identity. When countering an insurgency during the Cold War, the United States normally focused on increasing a threatened but friendly government’s ability to defend itself and on encouraging political and economic reforms to undercut support for the insurgency. Today, when countering an insurgency growing from state collapse or failure, counterinsurgents often face a more daunting task: helping friendly forces reestablish political order and legitimacy where these conditions may no longer exist.

1-22. Interconnectedness and information technology are new aspects of this contemporary wave of insurgencies. Using the Internet, insurgents can now link virtually with allied groups throughout a state, a region, and even the entire world. Insurgents often join loose organizations with common objectives but different motivations and no central controlling body, which makes identifying leaders difficult.

1-23. Today’s operational environment also includes a new kind of insurgency, one that seeks to impose revolutionary change worldwide. Al Qaeda is a well-known example of such an insurgency. This movement seeks to transform the Islamic world and reorder its relationships with other regions and cultures. It is notable for its members’ willingness to execute suicide attacks to achieve their ends. Such groups often feed on local grievances. Al Qaeda-type revolutionaries are willing to support causes they view as compatible with their own goals through the provision of funds, volunteers, and sympathetic and targeted propaganda. While the communications and technology used for this effort are often new and modern, the grievances and methods sustaining it are not. As in other insurgencies, terrorism, subversion, propaganda, and open warfare are the tools of such movements. Today, these time-tested tools have been augmented by the precision munition of extremists—suicide attacks. Defeating such enemies requires a global, strategic response—one that addresses the array of linked resources and conflicts that sustain these movements while tactically addressing the local grievances that feed them.

INSURGENTS AND THEIR MOTIVES

1-24. Each insurgency is unique, although there are often similarities among them. In all cases, insurgents aim to force political change; any military action is secondary and subordinate, a means to an end. Few insurgencies fit neatly into any rigid classification. In fact, counterinsurgent commanders may face a confusing and shifting coalition of many kinds of opponents, some of whom may be at odds with one another. Examining the specific type of insurgency they face enables commanders and staffs to build a more accurate picture of the insurgents and the thinking behind their overall approach. Such an examination identifies the following:

- Root cause or causes of the insurgency.
- Extent to which the insurgency enjoys internal and external support.
- Basis (including the ideology and narrative) on which insurgents appeal to the target population.
- Insurgents' motivation and depth of commitment.
- Likely insurgent weapons and tactics.
- Operational environment in which insurgents seek to initiate and develop their campaign and strategy.

INSURGENT APPROACHES

1-25. Counterinsurgents have to determine not only their opponents' motivation but also the approach being used to advance the insurgency. This information is essential to developing effective programs that attack the insurgency's root causes. Analysis of the insurgents' approach shapes counterinsurgent military options. Insurgent approaches include, but are not limited to, the following:

- Conspiratorial.
- Military-focused.
- Urban.
- Protracted popular war.
- Identity-focused.
- Composite and coalition.

Conspiratorial

1-26. A conspiratorial approach involves a few leaders and a militant cadre or activist party seizing control of government structures or exploiting a revolutionary situation. In 1917, Lenin used this approach in carrying out the Bolshevik Revolution. Such insurgents remain secretive as long as possible. They emerge only when success can be achieved quickly. This approach usually involves creating a small, secretive, "vanguard" party or force. Insurgents who use this approach successfully may have to create security forces and generate mass support to maintain power, as the Bolsheviks did.

Military-Focused

1-27. Users of military-focused approaches aim to create revolutionary possibilities or seize power primarily by applying military force. For example, the focoist approach, popularized by figures like Che Guevara, asserts that an insurrection itself can create the conditions needed to overthrow a government. Focoists believe that a small group of guerrillas operating in a rural environment where grievances exist can eventually gather enough support to achieve their aims. In contrast, some secessionist insurgencies have relied on major conventional forces to try to secure their independence. Military-focused insurgencies conducted by Islamic extremist groups or insurgents in Africa or Latin America have little or no political structure; they spread their control through movement of combat forces rather than political subversion.

Urban

1-28. Organizations like the Irish Republican Army, certain Latin American groups, and some Islamic extremist groups in Iraq have pursued an urban approach. This approach uses terrorist tactics in urban areas to accomplish the following:

- Sow disorder.
- Incite sectarian violence.
- Weaken the government.
- Intimidate the population.
- Kill government and opposition leaders.
- Fix and intimidate police and military forces, limiting their ability to respond to attacks.
- Create government repression.

1-29. Protracted urban terrorism waged by small, independent cells requires little or no popular support. It is difficult to counter. Historically, such activities have not generated much success without wider rural support. However, as societies have become more urbanized and insurgent networks more sophisticated, this approach has become more effective. When facing adequately run internal security forces, urban insurgencies typically assume a conspiratorial cellular structure recruited along lines of close association—family, religious affiliation, political party, or social group.

Protracted Popular War

1-30. Protracted conflicts favor insurgents, and no approach makes better use of that asymmetry than the protracted popular war. The Chinese Communists used this approach to conquer China after World War II. The North Vietnamese and Algerians adapted it to fit their respective situations. And some Al Qaeda leaders suggest it in their writings today. This approach is complex; few contemporary insurgent movements apply its full program, although many apply parts of it. It is, therefore, of more than just historical interest. Knowledge of it can be a powerful aid to understanding some insurgent movements.

Mao Zedong's Theory of Protracted War

1-31. Mao's Theory of Protracted War outlines a three-phased, politico-military approach:

- **Strategic defensive**, when the government has a stronger correlation of forces and insurgents must concentrate on survival and building support.
- **Strategic stalemate**, when force correlations approach equilibrium and guerrilla warfare becomes the most important activity.
- **Strategic counteroffensive**, when insurgents have superior strength and military forces move to conventional operations to destroy the government's military capability.

1-32. Phase I, strategic defensive, is a period of latent insurgency that allows time to wear down superior enemy strength while the insurgency gains support and establishes bases. During this phase, insurgent leaders develop the movement into an effective clandestine organization. Insurgents use a variety of subversive techniques to psychologically prepare the populace to resist the government or occupying power. These techniques may include propaganda, demonstrations, boycotts, and sabotage. In addition, movement leaders organize or develop cooperative relationships with legitimate political action groups, youth groups, trade unions, and other front organizations. Doing this develops popular support for later political and military activities. Throughout this phase, the movement leadership—

- Recruits, organizes, and trains cadre members.
- Infiltrates key government organizations and civilian groups.
- Establishes cellular intelligence, operations, and support networks.
- Solicits and obtains funds.
- Develops sources for external support.

Subversive activities are frequently executed in an organized pattern, but major combat is avoided. The primary military activity is terrorist strikes. These are executed to gain popular support, influence recalci-

trant individuals, and sap enemy strength. In the advanced stages of this phase, the insurgent organization may establish a counterstate that parallels the established authority. (A *counterstate* [or shadow government] is a competing structure that a movement sets up to replace the government. It includes the administrative and bureaucratic trappings of political power and performs the normal functions of a government.)

1-33. Phase II, strategic stalemate, begins with overt guerrilla warfare as the correlation of forces approaches equilibrium. In a rural-based insurgency, guerrillas normally operate from a relatively secure base area in insurgent-controlled territory. In an urban-based insurgency, guerrillas operate clandestinely, using a cellular organization. In the political arena, the movement concentrates on undermining the people's support of the government and further expanding areas of control. Subversive activities can take the form of clandestine radio broadcasts, newspapers, and pamphlets that openly challenge the control and legitimacy of the established authority. As the populace loses faith in the established authority the people may decide to actively resist it. During this phase, a counterstate may begin to emerge to fill gaps in governance that the host-nation (HN) government is unwilling or unable to address. Two recent examples are Moqtada al Sadr's organization in Iraq and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Sadr's Mahdi Army provides security and some services in parts of southern Iraq and Baghdad under Sadr's control. (In fact, the Mahdi Army created gaps by undermining security and services; then it moved to solve the problem it created.) Hezbollah provides essential services and reconstruction assistance for its constituents as well as security. Each is an expression of Shiite identity against governments that are pluralist and relatively weak.

1-34. Phase III, strategic counteroffensive, occurs as the insurgent organization becomes stronger than the established authority. Insurgent forces transition from guerrilla warfare to conventional warfare. Military forces aim to destroy the enemy's military capability. Political actions aim to completely displace all government authorities. If successful, this phase causes the government's collapse or the occupying power's withdrawal. Without direct foreign intervention, a strategic offensive takes on the characteristics of a full-scale civil war. As it gains control of portions of the country, the insurgent movement becomes responsible for the population, resources, and territory under its control. To consolidate and preserve its gains, an effective insurgent movement continues the phase I activities listed in paragraph 1-32. In addition it—

- Establishes an effective civil administration.
- Establishes an effective military organization.
- Provides balanced social and economic development.
- Mobilizes the populace to support the insurgent organization.
- Protects the populace from hostile actions.

1-35. Effectively applying Maoist strategy does not require a sequential or complete application of all three stages. The aim is seizing political power; if the government's will and capability collapse early in the process, so much the better. If unsuccessful in a later phase, the insurgency might revert to an earlier one. Later insurgents added new twists to this strategy, to include rejecting the need to eventually switch to large-scale conventional operations. For example, the Algerian insurgents did not achieve much military success of any kind; instead they garnered decisive popular support through superior organizational skills and astute propaganda that exploited French mistakes. These and other factors, including the loss of will in France, compelled the French to withdraw.

The North Vietnamese Dau Tranh

1-36. The Vietnamese conflict offers another example of the application of Mao's strategy. The North Vietnamese developed a detailed variant of it known as *dau tranh* ("the struggle") that is most easily described in terms of logical lines of operations (LLOs). In this context, a *line of operations* is a logical line that connects actions on nodes and/or decisive points related in time and purpose with an objective (JP 1-02). LLOs can also be described as an operational framework/planning construct used to define the concept of multiple, and often disparate, actions arranged in a framework unified by purpose. (Chapters 4 and 5 discuss LLOs typically used in COIN operations.) Besides modifying Mao's three phases, *dau tranh* delineated LLOs for achieving political objectives among the enemy population, enemy soldiers, and friendly forces. The "general offensive–general uprising" envisioned in this approach did not occur during the Vietnam War; however, the approach was designed to achieve victory by whatever means were effective.

It did not attack a single enemy center of gravity; instead it put pressure on several, asserting that, over time, victory would result in one of two ways: from activities along one LLO or the combined effects of efforts along several. North Vietnamese actions after their military failure in the 1968 Tet offensive demonstrate this approach's flexibility. At that time, the North Vietnamese shifted their focus from defeating U.S. forces in Vietnam to weakening U.S. will at home. These actions expedited U.S. withdrawal and laid the groundwork for the North Vietnamese victory in 1975.

Complexity and the Shifting Mosaic

1-37. Protracted popular war approaches are conducted along multiple politico-military LLOs and are locally configured. Insurgents may use guerrilla tactics in one province while executing terrorist attacks and an urban approach in another. There may be differences in political activities between villages in the same province. The result is more than just a "three-block war": it is a shifting "mosaic war" that is difficult for counterinsurgents to envision as a coherent whole. In such situations, an effective COIN strategy must be multifaceted and flexible.

Identity-Focused

1-38. The identity-focused approach mobilizes support based on the common identity of religious affiliation, clan, tribe, or ethnic group. Some movements may be based on an appeal to a religious identity, either separately from or as part of other identities. This approach is common among contemporary insurgencies and is sometimes combined with the military-focused approach. The insurgent organization may not have the dual military/political hierarchy evident in a protracted popular war approach. Rather, communities often join the insurgent movement as a whole, bringing with them their existing social/military hierarchy. Additionally, insurgent leaders often try to mobilize the leadership of other clans and tribes to increase the movement's strength.

Composite Approaches and Coalitions

1-39. As occurred in Iraq, contemporary insurgents may use different approaches at different times, applying tactics that take best advantage of circumstances. Insurgents may also apply a composite approach that includes tactics drawn from any or all of the other approaches. In addition—and as in Iraq at present—different insurgent forces using different approaches may form loose coalitions when it serves their interests; however, these same movements may fight among themselves, even while engaging counterinsurgents. Within a single AO, there may be multiple competing entities, each seeking to maximize its survivability and influence—and this situation may be duplicated several times across a joint operations area. This reality further complicates both the mosaic that counterinsurgents must understand and the operations necessary for victory.

MOBILIZATION MEANS AND CAUSES

1-40. The primary struggle in an internal war is to mobilize people in a struggle for political control and legitimacy. Insurgents and counterinsurgents seek to mobilize popular support for their cause. Both try to sustain that struggle while discouraging support for their adversaries. Two aspects of this effort are mobilization means and causes.

Mobilization Means

1-41. There are five means to mobilize popular support:

- Persuasion.
- Coercion.
- Reaction to abuses.
- Foreign support.
- Apolitical motivations.

A mixture of them may motivate any one individual.

Persuasion

1-42. In times of turmoil, political, social, security, and economic benefits can often entice people to support one side or the other. Ideology and religion are means of persuasion, especially for the elites and leadership. In this case, legitimacy derives from the consent of the governed, though leaders and led can have very different motivations. In Iraq, for example, an issue that motivated fighters in some Baghdad neighborhoods in 2004 was lack of adequate sewer, water, electricity, and trash services. Their concerns were totally disconnected from the overall Ba'athist goal of expelling U.S. forces and retaining Sunni Arab power.

Coercion

1-43. The struggle in Iraq has produced many examples of how insurgent coercion can block government success. In the eyes of some, a government that cannot protect its people forfeits the right to rule. Legitimacy is accorded to the element that can provide security, as citizens seek to ally with groups that can guarantee their safety. In some areas of Iraq and Afghanistan, for instance, militias established themselves as extragovernmental arbiters of the populace's physical security—in some case, after first undermining that security.

1-44. Insurgents may use coercive force to provide security for people or to intimidate them and the legitimate security forces into active or passive support. Kidnapping or killing local leaders or their families is a common insurgent tactic to discourage working with the government. Militias sometimes use the promise of security, or the threat to remove it, to maintain control of cities and towns. Such militias may be sectarian or based on political parties. The HN government must recognize and remove the threat to sovereignty and legitimacy posed by extragovernmental organizations of this type. (The dangers of militias are further described in paragraphs 3-112 and 3-113.)

Reaction to Abuses

1-45. Though firmness by security forces is often necessary to establish a secure environment, a government that exceeds accepted local norms and abuses its people or is tyrannical generates resistance to its rule. People who have been maltreated or have had close friends or relatives killed by the government, particularly by its security forces, may strike back at their attackers. Security force abuses and the social upheaval caused by collateral damage from combat can be major escalating factors for insurgencies.

Foreign Support

1-46. Foreign governments can provide the expertise, international legitimacy, and money needed to start or intensify a conflict. For example, although there was little popular support for the renewal of fighting in Chechnya in 1999, the conflict resumed anyway because foreign supporters and warlords had enough money to hire a guerrilla army. Also of note, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), even those whose stated aims are impartial and humanitarian, may wittingly or unwittingly support insurgents. For example, funds raised overseas for professed charitable purposes can be redirected to insurgent groups.

Apolitical Motivations

1-47. Insurgencies attract criminals and mercenaries. Individuals inspired by the romanticized image of the revolutionary or holy warrior and others who imagine themselves as fighters for a cause might also join. It is important to note that political solutions might not satisfy some of them enough to end their participation. Fighters who have joined for money will probably become bandits once the fighting ends unless there are jobs for them. This category also includes opportunists who exploit the absence of security to engage in economically lucrative criminal activity, such as kidnapping and theft. True extremists are unlikely to be reconciled to any other outcome than the one they seek; therefore, they must be killed or captured.

Causes

1-48. A cause is a principle or movement militantly defended or supported. Insurgent leaders often seek to adopt attractive and persuasive causes to mobilize support. These causes often stem from the unresolved contradictions existing within any society or culture. Frequently, contradictions are based on real problems. However, insurgents may create artificial contradictions using propaganda and misinformation. Insurgents can gain more support by not limiting themselves to a single cause. By selecting an assortment of causes and tailoring them for various groups within the society, insurgents increase their base of sympathetic and complicit support.

1-49. Insurgents employ deep-seated, strategic causes as well as temporary, local ones, adding or deleting them as circumstances demand. Leaders often use a bait-and-switch approach. They attract supporters by appealing to local grievances; then they lure followers into the broader movement. Without an attractive cause, an insurgency might not be able to sustain itself. But a carefully chosen cause is a formidable asset; it can provide a fledgling movement with a long-term, concrete base of support. The ideal cause attracts the most people while alienating the fewest and is one that counterinsurgents cannot co-opt.

1-50. Potential insurgents can capitalize on a number of potential causes. Any country ruled by a small group without broad, popular participation provides a political cause for insurgents. Exploited or repressed social groups—be they entire classes, ethnic or religious groups, or small elites—may support larger causes in reaction to their own narrower grievances. Economic inequities can nurture revolutionary unrest. So can real or perceived racial or ethnic persecution. For example, Islamic extremists use perceived threats to their religion by outsiders to mobilize support for their insurgency and justify terrorist tactics. As previously noted, effective insurgent propaganda can also turn an artificial problem into a real one.

1-51. Skillful counterinsurgents can deal a significant blow to an insurgency by appropriating its cause. Insurgents often exploit multiple causes, however, making counterinsurgents' challenges more difficult. In the end, any successful COIN operation must address the legitimate grievances insurgents use to generate popular support. These may be different in each local area, in which case a complex set of solutions will be needed.

Mobilizing Resources

1-52. Insurgents resort to such tactics as guerrilla warfare and terrorism for any number of reasons. These may include disadvantages in manpower or organization, relatively limited resources compared to the government, and, in some cases, a cultural predisposition to an indirect approach to conflict. To strengthen and sustain their effort once manpower is mobilized, insurgents require money, supplies, and weapons.

1-53. Weapons are especially important. In some parts of the world, lack of access to weapons may forestall insurgencies. Unfortunately, there is widespread availability of weapons in many areas, with especially large surpluses in the most violent regions of the world. Explosive hazards, such as mines and improvised explosive devices, are likely to be common weapons in insurgencies. (See FMI 3-34.119/MCIP 3-17.01 for more information on improvised explosive devices.) Insurgents can obtain weapons through legal or illegal purchases or from foreign sources. A common tactic is to capture them from government forces. Skillful counterinsurgents cut off the flow of arms into the AO and eliminate their sources.

1-54. Income is essential not only for insurgents to purchase weapons but also to pay recruits and bribe corrupt officials. Money and supplies can be obtained through many sources. Foreign support has already been mentioned. Local supporters or international front organizations may provide donations. Sometimes legitimate businesses are established to furnish funding. In areas controlled by insurgents, confiscation or taxation might be utilized. Another common source of funding is criminal activity.

INSURGENCY AND CRIME

1-55. Funding greatly influences an insurgency's character and vulnerabilities. The insurgents' approach determines the movement's requirements. Protracted popular war approaches that emphasize mobilization

of the masses require the considerable resources needed to build and maintain a counterstate. In comparison, the military-focused approach, which emphasizes armed action, needs only the resources necessary to sustain a military campaign. A conspiratorial or urban approach requires even less support.

1-56. Sustainment requirements often drive insurgents into relationships with organized crime or into criminal activity themselves. Reaping windfall profits and avoiding the costs and difficulties involved in securing external support makes illegal activity attractive to insurgents. Taxing a mass base usually yields low returns. In contrast, kidnapping, extortion, bank robbery, and drug trafficking—four favorite insurgent activities—are very lucrative. The activities of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) illustrate this point: profits from single kidnappings often total millions of U.S. dollars. For the Maoist Communist Party of Nepal, directly taxing the mass base proved inferior to other criminal forms of “revolutionary taxation,” such as extortion and kidnapping. Drugs retain the highest potential for obtaining large profits from relatively small investments. In the 1990s, insurgents in Suriname, South America, were asked why they were selling gold at half the market price; they responded that the quick profits provided seed money to invest in the drug trade, from which they “could make real money.” Similarly, failed and failing states with rich natural resources like oil or poppies (which provide the basis for heroin) are particularly lucrative areas for criminal activity. State failure precipitated by violent regime change further encourages criminal activity because of the collapse of law enforcement, the courts, and penal systems.

1-57. Devoting exceptional amounts of time and effort to fund-raising requires an insurgent movement to shortchange ideological or armed action. Indeed, the method of raising funds is often at the heart of debates on characterizing movements as diverse as the Provisional Irish Republican Army in Ulster and the FARC in Colombia. The first has been involved in all sorts of criminal activity for many years; however, it remains committed to its ideological aims. The second, through its involvement in the drug trade, has become the richest self-sustaining insurgent group in history; yet it continues to claim to pursue “Bolivarian” and “socialist” or “Marxist-Leninist” ends. FARC activities, though, have increasingly been labeled “narcoterrorist” or simply criminal by a variety of critics.

1-58. Throughout history, many insurgencies have degenerated into criminality. This occurred as the primary movements disintegrated and the remaining elements were cast adrift. Such disintegration is desirable; it replaces a dangerous, ideologically inspired body of disaffiliated individuals with a less dangerous but more diverse body, normally of very uneven character. The first is a security threat, the second a law-and-order concern. This should not be interpreted, of course, as denigrating the armed capacity of a law-and-order threat. Successful counterinsurgents are prepared to address this disintegration. They also recognize that the ideal approach eliminates both the insurgency and any criminal threats its elimination produces.

ELEMENTS OF INSURGENCY

1-59. Though insurgencies take many forms, most share some common attributes. An insurgent organization normally consists of five elements:

- Movement leaders.
- Combatants (main, regional, and local forces [including militias]).
- Political cadre (also called militants or the party).
- Auxiliaries (active followers who provide important support services).
- Mass base (the bulk of the membership).

1-60. The proportion of each element relative to the larger movement depends on the strategic approach the insurgency adopts. A conspiratorial approach does not pay much attention to combatants or a mass base. Military-focused insurgencies downplay the importance of a political cadre and emphasize military action to generate popular support. The people’s war approach is the most complex: if the state presence has been eliminated, the elements exist openly; if the state remains a continuous or occasional presence, the elements maintain a clandestine existence.

Movement Leaders

1-61. Movement leaders provide strategic direction to the insurgency. They are the “idea people” and the planners. They usually exercise leadership through force of personality, the power of revolutionary ideas, and personal charisma. In some insurgencies, they may hold their position through religious, clan, or tribal authority.

Combatants

1-62. Combatants (sometimes called “foot soldiers”) do the actual fighting and provide security. They are often mistaken for the movement itself; however, they exist only to support the insurgency’s broader political agenda and to maintain local control. Combatants protect and expand the counterstate, if the insurgency sets up such an institution. They also protect training camps and networks that facilitate the flow of money, instructions, and foreign and local fighters.

Political Cadre

1-63. The cadre forms the political core of the insurgency. They are actively engaged in the struggle to accomplish insurgent goals. They may also be designated as a formal party to signify their political importance. The cadre implement guidance and procedures provided by the movement leaders. Modern non-communist insurgencies rarely, if ever, use the term “cadre”; however these movements usually include a group that performs similar functions. Additionally, movements based on religious extremism usually include religious and spiritual advisors among their cadre.

1-64. The cadre assesses grievances in local areas and carries out activities to satisfy them. They then attribute the solutions they have provided to the insurgency. As the insurgency matures, deeds become more important to make insurgent slogans meaningful to the population. Larger societal issues, such as foreign presence, facilitate such political activism because insurgents can blame these issues for life’s smaller problems. Destroying the state bureaucracy and preventing national reconstruction after a conflict (to sow disorder and sever legitimate links with the people) are also common insurgent tactics. In time, the cadre may seek to replace that bureaucracy and assume its functions in a counterstate.

Auxiliaries

1-65. Auxiliaries are active sympathizers who provide important support services. They do not participate in combat operations. Auxiliaries may do the following:

- Run safe houses.
- Store weapons and supplies.
- Act as couriers.
- Provide passive intelligence collection.
- Give early warning of counterinsurgent movements.
- Provide funding from lawful and unlawful sources.
- Provide forged or stolen documents and access or introductions to potential supporters.

Mass Base

1-66. The mass base consists of the followers of the insurgent movement—the supporting populace. Mass base members are often recruited and indoctrinated by the cadre. However, in many politically charged situations or identity-focused insurgencies, such active pursuit is not necessary. Mass base members may continue in their normal positions in society. Many, however, lead clandestine lives for the insurgent movement. They may even pursue full-time positions within the insurgency. For example, combatants normally begin as members of the mass base. In tribal- or clan-based insurgencies, such roles are particularly hard to define. There is no clear cadre in those movements, and people drift between combatant, auxiliary, and follower status as needed.

Employing the Elements

1-67. The movement leaders provide the organizational and managerial skills needed to transform mobilized individuals and communities into an effective force for armed political action. The result is a contest of resource mobilization and force deployment. No force level guarantees victory for either side. During previous conflicts, planners assumed that combatants required a 10 or 15 to 1 advantage over insurgents to win. However, no predetermined, fixed ratio of friendly troops to enemy combatants ensures success in COIN. The conditions of the operational environment and the approaches insurgents use vary too widely. A better force requirement gauge is troop density, the ratio of security forces (including the host nation's military and police forces as well as foreign counterinsurgents) to inhabitants. Most density recommendations fall within a range of 20 to 25 counterinsurgents for every 1000 residents in an AO. Twenty counterinsurgents per 1000 residents is often considered the minimum troop density required for effective COIN operations; however as with any fixed ratio, such calculations remain very dependent upon the situation.

1-68. As in any conflict, the size of the force needed to defeat an insurgency depends on the situation. However, COIN is manpower intensive because counterinsurgents must maintain widespread order and security. Moreover, counterinsurgents typically have to adopt different approaches to address each element of the insurgency. For example, auxiliaries might be co-opted by economic or political reforms, while fanatic combatants will most likely have to be killed or captured.

DYNAMICS OF AN INSURGENCY

1-69. Insurgencies are also shaped by several common dynamics:

- Leadership.
- Objectives.
- Ideology and narrative.
- Environment and geography.
- External support and sanctuaries.
- Phasing and timing.

These make up a framework that can be used to assess the insurgency's strengths and weaknesses. Although these dynamics can be examined separately, studying their interaction is necessary to fully understand an insurgency.

1-70. The interplay of these dynamics influences an insurgency's approach and organization. Effective counterinsurgents identify the organizational pattern these dynamics form and determine if it changes. For example, insurgents operating in an urban environment usually form small, cohesive, secretive organizations. In contrast, insurgents following a military-focused strategy often operate in a rural environment and exploit international support to a greater extent. A change in location or the amount of external support might lead insurgents to adjust their approach and organization.

Leadership

1-71. Leadership is critical to any insurgency. An insurgency is not simply random violence; it is directed and focused violence aimed at achieving a political objective. It requires leadership to provide vision, direction, guidance, coordination, and organizational coherence. Successful insurgent leaders make their cause known to the people and gain popular support. Their key tasks are to break the ties between the people and the government and to establish credibility for their movement. Their education, background, family and social connections, and experiences contribute to their ability to organize and inspire the people who form the insurgency.

1-72. Some insurgent movements have their roots in a clash of cultures over power and preeminence. Others begin as the tangible manifestation of some form of political estrangement. In either case, alienated elite members advance alternatives to existing conditions. As their movement grows, leaders decide which approach to adopt. The level of decentralization of responsibility and authority drives the insurgency's structure and operational procedures. Extreme decentralization results in a movement that rarely functions as a coherent body. It is, however, capable of inflicting substantial casualties and damage. Loose networks

find it difficult to create a viable counterstate; they therefore have great difficulty seizing political power. However, they are also very hard to destroy and can continue to sow disorder, even when degraded. It takes very little coordination to disrupt most states.

1-73. Many contemporary insurgencies are identity-based. These insurgencies are often led by traditional authority figures, such as tribal sheikhs, local warlords, or religious leaders. As the Indonesian Dar 'ul Islam rebellions of 1948 and 1961 demonstrate, traditional authority figures often wield enough power to single-handedly drive an insurgency. This is especially true in rural areas. Identity-focused insurgencies can be defeated in some cases by co-opting the responsible traditional authority figure; in others, the authority figures have to be discredited or eliminated. Accurately determining whether a leader can be co-opted is crucial. Failed attempts to co-opt traditional leaders can backfire if those leaders choose to oppose the counterinsurgency. Their refusal to be co-opted can strengthen their standing as they gain power and influence among insurgents.

Objectives

1-74. Effective analysis of an insurgency requires identifying its strategic, operational, and tactical objectives. The strategic objective is the insurgents' desired end state. Operational objectives are those that insurgents pursue to destroy government legitimacy and progressively establish their desired end state. Tactical objectives are the immediate aims of insurgent acts. Objectives can be psychological or physical. One example of a psychological objective is discouraging support for the government by assassinating local officials. An example of a physical objective is the disruption of government services by damaging or seizing a key facility. These tactical acts are often linked to higher purposes; in fact, tactical actions by both insurgents and counterinsurgents frequently have strategic effects.

Ideology and Narrative

1-75. Ideas are a motivating factor in insurgent activities. Insurgencies can gather recruits and amass popular support through ideological appeal (including religious or other cultural identifiers). Promising potential recruits often include individuals receptive to the message that the West is dominating their region through puppet governments and local surrogates. The insurgent group channels anti-Western anger and provides members with identity, purpose, and community, in addition to physical, economic, and psychological security. The movement's ideology explains its followers' difficulties and provides a means to remedy those ills. The most powerful ideologies tap latent, emotional concerns of the populace. Examples of these concerns include religiously based objectives, a desire for justice, ethnic aspirations, and a goal of liberation from foreign occupation. Ideology provides a prism, including a vocabulary and analytical categories, through which followers perceive their situation.

1-76. The central mechanism through which ideologies are expressed and absorbed is the narrative. A narrative is an organizational scheme expressed in story form. Narratives are central to representing identity, particularly the collective identity of religious sects, ethnic groupings, and tribal elements. Stories about a community's history provide models of how actions and consequences are linked. Stories are often the basis for strategies and actions, as well as for interpreting others' intentions. Insurgent organizations like Al Qaeda use narratives very effectively in developing legitimating ideologies. In the Al Qaeda narrative, for example, Osama bin Laden depicts himself as a man purified in the mountains of Afghanistan who is gathering and inspiring followers and punishing infidels. In the collective imagination of Bin Laden and his followers, they are agents of Islamic history who will reverse the decline of the umma [Muslim community] and bring about its inevitable triumph over Western imperialism. For them, Islam can be renewed both politically and theologically only through jihad [holy war] as they define it.

1-77. Though most insurgencies have been limited to nation-states, there have been numerous transnational insurgencies. Likewise, external powers have tried to tap into or create general upheaval by coordinating national insurgencies to give them a transnational character. Al Qaeda's ongoing activities also attempt to leverage religious identity to create and support a transnational array of insurgencies. Operational-level commanders address elements of the transnational movement within their joint operations areas. Other government agencies and higher level officials deal with the national-strategic response to such threats.

1-78. As noted earlier, insurgent groups often employ religious concepts to portray their movement favorably and mobilize followers in pursuit of their political goals. For example, the Provisional Irish Republican Army frequently used Roman Catholic iconography in its publications and proclamations, although many of its members were not devout Catholics. In other cases, a religious ideology may be the source of an insurgent group's political goals. This is the case in Al Qaeda's apparent quest to "reestablish the Caliphate." For many Moslems, the Caliphate produces a positive image of the golden age of Islamic civilization. This image mobilizes support for Al Qaeda among some of the most traditional Muslims while concealing the details of the movement's goal. In fact, Al Qaeda's leaders envision the "restored Caliphate" as a totalitarian state similar to the pre-2002 Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

1-79. Religious extremist insurgents, like many secular radicals and some Marxists, frequently hold an all-encompassing worldview; they are ideologically rigid and uncompromising, seeking to control their members' private thought, expression, and behavior. Seeking power and believing themselves to be ideologically pure, violent religious extremists often brand those they consider insufficiently orthodox as enemies. For example, extreme, violent groups like Al Qaeda routinely attack Islamic sects that profess beliefs inconsistent with their religious dogma. Belief in an extremist ideology fortifies the will of believers. It confirms the idea, common among hard-core transnational terrorists, that using unlimited means is appropriate to achieve their often unlimited goals. Some ideologies, such as the one underlying the culture of martyrdom, maintain that using such means will be rewarded.

1-80. Cultural knowledge is essential to waging a successful counterinsurgency. American ideas of what is "normal" or "rational" are not universal. To the contrary, members of other societies often have different notions of rationality, appropriate behavior, level of religious devotion, and norms concerning gender. Thus, what may appear abnormal or strange to an external observer may appear as self-evidently normal to a group member. For this reason, counterinsurgents—especially commanders, planners, and small-unit leaders—should strive to avoid imposing their ideals of normalcy on a foreign cultural problem.

1-81. Many religious extremists believe that the conversion, subjugation, or destruction of their ideological opponents is inevitable. Violent extremists and terrorists are often willing to use whatever means necessary, even violence against their own followers, to meet their political goals. Nevertheless, they often pursue their ends in highly pragmatic ways based on realistic assumptions. Not all Islamic insurgents or terrorists are fighting for a global revolution. Some are pursuing regional goals, such as establishing a Sunni Arab-dominated Iraq or replacing Israel with an Arab Palestinian state. And militant groups with nationalist as well as religious agendas seek cease fires and participate in elections when such actions support their interests.

1-82. In that light, commanders must consider the presence of religious extremism in the insurgents' ideology when evaluating possible friendly and enemy courses of action. Enemy courses of action that may appear immoral or irrational to Westerners may be acceptable to extremists. Moreover, violent extremists resist changing their worldview; for them, coexistence or compromise is often unacceptable, especially when the movement is purist (like Al Qaeda), in an early stage, or small. However, some extremists are willing to overlook their worldview to achieve short-term goals. Terrorist groups, regardless of their ideology, have cooperated with seemingly incompatible groups. For example, the Palestinian group Black September used German terrorists to perform reconnaissance of the Olympic Village before its 1972 attack on Israeli athletes. Currently, the Taliban is engaged in the drug trade in South Asia. Al Qaeda cooperates with a variety of diverse groups to improve its global access as well.

1-83. The rigid worldview of such extremist groups means that friendly actions intended to create good will among the populace are unlikely to affect them. Similarly, if a group's ideology is so strong that it dominates all other issues, dialog and negotiation will probably prove unproductive. The challenge for counterinsurgents in such cases is to identify the various insurgent groups and determine their motivations. Commanders can then determine the best course of action for each group. This includes identifying the groups with goals flexible enough to allow productive negotiations and determining how to eliminate the extremists without alienating the populace.

Environment and Geography

1-84. Environment and geography, including cultural and demographic factors, affect all participants in a conflict. The manner in which insurgents and counterinsurgents adapt to these realities creates advantages and disadvantages for each. The effects of these factors are immediately visible at the tactical level. There they are perhaps the predominant influence on decisions regarding force structure and doctrine (including tactics, techniques, and procedures). Insurgencies in urban environments present different planning considerations from insurgencies in rural environments. Border areas contiguous to states that may wittingly or unwittingly provide external support and sanctuary to insurgents create a distinct vulnerability for counterinsurgents.

External Support and Sanctuaries

1-85. Access to external resources and sanctuaries has always influenced the effectiveness of insurgencies. External support can provide political, psychological, and material resources that might otherwise be limited or unavailable. Such assistance does not need to come just from neighboring states; countries from outside the region seeking political or economic influence can also support insurgencies. Insurgencies may turn to transnational criminal elements for funding or use the Internet to create a support network among NGOs. Ethnic or religious communities in other states may also provide a form of external support and sanctuary, particularly for transnational insurgencies.

1-86. The meaning of the term sanctuary is evolving. Sanctuaries traditionally were physical safe havens, such as base areas, and this form of safe haven still exists. But insurgents today can also draw on “virtual” sanctuaries in the Internet, global financial systems, and the international media. These virtual sanctuaries can be used to try to make insurgent actions seem acceptable or laudable to internal and external audiences.

1-87. Historically, sanctuaries in neighboring countries have provided insurgents places to rebuild and reorganize without fear of counterinsurgent interference. Modern target acquisition and intelligence-gathering technology make insurgents in isolation, even in neighboring states, more vulnerable than those hidden among the population. Thus, contemporary insurgencies often develop in urban environments, leveraging formal and informal networks for action. Understanding these networks is vital to defeating such insurgencies.

1-88. Insurgencies can also open up sanctuaries within a state over which the host nation’s forces cannot extend control or significant influence. In these sanctuaries, nonstate actors with intentions hostile to the host nation or United States can develop unimpaired. When it is to their advantage, such elements provide support for insurgencies. The issue of sanctuaries thus cannot be ignored during planning. Effective COIN operations work to eliminate all sanctuaries.

1-89. Changes in the security environment since the end of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 have increased concerns about the role of nonstate actors in insurgencies. Nonstate actors, such as transnational terrorist organizations, often represent a security threat beyond the areas they inhabit. Some pose a direct concern for the United States and its partners. These nonstate actors often team with insurgents and, in this sense, profit from the conflict.

1-90. A feature of today’s operational environment deserving mention is the effort by Islamic extremists, including those that advocate violence, to spread their influence through the funding and use of entities that share their views or facilitate them to varying degrees. These entities may or may not be threats themselves; however, they can provide passive or active support to local or distant insurgencies. Examples include the following:

- Religious schools and mosques.
- NGOs.
- Political parties.
- Business and financial institutions.
- Militia organizations.
- Terrorist training camps and organizations.

Phasing and Timing

1-91. Insurgencies often pass through common phases of development, such as those listed in paragraph 1-31. However, not all insurgencies experience such phased development, and progression through all phases is not required for success. Moreover, a single insurgent movement may be in different phases in different parts of a country. Insurgencies under pressure can also revert to an earlier phase. They then resume development when favorable conditions return. Indeed, this flexibility is the key strength of a phased approach, which provides fallback positions for insurgents when threatened. The protracted popular war phases may not provide a complete template for understanding contemporary insurgencies; however, they do explain the shifting mosaic of activities usually present in some form.

1-92. Versions of protracted popular war have been used by movements as diverse as communist and Islamist insurgencies because the approach is sound and based on mass mobilization—which is a common requirement. Strategic movement from one phase to another does not end the operational and tactical activities typical of earlier phases; it incorporates them. The North Vietnamese explicitly recognized this fact in their doctrine, as was discussed in paragraph 1-36. Their approach emphasized that all forms of warfare occur simultaneously, even as a particular form is paramount. Debates about Vietnam that focus on whether U.S. forces should have concentrated on guerrilla or conventional operations ignore this complexity. In fact, forces that win a mosaic war are those able to respond to both types of operations, often simultaneously.

1-93. The phases of protracted popular war do not necessarily apply to the conspiratorial or military-focused approach. These approaches emphasize quick or armed action and minimize political organization. In many ways, these approaches are less difficult to counter. However, long-term political objectives, as evidenced in the protracted popular war approach, are major parts of any insurgent approach. Effective counterinsurgents understand their overall importance and address them appropriately.

INSURGENT NETWORKS

1-94. A network is a series of direct and indirect ties from one actor to a collection of others. Insurgents use technological, economic, and social means to recruit partners into their networks. Networking is a tool available to territorially rooted insurgencies, such as the FARC in Colombia. It extends the range and variety of both their military and political actions. Other groups have little physical presence in their target countries and exist almost entirely as networks. Networked organizations are difficult to destroy. In addition, they tend to heal, adapt, and learn rapidly. However, such organizations have a limited ability to attain strategic success because they cannot easily muster and focus power. The best outcome they can expect is to create a security vacuum leading to a collapse of the targeted regime's will and then to gain in the competition for the spoils. However, their enhanced abilities to sow disorder and survive present particularly difficult problems for counterinsurgents.

INSURGENT VULNERABILITIES

1-95. While this chapter so far has stressed the difficulties insurgencies present, they do have vulnerabilities that skilled counterinsurgents can exploit. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss how to do this. However, some potential vulnerabilities are worth highlighting here:

- Insurgents' need for secrecy.
- Inconsistencies in the mobilization message.
- Need to establish a base of operations.
- Reliance on external support.
- Need to obtain financial resources.
- Internal divisions.
- Need to maintain momentum.
- Informants within the insurgency.

Secrecy

1-96. Any group beginning from a position of weakness that intends to use violence to pursue its political aims must initially adopt a covert approach for its planning and activities. This practice can become counterproductive once an active insurgency begins. Excessive secrecy can limit insurgent freedom of action, reduce or distort information about insurgent goals and ideals, and restrict communication within the insurgency. Some insurgent groups try to avoid the effects of too much secrecy by splitting into political and military wings. This allows the movement to address the public (political) requirements of an insurgency while still conducting clandestine (military) actions. An example is the insurgency in Northern Ireland, comprised of Sinn Fein (its political wing) and the Irish Republican Army (its military wing). Hamas and Hezbollah also use this technique.

Mobilization and Message

1-97. In the early stages of an insurgency, a movement may be tempted to go to almost any extremes to attract followers. To mobilize their base of support, insurgent groups use a combination of propaganda and intimidation, and they may overreach in both. Effective counterinsurgents use information operations (IO) to exploit inconsistencies in the insurgents' message as well as their excessive use of force or intimidation. The insurgent cause itself may also be a vulnerability. Counterinsurgents may be able to "capture" an insurgency's cause and exploit it. For example, an insurgent ideology based on an extremist interpretation of a holy text can be countered by appealing to a moderate interpretation of the same text. When a credible religious or other respected leader passes this kind of message, the counteraction is even more effective.

Base of Operations

1-98. Insurgents can experience serious difficulties finding a viable base of operations. A base too far from the major centers of activity may be secure but risks being out of touch with the populace. It may also be vulnerable to isolation. A base too near centers of government activity risks opening the insurgency to observation and perhaps infiltration. Bases close to national borders can be attractive when they are beyond the reach of counterinsurgents yet safe enough to avoid suspicions of the neighboring authority or population. Timely, resolute counterinsurgent actions to exploit poor enemy base locations and eliminate or disrupt good ones can significantly weaken an insurgency.

External Support

1-99. Insurgent movements do not control the geographic borders of a country. In fact, insurgencies often rely heavily on freedom of movement across porous borders. Insurgencies usually cannot sustain themselves without substantial external support. An important feature of many transnational terrorist groups is the international nature of their basing. Terrorists may train in one country and fight or conduct other types of operations in another country. The movement of fighters and their support is vulnerable to intervention or attack.

Financial Weakness

1-100. All insurgencies require funding to some extent. Criminal organizations are possible funding sources; however, these groups may be unreliable. Such cooperation may attract undue attention from HN authorities and create vulnerabilities to counterinsurgent intelligence operations. In addition, cooperating with criminals may not be ideologically consistent with the movement's core beliefs, although it often does not prevent such cooperation. Funding from outside donors may come with a political price that affects the overall aim of an insurgency and weakens its popular appeal.

1-101. Counterinsurgents can exploit insurgent financial weaknesses. Controls and regulations that limit the movement and exchange of materiel and funds may compound insurgent financial vulnerabilities. These counters are especially effective when an insurgency receives funding from outside the state.

Internal Divisions

1-102. Counterinsurgents remain alert for signs of divisions within an insurgent movement. A series of successes by counterinsurgents or errors by insurgent leaders can cause some insurgents to question their cause or challenge their leaders. In addition, relations within an insurgency do not remain harmonious when factions form to vie for power. Rifts between insurgent leaders, if identified, can be exploited. Offering amnesty or a seemingly generous compromise can also cause divisions within an insurgency and present opportunities to split or weaken it.

Maintaining Momentum

1-103. Controlling the pace and timing of operations is vital to the success of any insurgency. Insurgents control when the conflict begins and have some measure of control over subsequent activity. However, many insurgencies have failed to capitalize on their initial opportunities. Others have allowed counterinsurgents to dictate the pace of events and scope of activities. If insurgents lose momentum, counterinsurgents can regain the strategic initiative.

Informants

1-104. Nothing is more demoralizing to insurgents than realizing that people inside their movement or trusted supporters among the public are deserting or providing information to government authorities. Counterinsurgents may attract deserters or informants by arousing fear of prosecution or by offering rewards. However, informers must be confident that the government can protect them and their families against retribution.

ASPECTS OF COUNTERINSURGENCY

1-105. The purpose of America’s ground forces is to fight and win the Nation’s wars. Throughout history, however, the Army and Marine Corps have been called on to perform many tasks beyond pure combat; this has been particularly true during the conduct of COIN operations. COIN requires Soldiers and Marines to be ready both to fight and to build—depending on the security situation and a variety of other factors. The full spectrum operations doctrine (described in FM 3-0) captures this reality.

1-106. All full spectrum operations executed overseas—including COIN operations—include offensive, defensive, and stability operations that commanders combine to achieve the desired end state. The exact mix varies depending on the situation and the mission. Commanders weight each operation based on their assessment of the campaign’s phase and the situation in their AO. They shift the weight among these operations as necessary to address situations in different parts of the AO while continuing to pursue their overall objectives. (See figure 1-1.)

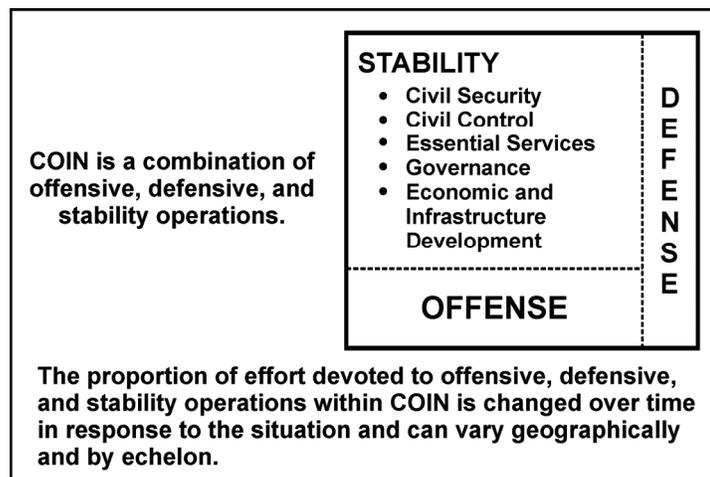


Figure 1-1. Aspects of counterinsurgency operations

1-107. Offensive and defensive operations are integral to COIN. COIN differs from peacekeeping operations in this regard; indeed, this is a key point. In peacekeeping operations, combat is not expected and the goal is an absence of violence. In COIN, such an absence may actually mask insurgent preparations for combat. This was the case, for example, in the Sadr City area of Baghdad in 2003.

1-108. In almost every case, counterinsurgents face a populace containing an active minority supporting the government and an equally small militant faction opposing it. Success requires the government to be accepted as legitimate by most of that uncommitted middle, which also includes passive supporters of both sides. (See figure 1-2.) Because of the ease of sowing disorder, it is usually not enough for counterinsurgents to get 51 percent of popular support; a solid majority is often essential. However, a passive populace may be all that is necessary for a well-supported insurgency to seize political power.

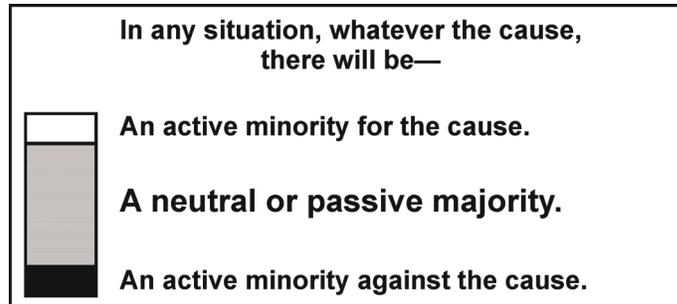


Figure 1-2. Support for an insurgency

1-109. Counterinsurgents must be prepared to identify their opponents and their approach to insurgency. Counterinsurgents must also understand the broader context within which they are operating. A mission to assist a functioning government offers different options from situations where no such viable entity exists or where a regime has been changed by conflict. The last two situations add complex sovereignty and national reconstruction issues to an already complex mission. The state of the infrastructure determines the resources required for reconstruction. The level of violence is a factor in determining how agencies outside the Department of Defense support COIN operations. An extremely violent environment may hamper their freedom of movement. These agencies may elect to operate only from secure areas within or outside of the country.

1-110. The rest of this publication describes how to conduct COIN operations. The following discussion addresses some general themes that shape the following chapters:

- Historical principles for COIN.
- Contemporary imperatives for COIN.
- Paradoxes of COIN operations.
- Successful and unsuccessful COIN practices.

1-111. The historical principles and contemporary imperatives derived from the historical record and detailed below provide some guideposts for forces engaged in COIN operations. However, COIN operations are complicated, and even following the principles and imperatives does not guarantee success. This paradox is present in all forms of warfare but is most obvious in COIN. The following principles and imperatives are presented in the belief that understanding them helps illuminate the challenges inherent in defeating an insurgency.

HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY

1-112. The following principles are derived from past insurgencies.

Legitimacy Is the Main Objective

1-113. The primary objective of any COIN operation is to foster development of effective governance by a legitimate government. Counterinsurgents achieve this objective by the balanced application of both military and nonmilitary means. All governments rule through a combination of consent and coercion. Governments described as “legitimate” rule primarily with the consent of the governed; those described as “illegitimate” tend to rely mainly or entirely on coercion. Citizens of the latter obey the state for fear of the consequences of doing otherwise, rather than because they voluntarily accept its rule. A government that derives its powers from the governed tends to be accepted by its citizens as legitimate. It still uses coercion—for example, against criminals—but most of its citizens voluntarily accept its governance.

1-114. In Western liberal tradition, a government that derives its just powers from the people and responds to their desires while looking out for their welfare is accepted as legitimate. In contrast, theocratic societies fuse political and religious authority; political figures are accepted as legitimate because the populace views them as implementing the will of God. Medieval monarchies claimed “the divine right of kings.” Imperial China governed with “the mandate of heaven.” Since the 1979 revolution, Iran has operated under the “rule of the jurists [theocratic judges].” In other societies, “might makes right.” And sometimes, the ability of a state to provide security—albeit without freedoms associated with Western democracies—can give it enough legitimacy to govern in the people’s eyes, particularly if they have experienced a serious breakdown of order.

1-115. Legitimacy makes it easier for a state to carry out its key functions. These include the authority to regulate social relationships, extract resources, and take actions in the public’s name. Legitimate governments can develop these capabilities more easily; this situation usually allows them to competently manage, coordinate, and sustain collective security as well as political, economic, and social development. Conversely, illegitimate states (sometimes called “police states”) typically cannot regulate society or can do so only by applying overwhelming coercion. Legitimate governance is inherently stable; the societal support it engenders allows it to adequately manage the internal problems, change, and conflict that affect individual and collective well-being. Conversely, governance that is not legitimate is inherently unstable; as soon as the state’s coercive power is disrupted, the populace ceases to obey it. Thus legitimate governments tend to be resilient and exercise better governance; illegitimate ones tend to be fragile and poorly administered.

1-116. Six possible indicators of legitimacy that can be used to analyze threats to stability include the following:

- The ability to provide security for the populace (including protection from internal and external threats).
- Selection of leaders at a frequency and in a manner considered just and fair by a substantial majority of the populace.
- A high level of popular participation in or support for political processes.
- A culturally acceptable level of corruption.
- A culturally acceptable level and rate of political, economic, and social development.
- A high level of regime acceptance by major social institutions.

1-117. Governments scoring high in these categories probably have the support of a sufficient majority of the population. Different cultures, however, may see acceptable levels of development, corruption, and participation differently. And for some societies, providing security and some basic services may be enough for citizens to grant a government legitimacy; indeed, the importance of security in situations where violence has escalated cannot be overemphasized. In such cases, establishing security can win the people’s confidence and enable a government to develop legitimacy in other areas.

1-118. In working to understand the problem, commanders and staffs determine what the HN population defines as effective and legitimate governance. This understanding continues to evolve as information is developed. Commanders and staffs must continually diagnose what they understand legitimacy to mean to the HN population. The population’s expectations will influence all ensuing operations. Additionally, planners may also consider perceptions of legitimacy held by outside supporters of the HN government and the insurgents. Differences between U.S., local, and international visions of legitimacy can further

complicate operations. But the most important attitude remains that of the HN population. In the end, its members determine the ultimate victor.

1-119. The presence of the rule of law is a major factor in assuring voluntary acceptance of a government's authority and therefore its legitimacy. A government's respect for preexisting and impersonal legal rules can provide the key to gaining it widespread, enduring societal support. Such government respect for rules—ideally ones recorded in a constitution and in laws adopted through a credible, democratic process—is the essence of the rule of law. As such, it is a powerful potential tool for counterinsurgents.

1-120. Military action can address the symptoms of a loss of legitimacy. In some cases, it can eliminate substantial numbers of insurgents. However, success in the form of a durable peace requires restoring legitimacy, which, in turn, requires the use of all instruments of national power. A COIN effort cannot achieve lasting success without the HN government achieving legitimacy.

Unity of Effort Is Essential

1-121. Unity of effort must be present at every echelon of a COIN operation. Otherwise, well-intentioned but uncoordinated actions can cancel each other or provide vulnerabilities for insurgents to exploit. Ideally, a single counterinsurgent leader has authority over all government agencies involved in COIN operations. Usually, however, military commanders work to achieve unity of effort through liaison with leaders of a wide variety of nonmilitary agencies. The U.S. Ambassador and country team, along with senior HN representatives, must be key players in higher level planning; similar connections are needed throughout the chain of command.

1-122. NGOs often play an important role at the local level. Many such agencies resist being overtly involved with military forces; however, efforts to establish some kind of liaison are needed. The most important connections are those with joint, interagency, multinational, and HN organizations. The goal of these connections is to ensure that, as much as possible, objectives are shared and actions and messages synchronized. Achieving this synergy is essential.

Political Factors Are Primary

1-123. General Chang Ting-chen of Mao Zedong's central committee once stated that revolutionary war was 80 percent political action and only 20 percent military. Such an assertion is arguable and certainly depends on the insurgency's stage of development; it does, however, capture the fact that political factors have primacy in COIN. At the beginning of a COIN operation, military actions may appear predominant as security forces conduct operations to secure the populace and kill or capture insurgents; however, political objectives must guide the military's approach. Commanders must, for example, consider how operations contribute to strengthening the HN government's legitimacy and achieving U.S. political goals. This means that political and diplomatic leaders must actively participate throughout the conduct (planning, preparation, execution, and assessment) of COIN operations. The political and military aspects of insurgencies are so bound together as to be inseparable. Most insurgent approaches recognize that fact. Military actions executed without properly assessing their political effects at best result in reduced effectiveness and at worst are counterproductive. Resolving most insurgencies requires a political solution; it is thus imperative that counterinsurgent actions do not hinder achieving that political solution.

Counterinsurgents Must Understand the Environment

1-124. Successful conduct of COIN operations depends on thoroughly understanding the society and culture within which they are being conducted. Soldiers and Marines must understand the following about the population in the AO:

- Organization of key groups in the society.
- Relationships and tensions among groups.
- Ideologies and narratives that resonate with groups.
- Values of groups (including tribes), interests, and motivations.
- Means by which groups (including tribes) communicate.

- The society's leadership system.

1-125. In most COIN operations in which U.S. forces participate, insurgents hold a distinct advantage in their level of local knowledge. They speak the language, move easily within the society, and are more likely to understand the population's interests. Thus, effective COIN operations require a greater emphasis on certain skills, such as language and cultural understanding, than does conventional warfare. The interconnected, politico-military nature of insurgency and COIN requires immersion in the people and their lives to achieve victory. Specifically, successful COIN operations require Soldiers and Marines at every echelon to possess the following within the AO's cultural context:

- A clear appreciation of the essential nature and nuances of the conflict.
- An understanding of the motivation, strengths, and weaknesses of the insurgents.
- Knowledge of the roles of other actors in the AO.

Without this understanding of the environment, intelligence cannot be understood and properly applied.

Intelligence Drives Operations

1-126. Without good intelligence, counterinsurgents are like blind boxers wasting energy flailing at unseen opponents and perhaps causing unintended harm. With good intelligence, counterinsurgents are like surgeons cutting out cancerous tissue while keeping other vital organs intact. Effective operations are shaped by timely, specific, and reliable intelligence, gathered and analyzed at the lowest possible level and disseminated throughout the force.

1-127. Because of the dispersed nature of COIN operations, counterinsurgents' own actions are a key generator of intelligence. A cycle develops where operations produce intelligence that drives subsequent operations. Reporting by units, members of the country team, and associated civilian agencies is often of greater importance than reporting by specialized intelligence assets. These factors, along with the need to generate a favorable tempo (rate of military operations), drive the requirement to produce and disseminate intelligence at the lowest practical level. (Chapter 3 addresses intelligence in COIN.)

Insurgents Must be Isolated from Their Cause and Support

1-128. It is easier to separate an insurgency from its resources and let it die than to kill every insurgent. Clearly, killing or capturing insurgents will be necessary, especially when an insurgency is based in religious or ideological extremism. However, killing every insurgent is normally impossible. Attempting to do so can also be counterproductive in some cases; it risks generating popular resentment, creating martyrs that motivate new recruits, and producing cycles of revenge.

1-129. Dynamic insurgencies can replace losses quickly. Skillful counterinsurgents must thus cut off the sources of that recuperative power. Some sources can be reduced by redressing the social, political, and economic grievances that fuel the insurgency. Physical support can be cut off by population control or border security. International or local legal action might be required to limit financial support. Urban insurgents, however, are especially difficult to isolate from their cause and sources of support. They may operate in small, compartmentalized cells that are usually independent or semi-independent. These cells often have their own support mechanisms and few, if any, ties to the population that counterinsurgents can track.

1-130. As the HN government increases its legitimacy, the populace begins to assist it more actively. Eventually, the people marginalize and stigmatize insurgents to the point that the insurgency's claim to legitimacy is destroyed. However, victory is gained not when this isolation is achieved, but when the victory is permanently maintained by and with the people's active support and when insurgent forces have been defeated.

Security Under the Rule of Law is Essential

1-131. The cornerstone of any COIN effort is establishing security for the civilian populace. Without a secure environment, no permanent reforms can be implemented and disorder spreads. To establish legitimacy, commanders transition security activities from combat operations to law enforcement as quickly as

feasible. When insurgents are seen as criminals, they lose public support. Using a legal system established in line with local culture and practices to deal with such criminals enhances the HN government's legitimacy. Soldiers and Marines help establish HN institutions that sustain that legal regime, including police forces, court systems, and penal facilities. It is important to remember that the violence level must be reduced enough for police forces to maintain order prior to any transition; otherwise, COIN forces will be unable to secure the populace and may lose the legitimacy gained by the transition.

1-132. Illegitimate actions are those involving the use of power without authority—whether committed by government officials, security forces, or counterinsurgents. Such actions include unjustified or excessive use of force, unlawful detention, torture, and punishment without trial. Efforts to build a legitimate government though illegitimate actions are self-defeating, even against insurgents who conceal themselves amid noncombatants and flout the law. Moreover, participation in COIN operations by U.S. forces must follow United States law, including domestic laws, treaties to which the United States is party, and certain HN laws. (See appendix D.) Any human rights abuses or legal violations committed by U.S. forces quickly become known throughout the local populace and eventually around the world. Illegitimate actions undermine both long- and short-term COIN efforts.

1-133. Every action by counterinsurgents leaves a “forensic trace” that may be required sometime later in a court of law. Counterinsurgents document all their activities to preserve, wherever possible, a chain of evidence. Accurate documentation can also be an important means to counter insurgent propaganda.

Counterinsurgents Should Prepare for a Long-Term Commitment

1-134. Insurgencies are protracted by nature. Thus, COIN operations always demand considerable expenditures of time and resources. The populace may prefer the HN government to the insurgents; however, people do not actively support a government unless they are convinced that the counterinsurgents have the means, ability, stamina, and will to win. The insurgents' primary battle is against the HN government, not the United States; however, U.S. support can be crucial to building public faith in that government's viability. The populace must have confidence in the staying power of both the counterinsurgents and the HN government. Insurgents and local populations often believe that a few casualties or a few years will cause the United States to abandon a COIN effort. Constant reaffirmations of commitment, backed by deeds, can overcome that perception and bolster faith in the steadfastness of U.S. support. But even the strongest U.S. commitment will not succeed if the populace does not perceive the HN government as having similar will and stamina. U.S. forces must help create that capacity and sustain that impression.

1-135. Preparing for a protracted COIN effort requires establishing headquarters and support structures designed for long-term operations. Planning and commitments should be based on sustainable operating tempo and personnel tempo limits for the various components of the force. (Operating tempo and personnel tempo are defined in the glossary.) Even in situations where the U.S. goal is reducing its military force levels as quickly as possible, some support for HN institutions usually remains for a long time.

1-136. At the strategic level, gaining and maintaining U.S. public support for a protracted deployment is critical. Only the most senior military officers are involved in this process at all. It is properly a political activity. However, military leaders typically take care to ensure that their actions and statements are forthright. They also ensure that the conduct of operations neither makes it harder for elected leaders to maintain public support nor undermines public confidence.

CONTEMPORARY IMPERATIVES OF COUNTERINSURGENCY

1-137. Recent COIN experiences have identified an important set of additional imperatives to keep in mind for success.

Manage Information and Expectations

1-138. Information and expectations are related; skillful counterinsurgents manage both. To limit discontent and build support, the HN government and any counterinsurgents assisting it create and maintain a realistic set of expectations among the populace, friendly military forces, and the international community. IO (including psychological operations and the related activities of public affairs and civil-military

operations) are key tools to accomplish this. Achieving steady progress toward a set of reasonable expectations can increase the populace's tolerance for the inevitable inconveniences entailed by ongoing COIN operations. Where a large U.S. force is present to help establish a regime, such progress can extend the period before an army of liberation becomes perceived as an army of occupation.

1-139. U.S. forces start with a built-in challenge because of their reputation for accomplishment, what some call the "man on the moon syndrome." This refers to the expressed disbelief that a nation able to put a man on the moon cannot quickly restore basic services. U.S. agencies trying to fan enthusiasm for their efforts should avoid making unrealistic promises. In some cultures, failure to deliver promised results is automatically interpreted as deliberate deception, rather than good intentions gone awry. In other cultures, exorbitant promises are normal and people do not expect them to be kept. Effective counterinsurgents understand local norms; they use locally tailored approaches to control expectations. Managing expectations also involves demonstrating economic and political progress to show the populace how life is improving. Increasing the number of people who feel they have a stake in the success of the state and its government is a key to successful COIN operations. In the end, victory comes, in large measure, by convincing the populace that their life will be better under the HN government than under an insurgent regime.

1-140. Both counterinsurgents and the HN government ensure that their deeds match their words. They also understand that any action has an information reaction. Counterinsurgents and the HN government carefully consider that impact on the many audiences involved in the conflict and on the sidelines. They work actively to shape responses that further their ends. In particular, messages to different audiences must be consistent. In the global information environment, people in the AO can access the Internet and satellite television to determine the messages counterinsurgents are sending to the international community and the U.S. public. Any perceived inconsistency reduces credibility and undermines COIN efforts.

Use the Appropriate Level of Force

1-141. Any use of force generates a series of reactions. There may be times when an overwhelming effort is necessary to destroy or intimidate an opponent and reassure the populace. Extremist insurgent combatants often have to be killed. In any case, however, counterinsurgents should calculate carefully the type and amount of force to be applied and who wields it for any operation. An operation that kills five insurgents is counterproductive if collateral damage leads to the recruitment of fifty more insurgents.

1-142. In a COIN environment, it is vital for commanders to adopt appropriate and measured levels of force and apply that force precisely so that it accomplishes the mission without causing unnecessary loss of life or suffering. Normally, counterinsurgents can use escalation of force/force continuum procedures to minimize potential loss of life. These procedures are especially appropriate during convoy operations and at checkpoints and roadblocks. *Escalation of force (Army)/force continuum (Marine Corps)* refers to using lesser means of force when such use is likely to achieve the desired effects and Soldiers and Marines can do so without endangering themselves, others, or mission accomplishment. Escalation of force/force continuum procedures do not limit the right of self-defense, including the use of deadly force when such force is necessary to defend against a hostile act or demonstrated hostile intent. Commanders ensure that their Soldiers and Marines are properly trained in such procedures and, more importantly, in methods of shaping situations so that small-unit leaders have to make fewer split-second, life-or-death decisions.

1-143. Who wields force is also important. If the HN police have a reasonable reputation for competence and impartiality, it is better for them to execute urban raids; the populace is likely to view that application of force as more legitimate. This is true even if the police are not as well armed or as capable as military units. However, local circumstances affect this decision. If the police are seen as part of an ethnic or sectarian group oppressing the general population, their use may be counterproductive. Effective counterinsurgents thus understand the character of the local police and popular perceptions of both police and military units. This understanding helps ensure that the application of force is appropriate and reinforces the rule of law.

Learn and Adapt

1-144. An effective counterinsurgent force is a learning organization. Insurgents constantly shift between military and political phases and tactics. In addition, networked insurgents constantly exchange information about their enemy's vulnerabilities—even with insurgents in distant theaters. However, skillful counterinsurgents can adapt at least as fast as insurgents. Every unit needs to be able to make observations, draw and apply lessons, and assess results. Commanders must develop an effective system to circulate best practices throughout their command. Combatant commanders might also need to seek new laws or policies that authorize or resource necessary changes. Insurgents shift their AOs looking for weak links, so widespread competence is required throughout the counterinsurgent force.

Empower the Lowest Levels

1-145. *Mission command* is the conduct of military operations through decentralized execution based upon mission orders for effective mission accomplishment. Successful mission command results from subordinate leaders at all echelons exercising disciplined initiative within the commander's intent to accomplish missions. It requires an environment of trust and mutual understanding (FM 6-0). It is the Army's and Marine Corps' preferred method for commanding and controlling forces during all types of operations. Under mission command, commanders provide subordinates with a mission, their commander's intent, a concept of operations, and resources adequate to accomplish the mission. Higher commanders empower subordinates to make decisions within the commander's intent. They leave details of execution to their subordinates and expect them to use initiative and judgment to accomplish the mission.

1-146. Mission command is ideally suited to the mosaic nature of COIN operations. Local commanders have the best grasp of their situations. Under mission command, they are given access to or control of the resources needed to produce timely intelligence, conduct effective tactical operations, and manage IO and civil-military operations. Thus, effective COIN operations are decentralized, and higher commanders owe it to their subordinates to push as many capabilities as possible down to their level. Mission command encourages the initiative of subordinates and facilitates the learning that must occur at every level. It is a major characteristic of a COIN force that can adapt and react at least as quickly as the insurgents.

Support the Host Nation

1-147. U.S. forces committed to a COIN effort are there to assist a HN government. The long-term goal is to leave a government able to stand by itself. In the end, the host nation has to win on its own. Achieving this requires development of viable local leaders and institutions. U.S. forces and agencies can help, but HN elements must accept responsibilities to achieve real victory. While it may be easier for U.S. military units to conduct operations themselves, it is better to work to strengthen local forces and institutions and then assist them. HN governments have the final responsibility to solve their own problems. Eventually all foreign armies are seen as interlopers or occupiers; the sooner the main effort can transition to HN institutions, without unacceptable degradation, the better.

PARADOXES OF COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS

1-148. The principles and imperatives discussed above reveal that COIN presents a complex and often unfamiliar set of missions and considerations. In many ways, the conduct of COIN is counterintuitive to the traditional U.S. view of war—although COIN operations have actually formed a substantial part of the U.S. military experience. Some representative paradoxes of COIN are presented here as examples of the different mindset required. These paradoxes are offered to stimulate thinking, not to limit it. The applicability of the thoughts behind the paradoxes depends on a sense of the local situation and, in particular, the state of the insurgency. For example, the admonition “Sometimes, the More Force Used, the Less Effective It Is” does not apply when the enemy is “coming over the barricades”; however, that thought is applicable when increased security is achieved in an area. In short, these paradoxes should not be reduced to a checklist; rather, they should be used with considerable thought.

Sometimes, the More You Protect Your Force, the Less Secure You May Be

1-149. Ultimate success in COIN is gained by protecting the populace, not the COIN force. If military forces remain in their compounds, they lose touch with the people, appear to be running scared, and cede the initiative to the insurgents. Aggressive saturation patrolling, ambushes, and listening post operations must be conducted, risk shared with the populace, and contact maintained. The effectiveness of establishing patrol bases and operational support bases should be weighed against the effectiveness of using larger unit bases. (FM 90-8 discusses saturation patrolling and operational support bases.) These practices ensure access to the intelligence needed to drive operations. Following them reinforces the connections with the populace that help establish real legitimacy.

Sometimes, the More Force Is Used, the Less Effective It Is

1-150. Any use of force produces many effects, not all of which can be foreseen. The more force applied, the greater the chance of collateral damage and mistakes. Using substantial force also increases the opportunity for insurgent propaganda to portray lethal military activities as brutal. In contrast, using force precisely and discriminately strengthens the rule of law that needs to be established. As noted above, the key for counterinsurgents is knowing when more force is needed—and when it might be counterproductive. This judgment involves constant assessment of the security situation and a sense of timing regarding insurgents’ actions.

The More Successful the Counterinsurgency Is, the Less Force Can Be Used and the More Risk Must Be Accepted

1-151. This paradox is really a corollary to the previous one. As the level of insurgent violence drops, the requirements of international law and the expectations of the populace lead to a reduction in direct military actions by counterinsurgents. More reliance is placed on police work, rules of engagement may be tightened, and troops may have to exercise increased restraint. Soldiers and Marines may also have to accept more risk to maintain involvement with the people.

Sometimes Doing Nothing Is the Best Reaction

1-152. Often insurgents carry out a terrorist act or guerrilla raid with the primary purpose of enticing counterinsurgents to overreact, or at least to react in a way that insurgents can exploit—for example, opening fire on a crowd or executing a clearing operation that creates more enemies than it takes off the streets. If an assessment of the effects of a course of action determines that more negative than positive effects may result, an alternative should be considered—potentially including not acting.

Some of the Best Weapons for Counterinsurgents Do Not Shoot

1-153. Counterinsurgents often achieve the most meaningful success in garnering public support and legitimacy for the HN government with activities that do not involve killing insurgents (though, again, killing clearly will often be necessary). Arguably, the decisive battle is for the people’s minds; hence synchronizing IO with efforts along the other LLOs is critical. Every action, including uses of force, must be “wrapped in a bodyguard of information.” While security is essential to setting the stage for overall progress, lasting victory comes from a vibrant economy, political participation, and restored hope. Particularly after security has been achieved, dollars and ballots will have more important effects than bombs and bullets. This is a time when “money is ammunition.” Depending on the state of the insurgency, therefore, Soldiers and Marines should prepare to execute many nonmilitary missions to support COIN efforts. Everyone has a role in nation building, not just Department of State and civil affairs personnel.

The Host Nation Doing Something Tolerably Is Normally Better than Us Doing It Well

1-154. It is just as important to consider who performs an operation as to assess how well it is done. Where the United States is supporting a host nation, long-term success requires establishing viable HN leaders and institutions that can carry on without significant U.S. support. The longer that process takes, the more U.S. public support will wane and the more the local populace will question the legitimacy of

their own forces and government. General Creighton Abrams, the U.S. commander in Vietnam in 1971, recognized this fact when he said, “There’s very clear evidence, ...in some things, that we helped too much. And we *retarded* the Vietnamese by doing it. ... *We* can’t run this thing. ... *They’ve* got to run it. The nearer we get to that the better off *they* are and the better off *we* are.” T.E. Lawrence made a similar observation while leading the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1917: “Do not try to do too much with your own hands. Better the Arabs do it tolerably than that you do it perfectly. It is their war, and you are to help them, not to win it for them.” However, a key word in Lawrence’s advice is “tolerably.” If the host nation cannot perform tolerably, counterinsurgents supporting it may have to act. Experience, knowledge of the AO, and cultural sensitivity are essential to deciding when such action is necessary.

If a Tactic Works this Week, It Might Not Work Next Week; If It Works in this Province, It Might Not Work in the Next

1-155. Competent insurgents are adaptive. They are often part of a widespread network that communicates constantly and instantly. Insurgents quickly adjust to successful COIN practices and rapidly disseminate information throughout the insurgency. Indeed, the more effective a COIN tactic is, the faster it may become out of date because insurgents have a greater need to counter it. Effective leaders at all levels avoid complacency and are at least as adaptive as their enemies. There is no “silver bullet” set of COIN procedures. Constantly developing new practices is essential.

Tactical Success Guarantees Nothing

1-156. As important as they are in achieving security, military actions by themselves cannot achieve success in COIN. Insurgents that never defeat counterinsurgents in combat still may achieve their strategic objectives. Tactical actions thus must be linked not only to strategic and operational military objectives but also to the host nation’s essential political goals. Without those connections, lives and resources may be wasted for no real gain.

Many Important Decisions Are Not Made by Generals

1-157. Successful COIN operations require competence and judgment by Soldiers and Marines at all levels. Indeed, young leaders—so-called “strategic corporals”—often make decisions at the tactical level that have strategic consequences. Senior leaders set the proper direction and climate with thorough training and clear guidance; then they trust their subordinates to do the right thing. Preparation for tactical-level leaders requires more than just mastering Service doctrine; they must also be trained and educated to adapt to their local situations, understand the legal and ethical implications of their actions, and exercise initiative and sound judgment in accordance with their senior commanders’ intent.

SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL COUNTERINSURGENCY PRACTICES

1-158. Table 1-1 lists some practices that have contributed significantly to success or failure in past counterinsurgencies.

SUMMARY

1-159. COIN is an extremely complex form of warfare. At its core, COIN is a struggle for the population’s support. The protection, welfare, and support of the people are vital to success. Gaining and maintaining that support is a formidable challenge. Achieving these aims requires synchronizing the efforts of many nonmilitary and HN agencies in a comprehensive approach.

1-160. Designing operations that achieve the desired end state requires counterinsurgents to understand the culture and the problems they face. Both insurgents and counterinsurgents are fighting for the support of the populace. However, insurgents are constrained by neither the law of war nor the bounds of human decency as Western nations understand them. In fact, some insurgents are willing to commit suicide and kill innocent civilians in carrying out their operations—and deem this a legitimate option. They also will do anything to preserve their greatest advantage, the ability to hide among the people. These amoral and

often barbaric enemies survive by their wits, constantly adapting to the situation. Defeating them requires counterinsurgents to develop the ability to learn and adapt rapidly and continuously. This manual emphasizes this “Learn and Adapt” imperative as it discusses ways to gain and maintain the support of the people.

1-161. Popular support allows counterinsurgents to develop the intelligence necessary to identify and defeat insurgents. Designing and executing a comprehensive campaign to secure the populace and then gain its support requires carefully coordinating actions along several LLOs over time to produce success. One of these LLOs is developing HN security forces that can assume primary responsibility for combating the insurgency. COIN operations also place distinct burdens on leaders and logisticians. All of these aspects of COIN are described and analyzed in the chapters that follow.

Table 1-1. Successful and unsuccessful counterinsurgency operational practices

<i>Successful practices</i>	<i>Unsuccessful practices</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasize intelligence. • Focus on the population, its needs, and its security. • Establish and expand secure areas. • Isolate insurgents from the populace (population control). • Conduct effective, pervasive, and continuous information operations. • Provide amnesty and rehabilitation for those willing to support the new government. • Place host-nation police in the lead with military support as soon as the security situation permits. • Expand and diversify the host-nation police force. • Train military forces to conduct counterinsurgency operations. • Embed quality advisors and special forces with host-nation forces. • Deny sanctuary to insurgents. • Encourage strong political and military cooperation and information sharing. • Secure host-nation borders. • Protect key infrastructure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overemphasize killing and capturing the enemy rather than securing and engaging the populace. • Conduct large-scale operations as the norm. • Concentrate military forces in large bases for protection. • Focus special forces primarily on raiding. • Place low priority on assigning quality advisors to host-nation forces. • Build and train host-nation security forces in the U.S. military’s image. • Ignore peacetime government processes, including legal procedures. • Allow open borders, airspace, and coastlines.

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Chapter 2

Unity of Effort: Integrating Civilian and Military Activities

Essential though it is, the military action is secondary to the political one, its primary purpose being to afford the political power enough freedom to work safely with the population.

David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare*, 1964¹

This chapter begins with the principles involved in integrating the activities of military and civilian organizations during counterinsurgency operations. It then describes the categories of organizations usually involved. After that, it discusses assignment of responsibilities and mechanisms used to integrate civilian and military activities. It concludes by listing information commanders need to know about civilian agencies operating in their area of operations.

INTEGRATION

2-1. Military efforts are necessary and important to counterinsurgency (COIN) efforts, but they are only effective when integrated into a comprehensive strategy employing all instruments of national power. A successful COIN operation meets the contested population's needs to the extent needed to win popular support while protecting the population from the insurgents. Effective COIN operations ultimately eliminate insurgents or render them irrelevant. Success requires military forces engaged in COIN operations to—

- Know the roles and capabilities of U.S., intergovernmental, and host-nation (HN) partners.
- Include other participants, including HN partners, in planning at every level.
- Support civilian efforts, including those of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).
- As necessary, conduct or participate in political, social, informational, and economic programs.

2-2. The integration of civilian and military efforts is crucial to successful COIN operations. All efforts focus on supporting the local populace and HN government. Political, social, and economic programs are usually more valuable than conventional military operations in addressing the root causes of conflict and undermining an insurgency. COIN participants come from many backgrounds. They may include military personnel, diplomats, police, politicians, humanitarian aid workers, contractors, and local leaders. All must make decisions and solve problems in a complex and extremely challenging environment.

2-3. Controlling the level of violence is a key aspect of the struggle. A high level of violence often benefits insurgents. The societal insecurity that violence brings discourages or precludes nonmilitary organizations, particularly external agencies, from helping the local populace. A more benign security environment allows civilian agencies greater opportunity to provide their resources and expertise. It thereby relieves military forces of this burden.

2-4. An essential COIN task for military forces is fighting insurgents; however, these forces can and should use their capabilities to meet the local populace's fundamental needs as well. Regaining the populace's active and continued support for the HN government is essential to deprive an insurgency of its power and appeal. The military forces' primary function in COIN is protecting that populace. However,

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employing military force is not the only way to provide civil security or defeat insurgents. Indeed, excessive use of military force can frequently undermine policy objectives at the expense of achieving the overarching political goals that define success. This dilemma places tremendous importance on the measured application of force.

2-5. Durable policy success requires balancing the measured use of force with an emphasis on nonmilitary programs. Political, social, and economic programs are most commonly and appropriately associated with civilian organizations and expertise; however, effective implementation of these programs is more important than who performs the tasks. If adequate civilian capacity is not available, military forces fill the gap. COIN programs for political, social, and economic well-being are essential to developing the local capacity that commands popular support when accurately perceived. COIN is also a battle of ideas. Insurgents seek to further their cause by creating misperceptions of COIN efforts. Comprehensive information programs are necessary to amplify the messages of positive deeds and to counter insurgent propaganda.

2-6. COIN is fought among the populace. Counterinsurgents take upon themselves responsibility for the people's well-being in all its manifestations. These include the following:

- Security from insurgent intimidation and coercion, as well as from nonpolitical violence and crime.
- Provision for basic economic needs.
- Provision of essential services, such as water, electricity, sanitation, and medical care.
- Sustainment of key social and cultural institutions.
- Other aspects that contribute to a society's basic quality of life.

Effective COIN programs address all aspects of the local populace's concerns in a unified fashion. Insurgents succeed by maintaining turbulence and highlighting local grievances the COIN effort fails to address. COIN forces succeed by eliminating turbulence and helping the host nation meet the populace's basic needs.

2-7. When the United States commits to helping a host nation defeat an insurgency, success requires applying the instruments of national power along multiple lines of operations. (Normally, these are logical lines of operations [LLOs], as described in chapter 5.) Since efforts along one LLO often affect progress in others, uncoordinated actions are frequently counterproductive.

2-8. LLOs in COIN focus primarily on the populace. Each line depends on the others. The interdependence of the lines is total: if one fails, the mission fails. Many LLOs require applying capabilities usually resident in civilian organizations, such as—

- U.S. government agencies other than the Department of Defense (DOD).
- Other nations' defense and nondefense agencies and ministries.
- IGOs, such as the United Nations and its subordinate organizations.
- NGOs.
- Private corporations.
- Other organizations that wield diplomatic, informational, and economic power.

These civilian organizations bring expertise that complements that of military forces. At the same time, civilian capabilities cannot be employed effectively without the security that military forces provide. Effective COIN leaders understand the interdependent relationship of all participants, military and civilian. COIN leaders orchestrate their efforts to achieve unity of effort and coherent results.

UNITY OF COMMAND

2-9. Unity of command is the preferred doctrinal method for achieving unity of effort by military forces. Where possible, COIN leaders achieve unity of command by establishing and maintaining the formal command or support relationships discussed in FM 3-0. Unity of command should extend to all military forces supporting a host nation. The ultimate objective of these arrangements is for military forces, police, and other security forces to establish effective control while attaining a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence within the society. Command and control of all U.S. Government organizations engaged in a COIN mission should be exercised by a single leader through a formal command and control system. (FM 6-0, chapter 5, discusses a commander's command and control system.)

2-10. The relationships and authorities between military and nonmilitary U.S. Government agencies are usually given in the document directing an agency to support the operation. (The document is usually a memorandum of agreement or understanding.) Commanders exercise only the authority those documents allow; however, the terms in those documents may form the basis for establishing some form of relationship between commanders and agency chiefs.

2-11. As important as unity of command is to military operations, it is one of the most sensitive and difficult-to-resolve issues in COIN. The participation of U.S. and multinational military forces in COIN missions is inherently problematic, as it influences perceptions of the capacity and legitimacy of local security forces. Although unity of command of military forces may be desirable, it may be impractical due to political considerations. Political sensitivities about the perceived subordination of national forces to those of other states or IGOs often preclude strong command relationships; however, the agreements that establish a multinational force provide a source for determining possible authorities and command, support, or other relationships.

2-12. The differing goals and fundamental independence of NGOs and local organizations usually prevent formal relationships governed by command authority. In the absence of such relationships, military leaders seek to persuade and influence other participants to contribute to achieving COIN objectives. Informal or less authoritative relationships include coordination and liaison. In some cases, direct interaction among various organizations may be impractical or undesirable. Basic awareness and general information sharing may be the most that can be accomplished. When unity of command with part or all of the force, including nonmilitary elements, is not possible, commanders work to achieve unity of effort through cooperation and coordination among all elements of the force—even those not part of the same command structure.

UNITY OF EFFORT

2-13. Achieving unity of effort is the goal of command and support relationships. All organizations contributing to a COIN operation should strive, or be persuaded to strive, for maximum unity of effort. Informed, strong leadership forms the foundation for achieving it. Leadership in this area focuses on the central problems affecting the local populace. A clear understanding of the desired end state should infuse all efforts, regardless of the agencies or individuals charged with their execution. Given the primacy of political considerations, military forces often support civilian efforts. However, the mosaic nature of COIN operations means that lead responsibility shifts among military, civilian, and HN authorities. Regardless, military leaders should prepare to assume local leadership for COIN efforts. The organizing imperative is focusing on what needs to be done, not on who does it.

“Hand Shake Con” in Operation Provide Comfort

Operation Provide Comfort provided relief to the Kurdish refugees from northern Iraq and protection for humanitarian relief efforts. It began on 6 April 1991 and ended 24 July 1991. General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC, the multinational force commander, relates the following conversation regarding his command and control arrangements:

“[Regarding command and control relationships with other multinational contingents, t]he Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff asked me... ‘The lines in your command chart, the command relationships, what are they? OpCon [operational control]? TaCon [tactical control]? Command?’ ‘Sir, we don’t ask, because no one can sign up to any of that stuff.’ ‘Well, how do you do business?’ ‘Hand Shake Con. That’s it.’ No memoranda of agreement. No memoranda of understanding.... [T]he relationships are worked out on the scene, and they aren’t pretty. And you don’t really want to try to capture them,...distill them, and say as you go off in the future, you’re going to have this sort of command relationship.... [I]t is Hand Shake Con and that’s the way it works. It is consultative. It is behind-the-scene.”

2-14. Countering an insurgency begins with understanding the complex environment and the numerous competing forces within it. Gaining an understanding of the environment—including the insurgents, affected populace, and different counterinsurgent organizations—is essential to an integrated COIN opera-

tion. The complexity of identifying the insurgency's causes and integrating actions addressing them across multiple, interrelated LLOs requires understanding the civilian and military capabilities, activities, and end state. Various agencies acting to reestablish stability may differ in goals and approaches, based on their experience and institutional culture. When their actions are allowed to adversely affect each other, the populace suffers and insurgents identify grievances to exploit. Integrated actions are essential to defeat the ideologies professed by insurgents. A shared understanding of the operation's purpose provides a unifying theme for COIN efforts. Through a common understanding of that purpose, the COIN leadership can design an operation that promotes effective collaboration and coordination among all agencies and the affected populace.

COORDINATION AND LIAISON

2-15. Many organizations can contribute to successful COIN operations. An insurgency's complex diplomatic, informational, military, and economic context precludes military leaders from commanding all contributing organizations—and they should not try to do so. Interagency partners, NGOs, and private organizations have many interests and agendas that military forces cannot control. Additionally, local legitimacy is frequently affected by the degree to which local institutions are perceived as independent and capable without external support. Nevertheless, military leaders should make every effort to ensure that COIN actions are as well integrated as possible. Active leadership by military leaders is imperative to effect coordination, establish liaison (formal and informal), and share information. Influencing and persuading groups outside a commander's authority requires skill and often subtlety. As actively as commanders pursue unity of effort, they should also be mindful of their prominence and recognize the wisdom of acting indirectly and in ways that allow credit for success to go to others—particularly local individuals and organizations.

2-16. Many groups often play critical roles in influencing the outcome of a COIN effort but are beyond the control of military forces or civilian governing institutions. These groups include the following:

- Local leaders.
- Informal associations.
- Religious groups.
- Families.
- Tribes.
- Some private enterprises.
- Some humanitarian groups.
- The media.

Commanders remain aware of the influence of such groups and are prepared to work with, through, or around them.

KEY COUNTERINSURGENCY PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR LIKELY ROLES

2-17. Likely participants in COIN operations include the following:

- U.S. military forces.
- Multinational (including HN) forces.
- U.S. Government agencies.
- Other governments' agencies.
- NGOs.
- IGOs.
- Multinational corporations and contractors.
- HN civil and military authorities (including local leaders).

U.S. MILITARY FORCES

2-18. Military forces play an extensive role in COIN efforts. Demanding and complex, COIN draws heavily on a broad range of the joint force's capabilities and requires a different mix of offensive, defensive, and stability operations from that expected in major combat operations. Air, land, and maritime components all contribute to successful operations and to the vital effort to separate insurgents from the people they seek to control. The Army and Marine Corps usually furnish the principal U.S. military contributions to COIN forces. Special operations forces (SOF) are particularly valuable due to their specialized capabilities:

- Civil affairs.
- Psychological operations.
- Intelligence.
- Language skills.
- Region-specific knowledge.

SOF can provide light, agile, high-capability teams able to operate discreetly in local communities. SOF can also conduct complex counterterrorist operations.

2-19. U.S. military forces are vastly capable. Designed primarily for conventional warfare, they nonetheless have the capabilities essential to successfully conduct COIN operations. The most important military assets in COIN are disciplined Soldiers and Marines with adaptive, self-aware, and intelligent leaders. Military forces also have capabilities particularly relevant to common COIN requirements. These capabilities include the following:

- Dismounted infantry.
- Human intelligence.
- Language specialists.
- Military police.
- Civil affairs.
- Engineers.
- Medical units.
- Logistic support.
- Legal affairs.
- Contracting elements.

All are found in the Army; most are found in the Marine Corps. To a limited degree, they are also found in the Air Force and Navy.

2-20. U.S. forces help HN military, paramilitary, and police forces conduct COIN operations, including area security and local security operations. U.S. forces provide advice and help find, disperse, capture, and defeat insurgent forces. Concurrently, they emphasize training HN forces to perform essential defense functions. These are the central tasks of foreign internal defense, a core SOF task. The current and more extensive national security demands for such efforts require conventional forces of all Services be prepared to contribute to establishing and training local security forces.

2-21. Land combat forces, supported by air and maritime forces, conduct full spectrum operations to disrupt or destroy insurgent military capabilities. Land forces use offensive operations to disrupt insurgent efforts to establish base areas and consolidate their forces. They conduct defensive operations to provide area and local security. They conduct stability operations to thwart insurgent efforts to control or disrupt people's lives and routine activities. In all applications of combat power, commanders first ensure that likely costs do not outweigh or undermine other more important COIN efforts.

2-22. Most valuable to long-term success in winning the support of the populace are the contributions land forces make by conducting stability operations. *Stability operations* is an overarching term encompassing various military missions, tasks, and activities conducted outside the United States in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief (JP 1-02).

Forces engaged in stability operations establish, safeguard, or restore basic civil services. They act directly but also support government agencies. Success in stability operations enables the local populace and HN government agencies to resume or develop the capabilities needed to conduct COIN operations and create conditions that permit U.S. military forces to disengage.

2-23. Military forces also use their capabilities to enable the efforts of nonmilitary participants. Logistics, transportation, equipment, personnel, and other assets can support interagency partners and other civilian organizations.

MULTINATIONAL (INCLUDING HOST-NATION) MILITARY FORCES

2-24. The U.S. Government prefers that U.S. military forces operate with other nations' forces and not alone. Thus, Soldiers and Marines normally function as part of a multinational force. In COIN operations, U.S. forces usually operate with the security forces of the local populace or host nation. Each multinational participant provides capabilities and strengths that U.S. forces may not have. Many other countries' military forces bring cultural backgrounds, historical experiences, and other capabilities that can be particularly valuable to COIN efforts.

2-25. However, nations join coalitions for various reasons. Although the missions of multinational partners may appear similar to those of the United States, rules of engagement, home-country policies, and sensitivities may differ among partners. U.S. military leaders require a strong cultural and political awareness of HN and other multinational military partners.

NONMILITARY COUNTERINSURGENCY PARTICIPANTS

2-26. Many nonmilitary organizations may support a host nation as it confronts an insurgency. Some of these organizations are discussed below. (JP 3-08, volume II, discusses nonmilitary organizations often associated with joint operations.)

U.S. Government Organizations

2-27. Commanders' situational awareness includes being familiar with other U.S. Government organizations participating in the COIN effort and aware of their capabilities. Planning includes determining which organizations are supporting the force or operating in their area of operations (AO). Commanders and leaders of other U.S. Government organizations should collaboratively plan and coordinate actions to avoid conflict or duplication of effort. Within the U.S. Government, key organizations include—

- Department of State.
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).
- Central Intelligence Agency.
- Department of Justice.
- Drug Enforcement Administration (under Department of Justice).
- Department of the Treasury.
- Department of Homeland Security.
- Department of Energy.
- Department of Agriculture.
- Department of Commerce.
- Department of Transportation.
- U.S. Coast Guard (under Department of Homeland Security).
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (under Department of Justice).
- Immigration Customs Enforcement (under Department of Homeland Security).

Other Governments' Agencies

2-28. Agencies of other national governments (such as ministries of defense, foreign affairs, development, and justice) are likely to actively participate in COIN operations. The list of possible participants from

other countries is too long to list. Leaders of U.S. contingents must work closely with their multinational counterparts to become familiar with agencies that may operate in their AO. To the degree possible, military leaders should use U.S. civilian representatives to establish appropriate relationships and awareness of their multinational counterparts.

Nongovernmental Organizations

2-29. Joint doctrine defines a *nongovernmental organization* as a private, self-governing, not-for-profit organization dedicated to alleviating human suffering; and/or promoting education, health care, economic development, environmental protection, human rights, and conflict resolution; and/or encouraging the establishment of democratic institutions and civil society (JP 1-02). There are several thousand NGOs of many different types. Their activities are governed by their organizing charters and their members' motivations. Some NGOs receive at least part of their funding from national governments or IGOs. Some may become implementing partners in accordance with grants or contracts. (For example, USAID provides some NGO funding.) In these cases, the funding organization often gains oversight and authority over how the funds are used.

2-30. Some NGOs maintain strict independence from governments and belligerents and do not want to be seen directly associating with military forces. Gaining the support of and coordinating operations with these NGOs can be difficult. Establishing basic awareness of these groups and their activities may be the most commanders can achieve. NGOs play important roles in resolving insurgencies, however. Many NGOs arrive before military forces and remain afterwards. They can support lasting stability. To the greatest extent possible, commanders try to complement and not override their capabilities. Building a complementary, trust-based relationship is vital.

2-31. Examples of NGOs include—

- International Committee of the Red Cross.
- World Vision.
- Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders).
- Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE).
- Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM).
- Save the Children.
- Mercy Corps.
- Academy for Educational Development.

Intergovernmental Organizations

2-32. Joint doctrine defines an *intergovernmental organization* as an organization created by a formal agreement (for example, a treaty) between two or more governments. It may be established on a global, regional, or functional basis for wide-ranging or narrowly defined purposes. IGOs are formed to protect and promote national interests shared by member states (JP 1-02). The most notable IGO is the United Nations (UN). Regional organizations like the Organization of American States and European Union may be involved in some COIN operations. The UN in particular has many subordinate and affiliated agencies active worldwide. Depending on the situation and HN needs, any number of UN organizations may be present, such as the following:

- Office of the Chief of Humanitarian Affairs.
- Department of Peacekeeping Operations.
- World Food Program.
- UN Refugee Agency (known as UNHCR, the acronym for its director, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees).
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- UN Development Program.

Multinational Corporations and Contractors

2-33. Multinational corporations often engage in reconstruction, economic development, and governance activities. At a minimum, commanders should know which companies are present in their AO and where those companies are conducting business. Such information can prevent fratricide and destruction of private property.

2-34. Recently, private contractors from firms providing military-related services have become more prominent in theaters of operations. This category includes armed contractors providing many different security services to the U.S. Government, NGOs, and private businesses. Many businesses market expertise in areas related to supporting governance, economics, education, and other aspects of civil society as well. Providing capabilities similar to some NGOs, these firms often obtain contracts through government agencies.

2-35. When contractors or other businesses are being paid to support U.S. military or other government agencies, the principle of unity of command should apply. Commanders should be able to influence contractors' performance through U.S. Government contract supervisors. When under contract to the United States, contractors should behave as an extension of the organizations or agencies for which they work. Commanders should identify contractors operating in their AO and determine the nature of their contract, existing accountability mechanisms, and appropriate coordination relationships.

Host-Nation Civil Authorities

2-36. Sovereignty issues are among the most difficult for commanders conducting COIN operations, both in regard to forces contributed by other nations and by the host nation. Often, commanders are required to lead through coordination, communication, and consensus, in addition to traditional command practices. Political sensitivities must be acknowledged. Commanders and subordinates often act as diplomats as well as warriors. Within military units, legal officers and their staffs are particularly valuable for clarifying legal arrangements with the host nation. To avoid adverse effects on operations, commanders should address all sovereignty issues through the chain of command to the U.S. Ambassador. As much as possible, sovereignty issues should be addressed before executing operations. Examples of key sovereignty issues include the following:

- Aerial ports of debarkation.
- Basing.
- Border crossings.
- Collecting and sharing information.
- Protection (tasks related to preserving the force).
- Jurisdiction over members of the U.S. and multinational forces.
- Location and access.
- Operations in the territorial waters, both sea and internal.
- Overflight rights.
- Police operations, including arrest, detention, penal, and justice authority and procedures.
- Railheads.
- Seaports of debarkation.

2-37. Commanders create coordinating mechanisms, such as committees or liaison elements, to facilitate cooperation and build trust with HN authorities. HN military or nonmilitary representatives should have leading roles in such mechanisms. These organizations facilitate operations by reducing sensitivities and misunderstandings while removing impediments. Sovereignty issues can be formally resolved with the host nation by developing appropriate technical agreements to augment existing or recently developed status of forces agreements. In many cases, security assistance organizations, NGOs, and IGOs have detailed local knowledge and reservoirs of good will that can help establish a positive, constructive relationship with the host nation.

2-38. Coordination and support should exist down to local levels (such as villages and neighborhoods). Soldiers and Marines should be aware of the political and societal structures in their AOs. Political struc-

tures usually have designated leaders responsible to the government and people. However, the societal structure may include informal leaders who operate outside the political structure. These leaders may be—

- Economic (such as businessmen).
- Theological (such as clerics and lay leaders).
- Informational (such as newspaper publishers or journalists).
- Family based (such as elders or patriarchs).

Some societal leaders may emerge due to charisma or other intangible influences. Commanders should identify the key leaders and the manner in which they are likely to influence COIN efforts.

KEY RESPONSIBILITIES IN COUNTERINSURGENCY

2-39. Participants best qualified and able to accomplish nonmilitary tasks are not always available. The realistic division of labor does not match the preferred division of labor. In those cases, military forces perform those tasks. Sometimes forces have the skills required; other times they learn them during execution.

PREFERRED DIVISION OF LABOR

2-40. In COIN it is always preferred for civilians to perform civilian tasks. Whenever possible, civilian agencies or individuals with the greatest applicable expertise should perform a task. Legitimate local authorities should receive special preference. There are many U.S. agencies and civilian IGOs with more expertise in meeting the fundamental needs of a population under assault than military forces have; however, the ability of such agencies to deploy to foreign countries in sustainable numbers and with ready access to necessary resources is usually limited. The violence level in the AO also affects civilian agencies' ability to operate. The more violent the environment, the more difficult it is for civilians to operate effectively. Hence, the preferred or ideal division of labor is frequently unattainable. The more violent the insurgency, the more unrealistic is this preferred division of labor.

REALISTIC DIVISION OF LABOR

2-41. By default, U.S. and multinational military forces often possess the only readily available capability to meet many of the local populace's fundamental needs. Human decency and the law of war require land forces to assist the populace in their AOs. Leaders at all levels prepare to address civilian needs. Commanders identify people in their units with regional and interagency expertise, civil-military competence, and other critical skills needed to support a local populace and HN government. Useful skill sets may include the following:

- Knowledge, cultural understanding, and appreciation of the host nation and region.
- Functional skills needed for interagency and HN coordination (for example, liaison, negotiation, and appropriate social or political relationships).
- Language skills needed for coordination with the host nation, NGOs, and multinational partners.
- Knowledge of basic civic functions such as governance, infrastructure, public works, economics, and emergency services.

2-42. U.S. Government agencies and IGOs rarely have the resources and capabilities needed to address all COIN tasks. Success requires adaptable leaders who prepare to perform required tasks with available resources. These leaders understand that long-term security cannot be imposed by military force alone; it requires an integrated, balanced application of effort by all participants with the goal of supporting the local populace and achieving legitimacy for the HN government. David Galula wisely notes, "To confine soldiers to purely military functions while urgent and vital tasks have to be done, and nobody else is available to undertake them, would be senseless. The soldier must then be prepared to become...a social worker, a civil engineer, a schoolteacher, a nurse, a boy scout. But only for as long as he cannot be replaced, for it is better to entrust civilian tasks to civilians." Galula's last sentence is important. Military forces can perform civilian tasks but often not as well as the civilian agencies with people trained in those skills. Further, military forces performing civilian tasks are not performing military tasks. Diverting them from those tasks should be a temporary measure, one taken to address urgent circumstances.

TRANSITIONS

2-43. Regardless of the division of labor, an important recurring feature of COIN is transitioning responsibility and participation in key LLOs. As consistently and conscientiously as possible, military leaders ensure continuity in meeting the needs of the HN government and local populace. The same general guidelines governing battle handovers apply to COIN transitions. Whether the transition is between military units or from a military unit to a civilian agency, all involved must clearly understand the tasks and responsibilities being passed. Maintaining unity of effort is particularly important during transitions, especially between organizations of different capabilities and capacities. Relationships tend to break down during transitions. A transition is not a single event where all activity happens at once. It is a rolling process of little handoffs between different actors along several streams of activities. There are usually multiple transitions for any one stream of activity over time. Using the coordination mechanisms discussed below can help create and sustain the links that support effective transitions without compromising unity of effort.

CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INTEGRATION MECHANISMS

2-44. Applying the principle of unity of effort is possible in many organizational forms. The first choice should be to identify existing coordination mechanisms and incorporate them into comprehensive COIN efforts. This includes existing U.S. Government, multinational, and HN mechanisms. Context is extremely important. Although many of these structures exist and are often employed in other types of missions (such as peacekeeping or humanitarian relief), there is an acute and fundamental difference in an insurgency environment. The nature of the conflict and its focus on the populace make civilian and military unity a critical enabling aspect of a COIN operation. The following discussion highlights some of the well-established, general mechanisms for civilian and military integration. Many civil-military organizations and mechanisms have been created for specific missions. Although the names and acronyms differ, in their general outlines they usually reflect the concepts discussed below.

2-45. The U.S. Government influences events worldwide by effectively employing the instruments of national power: diplomatic, informational, military, and economic. These instruments are coordinated by the appropriate executive branch officials, often with assistance from the National Security Council (NSC) staff.

2-46. The NSC is the President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters. It serves as the President's principal means for coordinating policy among various interagency organizations. At the strategic level, the NSC directs the creation of the interagency political-military plan for COIN. The NSC staff, guided by the deputies and principals, assists in integrating interagency processes to develop the plan for NSC approval. (See JP 1.)

JOINT INTERAGENCY COORDINATION GROUP

2-47. *Interagency coordination*, within the context of Department of Defense involvement, is the coordination that occurs between elements of Department of Defense and engaged U.S. Government agencies for the purpose of achieving an objective (JP 1-02). Joint interagency coordination groups (JIACGs) help combatant commanders conduct COIN operations by providing interagency support of plans, operations, contingencies, and initiatives. The goal of a JIACG is to provide timely, usable information and advice from an interagency perspective to the combatant commander by information sharing, integration, synchronization, training, and exercises. JIACGs may include representatives from other federal departments and agencies and state and local authorities, as well as liaison officers from other commands and DOD components. The interagency representatives and liaison officers are the subject matter experts for their respective agencies and commands. They provide the critical bridge between the combatant commander and interagency organizations. (See JP 3-08, volume I.)

COUNTRY TEAM

2-48. At the HN level, the U.S. country team is the primary interagency coordinating structure for COIN. (See figure 2-1.) The country team is the senior in-country coordinating and supervising body, headed by the U.S. chief of mission, usually the Ambassador. It is composed of the senior member of each represented department or agency. In a foreign country, the chief of mission is the highest U.S. civil authority.

The Foreign Service Act assigns the chief of mission to a foreign country responsibility for the direction, coordination, and supervision of all government executive branch employees in that country except for service members and employees under the command of a U.S. area military commander. As the senior U.S. Government official permanently assigned in the host nation, the chief of mission is responsible to the President for policy oversight of all United States government programs. The chief of mission leads the country team and is responsible for integrating U.S. efforts in support of the host nation. As permanently established interagency organizations, country teams represent a priceless COIN resource. They often provide deep reservoirs of local knowledge and interaction with the HN government and population.

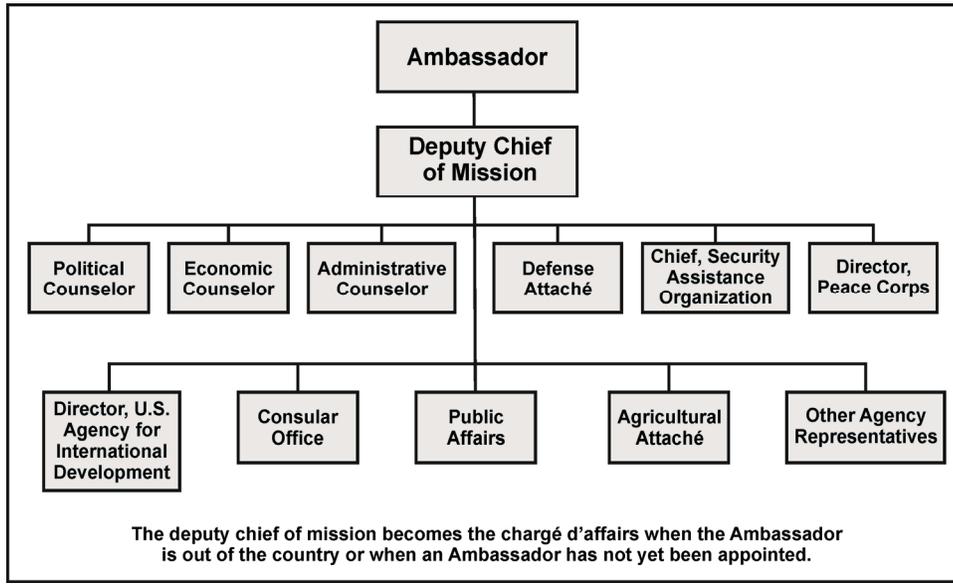


Figure 2-1. Sample country team

2-49. The more extensive the U.S. participation is in a COIN and the more dispersed U.S. forces are throughout a country, the greater the need for additional mechanisms to extend civilian oversight and assistance. However, given the limited resources of the Department of State and the other U.S. Government agencies, military forces often represent the country team in decentralized and diffuse operational environments. Operating with a clear understanding of the guiding political aims, members of the military at all levels must be prepared to exercise judgment and act without the benefit of immediate civilian oversight and control. At each subordinate political level of the HN government, military and civilian leaders should establish a coordinating structure, such as an area coordination center or civil-military operations center (CMOC), that includes representatives of the HN government and security forces, as well as U.S. and multinational forces and agencies. CMOCs facilitate the integration of military and political actions. Below the national level, additional structures where military commanders and civilian leaders can meet directly with local leaders to discuss issues may be established. Where possible, IGOs and NGOs should be encouraged to participate in coordination meetings to ensure their actions are integrated with military and HN plans. (See JP 3-07.1 for additional information about COIN planning and coordination organizations.)

2-50. In practice, the makeup of country teams varies widely, depending on the U.S. departments and agencies represented in country, the desires of the Ambassador, and the HN situation. During COIN, country team members meet regularly to coordinate U.S. Government diplomatic, informational, military, and economic activities in the host nation to ensure unity of effort. The interagency representatives usually include at least the following:

- Departments of State, Defense, Justice, and Treasury.
- USAID.
- Central Intelligence Agency.
- Drug Enforcement Administration.

Participation of other U.S. Government organizations depends on the situation.

2-51. In almost all bilateral missions, DOD is represented on the country team by the U.S. defense attaché's office or the security assistance organization. They are key military sources of information for interagency coordination in foreign countries. (Security assistance organizations are called by various names, such as the office of defense cooperation, security assistance office, or military group. The choice is largely governed by HN preference.)

Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan

A model for civil-military cooperation is the provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) first fielded in 2003 in Afghanistan. PRTs were conceived as a means to extend the reach and enhance the legitimacy of the central government into the provinces of Afghanistan at a time when most assistance was limited to the nation's capital. Though PRTs were staffed by a number of coalition and NATO allied countries, they generally consisted of 50 to 300 troops as well as representatives from multinational development and diplomatic agencies. Within U.S. PRTs, USAID and Department of State leaders and the PRT commander formed a senior team that coordinated the policies, strategies, and activities of each agency towards a common goal. In secure areas, PRTs maintained a low profile. In areas where coalition combat operations were underway, PRTs worked closely with maneuver units and local government entities to ensure that shaping operations achieved their desired effects. Each PRT leadership team received tremendous latitude to determine its own strategy. However, each PRT used its significant funding and diverse expertise to pursue activities that fell into one of three general logical lines of operations: pursue security sector reform, build local governance, or execute reconstruction and development.

2-52. The country team determines how the United States can effectively apply interagency capabilities to assist a HN government in creating a complementary institutional capacity to deal with an insurgency. Efforts to support local officials and build HN capacity must be integrated with information operations so HN citizens are aware of their government's efforts. In addition, interagency capabilities must be applied at the tactical level to give commanders access to options such capabilities make available. The Civil Operations and Revolutionary—later Rural—Development Support approach developed during the Vietnam War provides a positive example of integrated civilian and military structures that reached every level of the COIN effort.

CORDS and Accelerated Pacification in Vietnam

During the Vietnam War, one of the most valuable and successful elements of COIN was the Civil Operations and Revolutionary—later Rural—Development Support (CORDS) program. CORDS was created in 1967 to integrate U.S. civilian and military support of the South Vietnamese government and people. CORDS achieved considerable success in supporting and protecting the South Vietnamese population and in undermining the communist insurgents' influence and appeal, particularly after implementation of accelerated pacification in 1968.

Pacification was the process by which the government asserted its influence and control in an area beset by insurgents. It included local security efforts, programs to distribute food and medical supplies, and lasting reforms (like land redistribution). In 1965, U.S. civilian contributions to pacification consisted of several civilian agencies (among them, the Central Intelligence Agency, Agency for International Development, U.S. Information Service, and Department of State). Each developed its own programs. Coordination was uneven. The U.S. military contribution to pacification consisted of thousands of advisors. By early 1966, there were military advisory teams in all of South Vietnam's 44 provinces and most of its 243 districts. But there were two separate chains of command for military and civilian pacification efforts, making it particularly difficult for the civilian-run pacification program to function.

In 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson established CORDS within the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), which was commanded by General William Westmoreland, USA. The purpose of CORDS was to establish closer integration of civilian and military efforts. Robert Komer was appointed to run the program, with a three-star-equivalent rank. Civilians, including an assistant chief of staff for CORDS, were integrated into military staffs at all levels. This placed civilians in charge of military personnel and resources. Komer was energetic, strong-willed, and persistent in getting the program started. Nicknamed “Blowtorch Bob” for his aggressive style, Komer was modestly successful in leading improvements in pacification before the 1968 Tet offensive.

In mid-1968, the new MACV commander, General Creighton Abrams, USA, and his new civilian deputy, William Colby, used CORDS as the implementing mechanism for an accelerated pacification program that became the priority effort for the United States. Significant allocations of personnel helped make CORDS effective. In this, the military’s involvement was key. In September 1969—the high point of the pacification effort in terms of total manpower—there were 7,601 advisors assigned to province and district pacification teams. Of these 6,464 were military.

The effectiveness of CORDS was a function of integrated civilian and military teams at every level of society in Vietnam. From district to province to national level, U.S. advisors and U.S. interagency partners worked closely with their Vietnamese counterparts. The entire effort was well established under the direction of the country team, led by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. General Abrams and his civilian deputy were clear in their focus on pacification as the priority and ensured that military and civilian agencies worked closely together. Keen attention was given to the ultimate objective of serving the needs of the local populace. Success in meeting basic needs of the populace led, in turn, to improved intelligence that facilitated an assault on the Viet Cong political infrastructure. By early 1970, statistics indicated that 93 percent of South Vietnamese lived in “relatively secure” villages, an increase of almost 20 percent from the middle of 1968. By 1972, pacification had largely uprooted the insurgency from among the South Vietnamese population and forced the communists to rely more heavily on infiltrating conventional forces from North Vietnam and employing them in irregular and conventional operations.

In 1972, South Vietnamese forces operating with significant support from U.S. airpower defeated large-scale North Vietnamese conventional attacks. Unfortunately, a North Vietnamese conventional assault succeeded in 1975 after the withdrawal of U.S. forces, ending of U.S. air support, and curtailment of U.S. funding to South Vietnam.

Pacification, once it was integrated under CORDS, was generally led, planned, and executed well. CORDS was a successful synthesis of military and civilian efforts. It is a useful model to consider for other COIN operations.

CIVIL-MILITARY OPERATIONS CENTER

2-53. Another mechanism for bringing elements together for coordination is the CMOC. CMOCs can be established at all levels of command. CMOCs coordinate the interaction of U.S. and multinational military forces with a wide variety of civilian agencies. A CMOC is not designed, nor should it be used as, a command and control element. However, it is useful for transmitting the commander’s guidance to other agencies, exchanging information, and facilitating complementary efforts.

2-54. Overall management of a CMOC may be assigned to a multinational force commander, shared by a U.S. and a multinational commander, or shared by a U.S. commander and a civilian agency head. A CMOC can be used to build on-site, interagency coordination to achieve unity of effort. There is no established CMOC structure; its size and composition depend on the situation. However, CMOCs are organic to Army civil affairs organizations, from civil affairs command to company. Senior civil affairs officers normally serve as the CMOC director and deputy director. Other military participants usually include civil af-

fairs, legal, operations, logistic, engineering, and medical representatives of the supported headquarters. Civilian members of a CMOc may include representatives of the following:

- U.S. Government organizations.
- Multinational partners.
- IGOs.
- HN or other local organizations.
- NGOs.

(For more information on CMOcs, see FM 3-05.401/CRP 3-33.1A.)

TACTICAL-LEVEL INTERAGENCY CONSIDERATIONS

2-55. Tactical units may find interagency expertise pushed to their level when they are responsible for large AOs in a COIN environment. Tactical units down to company level must be prepared to integrate their efforts with civilian organizations.

2-56. To ensure integration of interagency capabilities, units should coordinate with all interagency representatives and organizations that enter their AO. Despite the best efforts to coordinate, the fog and friction inherent in COIN will often lead to civilian organizations entering an AO without prior coordination. (Table 2-1 is a suggested list for coordinating with interagency and other nonmilitary organizations.)

Table 2-1. Example interagency coordination checklist

<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Identify organizational structures and leadership.● Identify key objectives, responsibilities, capabilities, and programs.● Develop common courses of action or options for inclusion in planning, movement coordination, and security briefings.● Determine how to ensure coordination and communications before and during the execution of the organization's activities in the unit's area of operations.● Develop relationships that enable the greatest possible integration.● Assign liaison officers to the most important civilian organizations.● Define problems in clear and unambiguous terms.● Determine the intended duration of operations.● Determine the location of bases of operations.● Determine the number, names, and descriptions of personnel.● Determine the type, color, number, and license numbers of civilian vehicles.● Identify other agency resources in the area of operations.● Identify local groups and the agencies with whom they are working.● Establish terms of reference or operating procedures, especially in the event of incidents that result in casualties.● Identify funding for interagency projects.

SUMMARY

2-57. President John F. Kennedy noted, "You [military professionals] must know something about strategy and tactics and...logistics, but also economics and politics and diplomacy and history. You must know everything you can know about military power, and you must also understand the limits of military power. You must understand that few of the important problems of our time have...been finally solved by military power alone." Nowhere is this insight more relevant than in COIN. Successful COIN efforts require unity of effort in bringing all instruments of national power to bear. Civilian agencies can contribute directly to military operations, particularly by providing information. That theme is developed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Intelligence in Counterinsurgency

Everything good that happens seems to come from good intelligence.

General Creighton W. Abrams Jr., USA, 1970

Effective, accurate, and timely intelligence is essential to the conduct of any form of warfare. This maxim applies especially to counterinsurgency operations; the ultimate success or failure of the mission depends on the effectiveness of the intelligence effort. This chapter builds upon previous concepts to further describe insurgencies, requirements for intelligence preparation of the battlefield and predeployment planning, collection and analysis of intelligence in counterinsurgency, intelligence fusion, and general methodology for integrating intelligence with operations. This chapter does not supersede processes in U.S. military doctrine (see FM 2-0, FM 34-130/FMFRP 3-23-2, and FMI 2-91.4) but instead provides specific guidance for counterinsurgency.

SECTION I – INTELLIGENCE CHARACTERISTICS IN COUNTERINSURGENCY

- 3-1. Counterinsurgency (COIN) is an intelligence-driven endeavor. The function of intelligence in COIN is to facilitate understanding of the operational environment, with emphasis on the populace, host nation, and insurgents. Commanders require accurate intelligence about these three areas to best address the issues driving the insurgency. Both insurgents and counterinsurgents require an effective intelligence capability to be successful. Both attempt to create and maintain intelligence networks while trying to neutralize their opponent's intelligence capabilities.
- 3-2. Intelligence in COIN is about people. U.S. forces must understand the people of the host nation, the insurgents, and the host-nation (HN) government. Commanders and planners require insight into cultures, perceptions, values, beliefs, interests and decision-making processes of individuals and groups. These requirements are the basis for collection and analytical efforts.
- 3-3. Intelligence and operations feed each other. Effective intelligence drives effective operations. Effective operations produce information, which generates more intelligence. Similarly, ineffective or inaccurate intelligence produces ineffective operations, which produce the opposite results.
- 3-4. All operations have an intelligence component. All Soldiers and Marines collect information whenever they interact with the populace. Operations should therefore always include intelligence collection requirements.
- 3-5. Insurgencies are local. They vary greatly in time and space. The insurgency one battalion faces will often be different from that faced by an adjacent battalion. The mosaic nature of insurgencies, coupled with the fact that all Soldiers and Marines are potential intelligence collectors, means that all echelons both produce and consume intelligence. This situation results in a bottom-up flow of intelligence. This pattern also means that tactical units at brigade and below require a lot of support for both collection and analysis, as their organic intelligence structure is often inadequate.
- 3-6. COIN occurs in a joint, interagency, and multinational environment at all echelons. Commanders and staffs must coordinate intelligence collection and analysis with foreign militaries, foreign and U.S. intelligence services, and other organizations.

SECTION II – PREDEPLOYMENT PLANNING AND INTELLIGENCE PREPARATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD

3-7. *Intelligence preparation of the battlefield* is the systematic, continuous process of analyzing the threat and environment in a specific geographic area. Intelligence preparation of the battlefield (IPB) is designed to support the staff estimate and military decision-making process. Most intelligence requirements are generated as a result of the IPB process and its interrelation with the decision-making process (FM 34-130). Planning for deployment begins with a thorough mission analysis, including IPB. IPB is accomplished in four steps:

- Define the operational environment.
- Describe the effects of the operational environment.
- Evaluate the threat.
- Determine threat courses of action.

3-8. The purpose of planning and IPB before deployment is to develop an understanding of the operational environment. This understanding drives planning and predeployment training. Predeployment intelligence must be as detailed as possible. It should focus on the host nation, its people, and insurgents in the area of operations (AO). Commanders and staffs use predeployment intelligence to establish a plan for addressing the underlying causes of the insurgency and to prepare their units to interact with the populace appropriately. The goal of planning and preparation is for commanders and their subordinates not to be surprised by what they encounter in theater.

3-9. IPB in COIN operations follows the methodology described in FM 34-130/FMFRP 3-23-2. However, it places greater emphasis on civil considerations, especially people and leaders in the AO, than does IPB for conventional operations. IPB is continuous and its products are revised throughout the mission. Nonetheless, predeployment products are of particular importance for the reasons explained above. Whenever possible, planning and preparation for deployment includes a thorough and detailed IPB. IPB in COIN requires personnel to work in areas like economics, anthropology, and governance that may be outside their expertise. Therefore, integrating staffs and drawing on the knowledge of nonintelligence personnel and external experts with local and regional knowledge are critical to effective preparation.

3-10. Deployed units are the best sources of intelligence. Deploying units should make an effort to reach forward to deployed units. The Secret Internet Protocol Router Network (SIPRNET) allows deploying units to immerse themselves virtually in the situation in theater. Government agencies, such as the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, and intelligence agencies, can often provide country studies and other background information as well.

3-11. *Open-source intelligence* is information of potential intelligence value that is available to the general public (JP 1-02). It is important to predeployment IPB. In many cases, background information on the populations, cultures, languages, history, and governments of states in an AO is in open sources. Open sources include books, magazines, encyclopedias, Web sites, tourist maps, and atlases. Academic sources, such as journal articles and university professors, can also be of great benefit.

DEFINE THE OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

3-12. The *operational environment* is a composite of the conditions, circumstances, and influences that affect the employment of capabilities and bear on the decisions of the commander. (JP 1-02). At the tactical and operational levels, defining the operational environment involves defining a unit's AO and determining an area of interest. The *area of interest* is area of concern to the commander, including the area of influence, areas adjacent thereto, and extending into enemy territory to the objectives of current or planned operations. This area also includes areas occupied by enemy forces who could jeopardize the accomplishment of the mission (JP 1-02).

3-13. AOs may be relatively static, but people and information flow through AOs continuously. Therefore, when defining an area of interest, commanders take into account physical geography and civil considerations, particularly human factors. AOs often cut across physical lines of communications, such as roads, as

well as areas that are tribally, economically, or culturally defined. For instance, tribal and family groups in Iraq and Afghanistan cross national borders into neighboring countries. The cross-border ties allow insurgents safe haven outside of their country and aid them in cross-border smuggling. The area of interest can be large relative to the AO; it must often account for various influences that affect the AO, such as—

- Family, tribal, ethnic, religious, or other links that go beyond the AO.
- Communication links to other regions.
- Economic links to other regions.
- Media influence on the local populace, U.S. public, and multinational partners.
- External financial, moral, and logistic support for the enemy.

3-14. At the combatant command level, the area of interest may be global, if, for example, enemy forces have an international financial network or are able to affect popular support within the U.S. or multinational partners. At the tactical level, commands must be aware of activities in neighboring regions and population centers that affect the population in their AO.

3-15. As explained in chapter 2, another consideration for predeployment planning and defining the operational environment is understanding the many military and nonmilitary organizations involved in the COIN effort. Intelligence planners determine the non-Department of Defense (DOD) agencies, multinational forces, nongovernmental organizations, and HN organizations in the AO. Knowledge of these organizations is needed to establish working relationships and procedures for sharing information. These relationships and procedures are critical to developing a comprehensive common operational picture and enabling unity of effort.

DESCRIBE THE EFFECTS OF THE OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

3-16. This IPB step involves developing an understanding of the operational environment and is critical to the success of operations. It includes—

- Civil considerations, with emphasis on the people, history, and HN government in the AO.
- Terrain analysis (physical geography), with emphasis on the following:
 - Complex terrain.
 - Suburban and urban terrain.
 - Key infrastructure.
 - Lines of communications.
- Weather analysis, focusing on how weather affects the populace's activities, such as agriculture, smuggling, or insurgent actions.

3-17. Including all staff members in this step improves the knowledge base used to develop an understanding of the AO. For instance, civil affairs personnel receive training in analysis of populations, cultures, and economic development. These Soldiers and Marines can contribute greatly to understanding civil considerations. As another example, foreign area officers have linguistic, historical, and cultural knowledge about particular regions and have often lived there for extended periods.

3-18. The products that result from describing the effects of the operational environment influence operations at all echelons. The description informs political activities and economic policies of combatant commanders. It drives information operations (IO) and civil-military operations planning. The knowledge gained affects the way Soldiers and Marines interact with the populace.

3-19. *Civil considerations* are how the manmade infrastructure, civilian institutions, and attitudes and activities of the civilian leaders, populations, and organizations within an area of operations influence the conduct of military operations (FM 6-0). Civil considerations form one of the six categories into which relevant information is grouped for military operations. (The glossary lists the other five categories under the entry for METT-TC.) Civil considerations comprise six characteristics, expressed in the memory aid ASCOPE: areas, structures, capabilities, organizations, people, and events. (Paragraphs B-10 through B-27 discuss these characteristics.) While all characteristics of civil considerations are important, understanding

the people is particularly important in COIN. In order to evaluate the people, the following six socio-cultural factors should be analyzed:

- Society.
- Social structure.
- Culture.
- Language.
- Power and authority.
- Interests.

This analysis may also identify information related to areas, structures, organizations, and events.

SOCIETY

3-20. A *society* can be defined as a population whose members are subject to the same political authority, occupy a common territory, have a common culture, and share a sense of identity. A society is not easily created or destroyed, but it is possible to do so through genocide or war.

3-21. No society is homogeneous. A society usually has a dominant culture, but can also have a vast number of secondary cultures. Different societies may share similar cultures, such as Canada and the United States do. Societies are not static, but change over time.

3-22. Understanding the societies in the AO allows counterinsurgents to achieve objectives and gain support. Commanders also consider societies outside the AO whose actions, opinions, or political influence can affect the mission.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

3-23. Each society is composed of both social structure and culture. Social structure refers to the relations among groups of persons within a system of groups. Social structure is persistent over time. It is regular and continuous despite disturbances. The relationships among the parts hold steady, even as groups expand or contract. In a military organization, for example, the structure consists of the arrangement into groups like divisions, battalions, and companies. In a society, the social structure includes groups, institutions, organizations, and networks. Social structure involves the following:

- Arrangement of the parts that constitute society.
- Organization of social positions.
- Distribution of people within those positions.

Groups

3-24. A *group* is two or more people regularly interacting on the basis of shared expectations of others' behavior and who have interrelated statuses and roles. A social structure includes a variety of groups. These groups may be racial, ethnic, religious, or tribal. There may also be other kinship-based groups.

3-25. A *race* is a human group that defines itself or is defined by other groups as different by virtue of innate physical characteristics. Biologically, there is no such thing as race among human beings; race is a social category.

3-26. An *ethnic group* is a human community whose learned cultural practices, language, history, ancestry, or religion distinguish them from others. Members of ethnic groups see themselves as different from other groups in a society and are recognized as such by others. Religious groups may be subsets of larger ethnic groups. An ethnic group may contain members of different religions. For example, some Kurds are Muslim, while others are Christian. Other ethnic groups may be associated with a particular religion—such as Sri Lankan Sinhalese, who are almost exclusively Buddhist. Other religious groups have members of many different ethnicities. A prominent example of such a group is the Roman Catholic faith.

3-27. *Tribes* are generally defined as autonomous, genealogically structured groups in which the rights of individuals are largely determined by their ancestry and membership in a particular lineage. Tribes are es-

entially adaptive social networks organized by extended kinship and descent with common needs for physical and economic security.

3-28. Understanding the composition of groups in the AO is vital for effective COIN operations. This is especially true when insurgents organize around racial, ethnic, religious, or tribal identities. Furthermore, tensions or hostilities between groups may destabilize a society and provide opportunities for insurgents. Commanders should thus identify powerful groups both inside and outside their AO and obtain the following information about them:

- Formal relationships (such as treaties or alliances) between groups.
- Informal relationships (such as tolerance or friction) between groups.
- Divisions and cleavages between groups.
- Cross-cutting ties (for example, religious alignments that cut across ethnic differences) between groups.

In some cases, insurgent leaders and their followers may belong to separate groups. In others, the bulk of the population may differ from the insurgents. These characteristics may suggest courses of action aimed at reinforcing or widening seams among insurgents or between insurgents and the population.

Networks

3-29. *Networks* may be an important aspect of a social structure as well as within the insurgent organization (See paragraphs 1-94 and B-29 through B-56). Common types of networks include elite networks, prison networks, worldwide ethnic and religious communities, and neighborhood networks. Networks can have many purposes: economic, criminal, and emotional. Effective social network analysis, discussed below, considers the structure of a network and the nature of interactions between network actors.

Institutions

3-30. Groups engaged in patterned activity to complete a common task are called *institutions*. Educational institutions bring together groups and individuals whose statuses and roles concern teaching and learning. Military institutions bring together groups and individuals whose statuses and roles concern defense and security. Institutions, the basic building blocks of societies, are continuous through many generations. They continue to exist, even when the individuals who compose them are replaced.

Organizations

3-31. *Organizations*, both formal and informal, are institutions with the following characteristics:

- Bounded membership.
- Defined goals.
- Established operations.
- Fixed facilities or meeting places.
- Means of financial or logistic support.

3-32. Planners can generally group organizations into the following categories:

- **Communicating** organizations have the power to influence a population's perceptions.
- **Religious** organizations regulate norms, restrain or empower activities, reaffirm worldviews, and provide social support. A religious organization differs from a religious group. A religious group is a general category, such as Christian; a religious organization is a specific community, such as the Episcopal Church.
- **Economic** organizations provide employment, help regulate and stabilize monetary flow, assist in development, and create social networks.
- **Social** organizations provide support to the population, create social networks, and can influence ideologies. Examples include schools, civil society groups, and sports teams.

Organizations may belong to more than one category. For instance, an influential religious organization may also be a communicating organization.

3-33. Organizations may control, direct, restrain, or regulate the local populace. Thus, commanders should identify influential organizations both inside and outside of their AO. Commanders need to know which members of what groups belong to each organization and how their activities may affect military operations. The next step is to determine how these organizations affect the local populace, whose interests they fulfill, and what role they play in influencing local perceptions.

Roles and Statuses

3-34. Understanding a society requires identifying the most common roles, statuses, and institutions within the society. Individuals in a society interact as members with social positions. These positions are referred to as statuses. Most societies associate particular statuses with particular social groups, such as family, lineage, ethnicity, or religion. Statuses may be achieved by meeting certain criteria or may be ascribed by birth. Statuses are often reciprocal, such as that of husband and wife or teacher and student. Every status carries a cluster of expected behaviors known as a *role*, which includes how a person of that status is expected to think, feel, and act. A status may also include expectations about how others should treat a person of that status. Thus, in American society parents (status) have the obligation to care for their children (role) and the right to discipline them (role).

Social Norms

3-35. Violation of a role prescribed by a given status, such as failing to feed one's children, results in social disapproval. The standard of conduct for social roles is known as a *social norm*. A social norm is what people are expected to do or should do, rather than what people actually do. Norms may be either moral (incest prohibition, homicide prohibition) or customary (prayer before a meal, removing shoes before entering a house). When a person's behavior does not conform to social norms, the person may be sanctioned. Understanding the roles, statuses, and social norms of groups within an AO can clarify expected behavior and provide guidelines on how to act. Some norms that may impact military operations include the following:

- The requirement for revenge if honor is lost.
- Appropriate treatment of women and children.
- Common courtesies, such as gift giving.
- Local business practices, such as bribes and haggling.

CULTURE

3-36. Once the social structure has been thoroughly mapped out, staffs should identify and analyze the culture of the society as a whole and of each major group within the society. Social structure comprises the relationships among groups, institutions, and individuals within a society; in contrast, culture (ideas, norms, rituals, codes of behavior) provides meaning to individuals within the society. For example, families are a core institutional building block of social structure found everywhere. However, marital monogamy, expectations of a certain number of children, and willingness to live with in-laws are highly variable in different societies. They are matters of culture. Social structure can be thought of as a skeleton, with culture being the muscle on the bones. The two are mutually dependent and reinforcing. A change in one results in a change in the other.

3-37. Culture is “web of meaning” shared by members of a particular society or group within a society. (See FM 3-05.301/MCRP 3-40.6A.) Culture is—

- A system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and artifacts that members of a society use to cope with their world and with one another.
- Learned, though a process called enculturation.
- Shared by members of a society; there is no “culture of one.”
- Patterned, meaning that people in a society live and think in ways forming definite, repeating patterns.
- Changeable, through social interactions between people and groups.

- Arbitrary, meaning that Soldiers and Marines should make no assumptions regarding what a society considers right and wrong, good and bad.
- Internalized, in the sense that it is habitual, taken for granted, and perceived as “natural” by people within the society.

3-38. Culture might also be described as an “operational code” that is valid for an entire group of people. Culture conditions the individual’s range of action and ideas, including what to do and not do, how to do or not do it, and whom to do it with or not to do it with. Culture also includes under what circumstances the “rules” shift and change. Culture influences how people make judgments about what is right and wrong, assess what is important and unimportant, categorize things, and deal with things that do not fit into existing categories. Cultural rules are flexible in practice. For example, the kinship system of a certain Amazonian Indian tribe requires that individuals marry a cousin. However, the definition of cousin is often changed to make people eligible for marriage.

Identity

3-39. Each individual belongs to multiple groups, through birth, assimilation, or achievement. Each group to which individuals belong influences their beliefs, values, attitudes, and perceptions. Individuals consciously or unconsciously rank their identities into primary and secondary identities. Primary identities are frequently national, racial, and religious. In contrast, secondary identities may include such things as hunter, blogger, or coffee drinker. Frequently, individuals’ identities are in conflict; counterinsurgents can use these conflicts to influence key leaders’ decisions.

Beliefs

3-40. Beliefs are concepts and ideas accepted as true. Beliefs can be core, intermediate, or peripheral.

3-41. *Core* beliefs are those views that are part of a person’s deep identity. They are not easily changed. Examples include belief in the existence of God, the value of democratic government, the importance of individual and collective honor, and the role of the family. Core beliefs are unstated, taken for granted, resistant to change, and not consciously considered. Attempts to change the central beliefs of a culture may result in significant unintended second- and third- order consequences. Decisions to do so are made at the national-strategic level.

3-42. *Intermediate* beliefs are predicated on reference to authority figures or authoritative texts. Thus, intermediate beliefs can sometimes be influenced by co-opting opinion leaders.

3-43. From intermediate beliefs flow *peripheral* beliefs. These beliefs are open to debate, consciously considered, and easiest to change. For example, a belief about birth control may derive from an individual’s beliefs about the Roman Catholic Church. Beliefs about the theory of sexual repression may come from a person’s opinion of Sigmund Freud.

Values

3-44. A *value* is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end state of existence. Values include beliefs concerning such topics as toleration, stability, prosperity, social change, and self-determination. Each group to which a person belongs inculcates that person with its values and their ranking of importance. Individuals do not unquestioningly absorb all the values of the groups to which they belong; they accept some and reject others. Most individuals belong to more than one social group. The values of each group are often in conflict: religious values may conflict with generational values or gender values with organizational practices. Commanders should evaluate the values of each group in the AO. They should determine whether the values promoted by the insurgency correspond to the values of other social groups in the AO or to those of the HN government. Based on that assessment, commanders can determine whether counterinsurgents can exploit these differences in values.

Attitudes and Perceptions

3-45. *Attitudes* are affinities for and aversions to groups, persons, and objects. Attitudes affect *perception*, which is the process by which an individual selects, evaluates, and organizes information from the external environment. Commanders should consider groups' attitudes regarding the following:

- Other groups.
- Outsiders.
- HN government.
- United States.
- U.S. military.
- Globalization.

Belief Systems

3-46. The totality of the identities, beliefs, values, attitudes, and perceptions that an individual holds—and the ranking of their importance—is that person's belief system. Religions, ideologies, and all types of "isms" fall into this category. As a belief system, a religion may include such things as a concept of God, a view of the afterlife, ideas about the sacred and the profane, funeral practices, rules of conduct, and modes of worship.

3-47. A belief system acts as a filter for new information: it is the lens through which people perceive the world. What members of a particular group believe to be rational, normal, or true may appear to outsiders to be strange, irrational or illogical. Understanding the belief systems of various groups in an AO allows counterinsurgents to more effectively influence the population.

3-48. Commanders should give the belief systems of insurgents and other groups in the AO careful attention. An insurgency may frame its objectives in terms of a belief system or may use a belief system to mobilize and recruit followers. Differences between the insurgents' and civilian groups' belief systems provide opportunities for counterinsurgents to separate the insurgents from the population. If local individuals are members of more than one group, there may be contradictions in their belief systems that can be exploited.

Cultural Forms

3-49. Cultural forms are the concrete expression of the belief systems shared by members of a particular culture. Cultural forms include rituals, symbols, ceremonies, myths, and narratives. Cultural forms are the medium for communicating ideologies, values, and norms that influence thought and behavior. Each culture constructs or invents its own cultural forms through which cultural meanings are transmitted and reproduced. A culture's belief systems can be decoded by observing and analyzing its cultural forms. Insurgent groups frequently use local cultural forms to mobilize the population. Counterinsurgents can use cultural forms to shift perceptions, gain support, or reduce support for insurgents.

3-50. The most important cultural form for counterinsurgents to understand is the narrative. A cultural narrative is a story recounted in the form of a causally linked set of events that explains an event in a group's history and expresses the values, character, or self-identity of the group. Narratives are the means through which ideologies are expressed and absorbed by members of a society. For example, at the Boston Tea Party in 1773, Samuel Adams and the Sons of Liberty dumped five tons of tea into the Boston Harbor to protest what they considered unfair British taxation. This narrative explains in part why the Revolutionary War began. However, it also tells Americans something about themselves each time they hear the story: that fairness, independence, and justice are worth fighting for. As this example indicates, narratives may not conform to historical facts or they may drastically simplify facts to more clearly express basic cultural values. (For example, Americans in 1773 were taxed less than their British counterparts and most British attempts to raise revenues from the colonies were designed to help reduce the crushing national debt incurred in their defense.) By listening to narratives, counterinsurgents can identify a society's core values. Commanders should pay particular attention to cultural narratives of the HN population pertaining to out-

laws, revolutionary heroes, and historical resistance figures. Insurgents may use these narratives to mobilize the population.

3-51. Other cultural forms include ritual and symbols. A *ritual* is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects performed to influence supernatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests. Rituals can be either sacred or secular. A *symbol* is the smallest unit of cultural meaning. Symbols are filled with a vast amount of information that can be decoded by a knowledgeable observer. Symbols can be objects, activities, words, relationships, events, or gestures. Institutions and organizations often use cultural symbols to amass political power or generate resistance against external groups. Commanders should pay careful attention to the meaning of common symbols in the AO and how various groups use them.

LANGUAGE

3-52. *Language* is a system of symbols that people use to communicate with one another. It is a learned element of culture. Successful communication requires more than just grammatical knowledge; it also requires understanding the social setting, appropriate behaviors towards people of different statuses, and non-verbal cues, among other things. An understanding of the social environment can facilitate effective communication, even if counterinsurgents do not speak the local language and must work through translators or interpreters.

3-53. The languages used in an AO have a major impact on operations. Languages must be identified to facilitate language training, communication aids such as phrase cards, and requisitioning of translators. Translators are critical for collecting intelligence, interacting with local citizens and community leaders, and developing IO products. (Appendix C addresses linguist support.)

3-54. The transliteration of names not normally written using the English alphabet affects all intelligence operations, especially collection, analysis, and fusion. Unfamiliar and similar place names can make it hard find places on a map and cause targeting errors. In addition, detained insurgents may be released if their name is misidentified. In countries that do not use the English alphabet, a combatant-command-wide standard for spelling names agreed upon by non-DOD agencies should be set.

POWER AND AUTHORITY

3-55. Once they have mapped the social structure and understand the culture, staffs must determine how power is apportioned and used within a society. *Power* is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his or her own will despite resistance. Understanding power is the key to manipulating the interests of groups within a society.

3-56. There may be many formal and informal power holders in a society. The formal political system includes the following organizations:

- Central governments.
- Local governments.
- Political interest groups.
- Political parties.
- Unions.
- Government agencies.
- Regional and international political bodies.

Understanding the formal political system is necessary but not sufficient for COIN operations. Informal power holders are often more important. They may include ethno-religious groups, social elites, and religious figures.

3-57. For each group in an AO, counterinsurgents should identify the type of power the group has, what it uses the power for (such as amassing resources and protecting followers), and how it acquires and maintains power. Commanders should also determine the same information about leaders within particular groups. There are four major forms of power in a society:

- Coercive force.
- Social capital.
- Economic resources.
- Authority.

Coercive Force

3-58. *Coercion* is the ability to compel a person to act through threat of harm or by use of physical force. Coercive force can be positive or negative. An example of coercion used positively is a group providing security for its members (as in policing and defending of territory). An example of coercion used negatively is a group intimidating or threatening group members or outsiders.

3-59. One essential role of government is providing physical security for its citizens by monopolizing the use of coercive force within its territory. When a government fails to provide security to its citizens or becomes a threat to them, citizens may seek alternative security guarantees. Ethnic, political, religious, or tribal groups in the AO may provide such guarantees.

3-60. Insurgents and other nongovernmental groups may possess considerable means of coercive force. Such groups may use coercion to gain power over the population. Examples of organizations providing such force are paramilitary units, tribal militias, gangs, and organizational security personnel. Groups may use their coercive means for a variety of purposes unrelated to the insurgency. Protecting their community members, carrying out vendettas, and engaging in criminal activities are examples. What may appear to be insurgent violence against innocent civilians could in fact be related to a tribal blood feud rather than the insurgency.

Social Capital

3-61. *Social capital* refers to the power of individuals and groups to use social networks of reciprocity and exchange to accomplish their goals. In many non-Western societies, patron-client relationships are an important form of social capital. In a system based on patron-client relationships, an individual in a powerful position provides goods, services, security, or other resources to followers in exchange for political support or loyalty, thereby amassing power. Counterinsurgents must identify, where possible, groups and individuals with social capital and how they attract and maintain followers.

Economic Power

3-62. *Economic power* is the power of groups or individuals to use economic incentives and disincentives to change people's behavior. Economic systems can be formal, informal, or a mixture of both. In weak or failed states, the formal economy may not function well. In such cases, the informal economy plays a central role in people's daily lives. The informal economy refers to such activities as smuggling, black market activities, barter, and exchange. For example, in many societies, monies and other economic goods are distributed through the tribal or clan networks and are connected to indigenous patronage systems. Those groups able to provide their members with economic resources through an informal economy gain followers and may amass considerable political power. Therefore, counterinsurgents must monitor the local informal economy and evaluate the role played by various groups and individuals within it. Insurgent organizations may also attract followers through criminal activities that provide income.

Authority

3-63. *Authority* is legitimate power associated with social positions. It is justified by the beliefs of the obedient. There are three primary types of authority:

- **Rational-legal authority**, which is grounded in law and contract, codified in impersonal rules, and most commonly found in developed, Western societies.
- **Charismatic authority**, which is exercised by leaders who develop allegiance among their followers because of their unique, individual charismatic appeal, whether ideological, religious, political, or social.

- **Traditional authority**, which is usually invested in a hereditary line or particular office by a higher power.

3-64. Traditional authority relies on the precedent of history. It is a common type of authority in non-Western societies. In particular, tribal and religious forms of organization rely heavily on traditional authority. Traditional authority figures often wield enough power, especially in rural areas, to single-handedly drive an insurgency. Understanding the types of authority at work in the formal and informal political systems of the AO helps counterinsurgents identify agents of influence who can help or hinder achieving objectives.

INTERESTS

3-65. Commanders and staffs analyze the culture of the society as a whole and that of each group within the society. They identify who holds formal and informal power and why. Then they consider ways to reduce support for insurgents and gain support for the HN government.

3-66. Accomplishing these tasks requires commanders and staffs to understand the population's interests. *Interests* refer to the core motivations that drive behavior. These include physical security, basic necessities, economic well-being, political participation, and social identity. During times of instability, when the government cannot function, the groups and organizations to which people belong satisfy some or all of their interests. Understanding a group's interests allows commanders to identify opportunities to meet or frustrate those interests. A group's interests may become grievances if the HN government does not satisfy them.

Physical Security

3-67. During any period of instability, people's primary interest is physical security for themselves and their families. When HN forces fail to provide security or threaten the security of civilians, the population is likely to seek security guarantees from insurgents, militias, or other armed groups. This situation can feed support for an insurgency. However, when HN forces provide physical security, people are more likely to support the government. Commanders therefore identify the following:

- Whether the population is safe from harm.
- Whether there is a functioning police and judiciary system.
- Whether the police and courts are fair and nondiscriminatory.
- Who provides security for each group when no effective, fair government security apparatus exists.

The provision of security by the HN government must occur in conjunction with political and economic reform.

Essential Services

3-68. *Essential services* provide those things needed to sustain life. Examples of these essential needs are food, water, clothing, shelter, and medical treatment. Stabilizing a population requires meeting these needs. People pursue essential needs until they are met, at any cost and from any source. People support the source that meets their needs. If it is an insurgent source, the population is likely to support the insurgency. If the HN government provides reliable essential services, the population is more likely to support it. Commanders therefore identify who provides essential services to each group within the population.

Economy

3-69. A society's individuals and groups satisfy their economic interests by producing, distributing, and consuming goods and services. How individuals satisfy their economic needs depends on the society's level and type of economic development. For instance, in a rural-based society, land ownership may be a major part of any economic development plan. For a more urban society, public- and private-sector jobs may be the greatest concern.

3-70. Sometimes economic disparities between groups contribute to political instability. Insurgent leadership or traditional authority figures often use real or perceived injustices to drive an insurgency. Perceived injustices may include the following:

- Economic disenfranchisement.
- Exploitative economic arrangements.
- Significant income disparity that creates (or allows for) intractable class distinctions.

3-71. Military operations or insurgent actions can adversely affect the economy. Such disruption can generate resentment against the HN government. Conversely, restoring production and distribution systems can energize the economy, create jobs and growth, and positively influence local perceptions. To determine how to reduce support for insurgency and increase support for the government, commanders determine the following:

- Whether the society has a functioning economy.
- Whether people have fair access to land and property.
- How to minimize the economic grievances of the civilian population.

Political Participation

3-72. Another interest of the population is political participation. Many insurgencies begin because groups within a society believe that they have been denied political rights. Groups may use preexisting cultural narratives and symbols to mobilize for political action. Very often, they rally around traditional or charismatic authority figures. Commanders should investigate whether—

- All members of the civilian population have a guarantee of political participation.
- Ethnic, religious, or other forms of discrimination exist.
- Legal, social, or other policies are creating grievances that contribute to the insurgency.

Commanders should also identify traditional or charismatic authority figures and what narratives mobilize political action.

Grievances

3-73. Unsatisfied interests may become grievances. Table 3-1 lists factors to consider when an interest has become a grievance.

Table 3-1. Factors to consider when addressing grievances

<ul style="list-style-type: none">● What are the insurgents' grievances?● What are the population's grievances?● Would a reasonable person consider the population's grievances valid? The validity of a grievance should be assessed using both subjective and objective criteria.● Are the grievances of the population and those of the insurgency the same?● What does the host-nation government believe to be the population's grievances? Does it consider those grievances valid?● Are the population's grievances the same as those perceived by the host-nation government?● Has the host-nation government made genuine efforts to address these grievances?● Are there practical actions the host-nation government can take to address these grievances? Or is addressing the source of the grievances beyond the host-nation government's capability? (For example, major social and economic dislocations may be caused by globalization.)● Can U.S. forces act to address these interests or grievances?
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Evaluate the Threat

3-74. The purpose of evaluating the insurgency and related threats is to understand the enemy, enemy capabilities, and enemy vulnerabilities. This evaluation also identifies opportunities commanders may exploit.

3-75. Evaluating an insurgency is difficult. Neatly arrayed enemy orders of battle are neither available nor what commanders need to know. Insurgent organizational structures are functionally based and continually adaptive. Attempts to apply traditional order of battle factors and templates can produce oversimplified, misleading conclusions. Commanders require knowledge of difficult-to-measure characteristics. These may include the following:

- Insurgent goals.
- Grievances insurgents exploit.
- Means insurgents use to generate support.
- Organization of insurgent forces.
- Accurate locations of key insurgent leaders.

However, insurgents usually look no different from the general populace and do their best to blend with noncombatants. Insurgents may publicly claim motivations and goals different from what is truly driving their actions. Further complicating matters, insurgent organizations are often rooted in ethnic or tribal groups. They often take part in criminal activities or link themselves to political parties, charities, or religious organizations as well. These conditions and practices make it difficult to determine what and who constitutes the threat. Table 3-2 lists characteristics of an insurgency that can provide a basis for evaluating a threat. Table 3-2 also lists the conventional order of battle element as a supplement for analysts.

Table 3-2. Insurgency characteristics and order of battle factors

<i>Insurgency characteristics</i>	<i>Conventional order of battle factors</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Insurgent objectives ● Insurgent motivations ● Popular support or tolerance ● Support activities, capabilities, and vulnerabilities ● Information activities, capabilities, and vulnerabilities ● Political activities, capabilities, and vulnerabilities ● Violent activities, capabilities, and vulnerabilities ● Organization ● Key leaders and personalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Composition ● Disposition ● Strength ● Tactics and operations ● Training ● Logistics ● Operational effectiveness ● Electronic technical data ● Personalities ● Miscellaneous data ● Other factors

3-76. The following insurgency characteristics are often the most important intelligence requirements and the most difficult to ascertain:

- Objectives.
- Motivations.
- Means of generating popular support or tolerance.

In particular, the ability to generate and sustain popular support, or at least acquiescence and tolerance, often has the greatest impact on the insurgency’s long-term effectiveness. This ability is usually the insurgency’s center of gravity. Support or tolerance, provided either willingly or unwillingly, provides the following for an insurgency:

- Safe havens.
- Freedom of movement.
- Logistic support.
- Financial support.
- Intelligence.
- New recruits.

Support or tolerance is often generated using violent coercion and intimidation of the populace. In these cases, even if people do not favor the insurgent cause, they are forced to tolerate the insurgents or provide them material support.

3-77. Understanding the attitudes and perceptions of the society's groups is very important to understanding the threat. It is important to know how the population perceives the insurgents, the host nation, and U.S. forces. In addition, HN and insurgent perceptions of one another and of U.S. forces are also very important. Attitudes and perceptions of different groups and organizations inform decision-making processes and shape popular thinking on the legitimacy of the actors in the conflict.

3-78. As analysts perform IPB, they should focus on insurgent vulnerabilities to exploit and strengths to mitigate. (See chapter 1.) Evaluating threats from insurgents and other armed groups and learning the people's interests and attitudes lets analysts identify divisions between the insurgents and the populace. This analysis also identifies divisions between the HN government and the people. For instance, if the insurgent ideology is unpopular, insurgents may use intimidation to generate support. Another example is discovering that insurgents gain support by providing social services that the HN government neglects or cannot provide. Determining such divisions identifies opportunities to conduct operations that expand splits between the insurgents and the populace or lessen divides between the HN government and the people.

OBJECTIVE AND MOTIVATION IDENTIFICATION

3-79. Insurgents have political objectives and are motivated by an ideology or grievances. The grievances may be real or perceived. Identifying insurgent objectives and motivations lets counterinsurgents address the conflict's underlying causes. Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of insurgencies: national insurgencies and resistance movements. Both can be further classified according to the five approaches explained in paragraphs 1-25 through 1-39.

3-80. In a *national insurgency*, the conflict is between the government and one or more segments of the population. In this type of insurgency, insurgents seek to change the political system, take control of the government, or secede from the country. A national insurgency polarizes the population and is generally a struggle between the government and insurgents for legitimacy and popular support.

3-81. In contrast, a *resistance movement* (sometimes called a liberation insurgency) occurs when insurgents seek to expel or overthrow what they consider a foreign or occupation government. The grievance is foreign rule or foreign intervention. Resistance movements tend to unite insurgents with different objectives and motivations. However, such an insurgency can split into competing factions when foreign forces leave and the focus of resistance is gone. That situation may result in a civil war.

3-82. Identification of insurgent goals and motivations can be difficult for a number of reasons:

- There may be multiple insurgent groups with differing goals and motivations. This case requires separately monitoring each group's goals and motivations.
- Insurgent leaders may change and the movement's goals change with them.
- Movement leaders may have different motivations from their followers. For instance, a leader may want to become a new dictator; followers may be motivated by a combination of political ideology and money.
- Insurgents may hide their true motivations and make false claims. For instance, the differences between insurgents and outsiders generally make resistance movements easier to unify and mobilize. Thus, insurgents may try to portray a national insurgency as a resistance movement.
- The goals of an insurgency may change due to changes in the operational environment. Foreign forces joining a COIN effort can transform a national insurgency into resistance movement. The reverse may happen when foreign forces depart.

For all these reasons, analysts continuously track insurgent actions, internal communications, and public rhetoric to determine insurgent goals and motivations.

Popular Support or Tolerance

3-83. Developing passive support (tolerance or acquiescence) early in an insurgency is often critical to an insurgent organization's survival and growth. Such support often has a great effect on the insurgency's long-term effectiveness. As an insurgent group gains support, its capabilities grow. New capabilities enable the group to gain more support. Insurgents generally view popular support as a zero-sum commodity; that is, a gain for the insurgency is a loss for the government, and a loss for the government is a gain for the insurgency.

Forms of Popular Support

3-84. Popular support comes in many forms. It can originate internally or externally, and it is either active or passive. There are four forms of popular support:

- Active external.
- Passive external.
- Active internal.
- Passive internal.

The relative importance of each form of support varies depending on the circumstances. However, all forms benefit an insurgency.

3-85. *Active external support* includes finance, logistics, training, fighters, and safe havens. These forms of support may be provided by a foreign government or by nongovernmental organizations, such as charities.

3-86. *Passive external support* occurs when a foreign government supports an insurgency through inaction. Forms of passive support include the following:

- Not curtailing the activities of insurgents living or operating within the state's borders.
- Recognizing the legitimacy of an insurgent group.
- Denying the legitimacy of the HN government.

3-87. *Active internal support* is usually the most important to an insurgent group. Forms of active support include the following:

- Individuals or groups joining the insurgency.
- Providing logistic or financial support.
- Providing intelligence.
- Providing safe havens.
- Providing medical assistance.
- Providing transportation.
- Carrying out actions on behalf of the insurgents.

3-88. *Passive internal support* is also beneficial. Passive supporters do not provide material support; however, they do allow insurgents to operate and do not provide information to counterinsurgents. This form of support is often referred to as tolerance or acquiescence.

Methods of Generating Popular Support

3-89. Insurgents use numerous methods to generate popular support. These include the following:

- Persuasion.
- Coercion.
- Encouraging overreaction.
- Apolitical fighters.

3-90. *Persuasion* can be used to obtain either internal or external support. Forms of persuasion include—

- Charismatic attraction to a leader or group.
- Appeal to an ideology.

- Promises to address grievances.
- Demonstrations of potency, such as large-scale attacks or social programs for the poor.

Persuasion through demonstrations of potency can be the most effective technique because it can create the perception that the insurgency has momentum and will succeed.

3-91. Insurgents use *coercion* to force people to support or tolerate insurgent activities. Means of coercion include terrorist tactics, violence, and the threat of violence. Coercion may be used to alter the behavior of individuals, groups, organizations, or governments. Coercion is often very effective in the short term, particularly at the community level. However, terrorism against the general populace and popular leaders or attacks that negatively affect people’s way of life can undermine insurgent popularity. Coercion is an easy way for insurgents to generate passive support; however, this support exists only as long as insurgents are able to intimidate.

3-92. *Encouraging overreaction* refers to enticing counterinsurgents to use repressive tactics that alienate the populace and bring scrutiny upon the government. It is also referred to as provocation of a government response.

3-93. *Apolitical fighters* may be attracted by many nonideological means. These means include monetary incentives, the promise of revenge, and the romance of fighting a revolutionary war.

3-94. Although difficult to quantify, analysts evaluate the popular support an insurgent group receives and its ability to generate more support. Open sources and intelligence reporting provide data to support this analysis. Polling data can be a valuable, though imprecise, means of gauging support for the HN government and support for the insurgency. Media and other open-source publications are important at all echelons. Assessing community attitudes, by gauging such things as the reactions of local populace to the presence of troops or government leaders, can be used to estimate popular support at the tactical level. At a minimum, the information in table 3-3 should be known.

Table 3-3. Critical information regarding popular support

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Overall level of popular support to the insurgency relative to that for the government. ● Forms of popular support the insurgents receive (active, passive, internal, external) and their relative importance. ● Foreign government support. ● Support from nongovernmental organizations, including charities and transnational terrorist organizations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Criminal network support. ● Segments of the populace supporting the insurgency. ● Methods used to generate popular support and their relative effectiveness. ● Grievances (real or perceived) exploited by insurgents. ● Capabilities and vulnerabilities in generating popular support.
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Support Activities

3-95. Although noticeable, violence may be only a small part of overall insurgent activity. Unseen insurgent activities include training and logistic actions. These are the support activities that sustain insurgencies. They come from an insurgency’s ability to generate popular support. Like conventional military forces, insurgencies usually require more sustainers than fighters. Insurgent support networks may be large, even when violence levels are low. For this reason, it is easy to overlook them early in the development of an insurgency.

3-96. Undermining an insurgency’s popular support is the most effective way to reduce insurgent support capabilities. However, identifying support capabilities and vulnerabilities is still important. Doing this lets analysts evaluate potential threat courses of action. Such analysis also lets commanders target vulnerable parts of the insurgents’ support network. Table 3-4 lists support activities and capabilities to evaluate.

Table 3-4. Insurgent support activities and capabilities

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locations of safe havens • Freedom of movement • Logistic support • Financial support • Means of communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to train recruits in military or terrorist tactics and techniques • Means of collecting intelligence • Means of maintaining operations security
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Information and Media Activities

3-97. Information and media activities can be an insurgency's main effort, with violence used in support. Insurgents use information activities to accomplish the following:

- Undermine HN government legitimacy.
- Undermine COIN forces.
- Excuse insurgent transgressions of national and international laws and norms.
- Generate popular support.

To achieve these effects, insurgents broadcast their successes, counterinsurgent failures, HN government failures, and illegal or immoral actions by counterinsurgents or the HN government. Insurgent broadcasts need not be factual; they need only appeal to the populace. Table 3-5 lists media forms that insurgents commonly use.

Table 3-5. Media forms insurgents use

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Word of mouth • Speeches by elites and key leaders • Flyers and handouts • Newspapers • Journals or magazines • Books • Audio recordings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Video recordings • Radio broadcasts • Television broadcasts • Web sites • E-mail • Internet • Cellular telephones • Text messaging
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3-98. To supplement their own media activities, insurgents take advantage of existing private and public media companies through press releases and interviews. These efforts, in addition to using the Internet, broadcast insurgent messages worldwide. By broadcasting to a global audience, insurgents directly attack public support for the COIN effort. Information and media activities to evaluate include the following:

- Commitment of assets and personnel to information activities.
- Types of media employed.
- Professionalism of products, such as newspaper articles or videos.
- Effectiveness and reach of information activities.

Political Activities

3-99. Insurgents use political activities to achieve their goals and enhance their cause's legitimacy. Political activities are tightly linked to information activities and violent acts. Political parties affiliated with an insurgent organization may negotiate or communicate on behalf of the insurgency, thereby serving as its public face. Insurgencies may grow out of political parties, or political parties may grow out of insurgencies. However, links between insurgents and political parties may be weak or easily broken by disputes between insurgents and politicians. In such cases, political parties may not be able to keep promises to end

violent conflict. It is important to understand not only the links between insurgent groups and political organizations but also the amount of control each exerts over the other.

3-100. Understanding insurgent political activities enables effective political engagement of insurgents. Without this knowledge, the wrong political party may be engaged, the wrong messages may be used, or the government may make deals with political parties that cannot deliver on their promises. Political activities to be evaluated include the following:

- Links, if any, between the insurgency and political parties.
- Influence of political parties over the insurgency and vice versa.
- Political indoctrination and recruiting by insurgent groups.

Violent Activities

3-101. Violent actions by insurgents include three major types, which may occur simultaneously:

- Terrorist.
- Guerrilla.
- Conventional.

3-102. Insurgents are by nature an asymmetric threat. They do not use terrorist and guerrilla tactics because they are cowards afraid of a “fair fight”; insurgents use these tactics because they are the best means available to achieve the insurgency’s goals. Terrorist and guerrilla attacks are usually planned to achieve the greatest political and informational impact with the lowest amount of risk to insurgents. Thus, commanders need to understand insurgent tactics and targeting as well as how the insurgent organization uses violence to achieve its goals and how violent actions are linked to political and informational actions.

Asymmetric Tactics in Ireland

In 1847, Irish insurgents were advised to engage the British Army in the following way:

“The force of England is entrenched and fortified. You must draw it out of position; break up its mass; break its trained line of march and manoeuvre, its equal step and serried array... nullify its tactic and strategy, as well as its discipline; decompose the science and system of war, and resolve them into their first elements.”

3-103. Terrorist tactics employ violence primarily against noncombatants. Terror attacks generally require fewer personnel than guerrilla warfare or conventional warfare. They allow insurgents greater security and have relatively low support requirements. Insurgencies often rely on terrorist tactics early in their formation due to these factors. Terrorist tactics do not involve mindless destruction nor are they employed randomly. Insurgents choose targets that produce the maximum informational and political effects. Terrorist tactics can be effective for generating popular support and altering the behavior of governments.

3-104. Guerrilla tactics, in contrast, feature hit-and-run attacks by lightly armed groups. The primary targets are HN government activities, security forces, and other COIN elements. Insurgents using guerrilla tactics usually avoid decisive confrontations unless they know they can win. Instead, they focus on harassing counterinsurgents. As with terrorist tactics, guerrilla tactics are neither mindless nor random. Insurgents choose targets that produce maximum informational and political effects. The goal is not to militarily defeat COIN forces but to outlast them while building popular support for the insurgency. Terrorist and guerrilla tactics are not mutually exclusive. An insurgent group may employ both forms of violent action simultaneously.

3-105. Insurgents rarely use conventional tactics. Conventional operations are not always necessary for an insurgency’s success. However, insurgents may engage in conventional operations after the insurgency develops extensive popular support and sustainment capabilities. The insurgents can then generate a conventional military force that can engage HN government forces.

3-106. Knowledge of violent capabilities is used to evaluate insurgent courses of action. Commanders use this knowledge to determine appropriate protection measures and tactics to counter insurgent actions. In

addition, knowledge of how insurgents conduct attacks provides a baseline that helps determine the effectiveness of COIN operations. The following should be evaluated to determine insurgents' capabilities for violent action:

- Forms of violent action used.
- Weapons available and their capabilities.
- Training.
- Known methods of operating.
 - Frequency of attacks.
 - Timing of attacks.
 - Targets of attacks.
 - Tactics and techniques.
- Known linkages between violent, political, and information actions. How do the insurgents use violence to increase their popular support and undermine counterinsurgents?
- Means of command and control during attacks (including communications means used).

Insurgent Organizational Structure and Key Personalities

3-107. Conducting the preceding activities requires some form of organizational structure and leadership. Insurgencies can be organized in several ways. Each structure has its own strengths and limitations. The structure used balances the following:

- Security.
- Efficiency and speed of action.
- Unity of effort.
- Survivability.
- Geography.
- Social structures and cultures of the society.

Organizations also vary greatly by region and time. Insurgent organizations are often based on existing social networks—familial, tribal, ethnic, religious, professional, or others. Analysts can use social network analysis to determine organizational structure. (See paragraphs B-15 through B-18.)

3-108. An insurgency's structure often determines whether it is more effective to target enemy forces or enemy leaders. For instance, if an insurgent organization is hierarchical with few leaders, removing the leaders may greatly degrade the organization's capabilities. However, if the insurgent organization is non-hierarchical, targeting the leadership may not have much effect. Understanding an insurgent organization's structure requires answers to the following questions:

- Is the organization hierarchical or nonhierarchical?
- Is the organization highly structured or unsystematic?
- Are movement members specialists or generalists?
- Do leaders exercise centralized control or do they allow autonomous action and initiative?
- Are there a few leaders (promotes rapid decision making) or is there redundant leadership (promotes survivability)?
- Does the movement operate independently or does it have links to other organizations and networks (such as criminal, religious, and political organizations)?
- Does the movement place more weight on political action or violent action?

3-109. As explained in paragraphs 1-58 through 1-66, insurgents fall into five overlapping categories: movement leaders, combatants, political cadre, auxiliaries, and the mass base. Movement leaders are important because they choose the insurgency's organization, approach, and tactics. The movement leaders' personalities and decisions often determine whether the insurgency succeeds. Therefore, the movement leaders must be identified and their basic beliefs, intentions, capabilities, and vulnerabilities understood. Important leader characteristics include the following:

- Role in the organization.
- Known activities.
- Known associates.
- Background and personal history.
- Beliefs, motivations, and ideology.
- Education and training.
- Temperament (for example, careful, impulsive, thoughtful, or violent).
- Importance of the organization.
- Popularity outside the organization.

ASSOCIATED THREATS

3-110. When an insurgency has widespread support, it usually means the HN government is weak and losing control. In such situations, other armed groups—particularly criminal organizations, militias, and terrorist groups—can be significant players. Moreover, these groups can support each other's operations.

Criminal Networks

3-111. Criminal networks may not be a part of an insurgency. However, their activities—for example, banditry, hijackings, kidnappings, and smuggling—can further undermine the HN government's authority. Insurgent organizations often link themselves to criminal networks to obtain funding and logistic support. In some cases, insurgent networks and criminal networks become indistinguishable. As commanders work to reassert government control, they need to know the following:

- Which criminal networks are present.
- What their activities are.
- How they interact with insurgents.

Nongovernment Militias

3-112. As the HN government weakens and violence increases, people look for ways to protect themselves. If the government cannot provide protection, people may organize into armed militias to provide that essential service. Examples of this sort of militia include the following:

- Loyalist militias formed in Northern Ireland.
- Right-wing paramilitary organizations formed in Colombia to counter the FARC.
- Militias of various ethnic and political groups formed in Iraq during Operation Iraqi Freedom.

If militias are outside the HN government's control, they can often be obstacles to ending an insurgency. Militias may become more powerful than the HN government, particularly at the local level. They may also fuel the insurgency and precipitate a downward spiral into full-scale civil war.

3-113. Militias may or may not be an immediate threat to U.S. forces; however, they constitute a long-term threat to law and order. The intelligence staff should track them just like insurgent and other armed groups. Commanders need to understand the role militias play in the insurgency, the role they play in politics, and how they can be disarmed.

DETERMINE THREAT COURSES OF ACTION

3-114. The purpose of this IPB step is to understand insurgent approaches and tactics so they can be effectively countered. The initial determination of threat courses of action focuses on two levels of analysis. The first is determining the overall approach, or combination of approaches, the movement leaders have selected to achieve their goals. The second is determining tactical courses of action used to execute that approach.

3-115. The insurgents' approach is based on their objectives, desired end state, and requirements of the operational environment. The approach and the tactics used to execute it set the conditions for the insur-

gents to achieve their desired end state. Insurgents can accomplish this goal by maintaining preexisting adverse conditions or by creating those conditions.

INSURGENT APPROACHES

3-116. As indicated in paragraphs 1-25 through 1-39, there are six approaches insurgents may follow:

- Conspiratorial.
- Military-focused.
- Urban.
- Protracted popular war.
- Identity-focused.
- Composite and coalition.

3-117. These approaches may be combined with one another. They may also occur in parallel as different insurgent groups follow different paths, even within a single AO. In addition, insurgents may change approaches over time. The approach pursued affects the insurgents' organization, types of activities, and emphasis placed on different activities.

3-118. Table 3-6 (page 3-22) lists potential indicators of different insurgent approaches. The conspiratorial and identity-focused approaches present distinct collection challenges. Insurgents using a conspiratorial approach execute few overt acts until the conditions appear ripe to seize power. Thus, this approach is difficult to identify without sources within the insurgent organization. Similarly, members of an identity-focused insurgency strongly identify with the insurgent organization. It is difficult to get such people to provide useful information.

Table 3-6. Potential indicators of insurgent approaches

- **Conspiratorial**
 - Absence of overt violent or informational actions.
 - Large cadre relative to the number of combatants in the organization.
 - Small mass base or no mass base at all.
- **Military-focused**
 - Presence of leaders and combatants, but little, if any, cadre or mass base.
- **Urban**
 - Terrorist attacks in urban areas.
 - Infiltration and subversion of host-nation government and security forces in urban areas.
 - Organization composed of small, compartmentalized cells.
 - Cadre and mass base small relative to the number of combatants.
- **Protracted popular war**
 - A large mass base.
 - Overt violence.
 - Heavy use of informational and political activities.
 - Focus on building popular support for the insurgency.
- **Identity-focused**
 - Presence of a resistance movement.
 - Presence of an “us-and-them” gap between the government and one or more ethnic, tribal, or religious groups.
 - Large mass base of passive and active supporters built around preexisting social networks.
 - Many auxiliaries.
 - Small cadre composed primarily of traditional authority figures.
 - Large numbers of part-time combatants.

3-119. It should be noted that insurgents may be inept at the use of a given approach. Alternatively, they may misread the operational environment and use an inappropriate approach. Knowledge of misapplication of approach or the use of different approaches by different insurgent groups may provide opportunities for counterinsurgents to exploit. It is imperative not only to identify insurgent approaches but also to understand their strengths and weaknesses in the context of the operational environment.

TACTICAL COURSES OF ACTION

3-120. Insurgents base their tactical courses of action on their capabilities and intentions. Evaluating the support, information, political, and violent capabilities of insurgent organizations was discussed in paragraphs 3-95 through 3-106. The intentions come from goals, motivations, approach, culture, perceptions, and leadership personalities. Insurgents may pursue many different courses of action in an AO at any time. Their tactical courses of action change with both time and location. People and their attitudes, both within the nation and often outside it, are the ultimate targets of the insurgents. Therefore, commanders pay special attention to the effects insurgent actions have on the populace and how the insurgents achieve those effects. Finally, tactical actions can have strategic effects. This is because insurgent propaganda and media reporting can reach a global audience, multiplying the effects of insurgent tactical actions. Insurgents can employ a wide variety of tactics. (See table 3-7.)

Table 3-7. Examples of insurgent tactics

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambushes. Guerrilla-style attacks to kill or intimidate counterinsurgents. • Assassination. A term generally applied to the killing of prominent persons and symbolic personnel. It may also pertain to “traitors” who defect from the insurgency, human intelligence sources, and others who work with or for the host-nation government or U.S. forces. • Arson. Less dramatic than most tactics, arson has the advantage of low risk to the perpetrator. It requires only a low level of technical knowledge. • Bombing and high explosives. The improvised explosive device is often the insurgent’s weapon of choice. Improvised explosive devices can be inexpensive to produce and, because of the various detonation techniques available, may be a low risk to the perpetrator. However, suicidal bombing cannot be overlooked as an employment method. Another advantage is the publicity that such attacks produce. Yet another is the insurgents’ ability to control casualties through timed detonation and careful placement of the device. Attacks are also easily deniable should the action produce undesirable results. From 1983 through 1996, approximately half of all terrorist incidents worldwide involved the use of explosives. • Chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear weapons. There is a potential for use of both chemical and biological weapons in the future. These types of weapons are relatively cheap and easy to make. They may be used in place of conventional explosives in many situations. The potential for mass destruction and the deep-seated fear most people have for these weapons make them attractive to groups wishing to attract international attention. Although an explosive nuclear device is acknowledged to be beyond the financial and technical reach of most terrorist groups, a chemical or biological weapon, or a radiological dispersion device using nuclear contaminants, is not. The technology is simple and the payoff is potentially higher than that of conventional explosives. • Demonstrations. Demonstrations can be used to incite violent responses by counterinsurgents and also to display the popularity of the insurgent cause. • Denial and deception. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Denial</i> consists of measures taken by the threat to block, prevent, or impair U.S. intelligence collection. Examples include killing human intelligence sources. ▪ <i>Deception</i> involves deliberately manipulating information and perceptions in order to mislead. Examples include providing false intelligence.
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- **Hijacking and skyjacking.** Sometimes insurgents employ hijacking as a means of escape. However, hijackings are normally executed to produce a spectacular hostage situation. Although trains, buses, and ships have been hijacked, aircraft are the preferred target because of their greater mobility and because they are difficult to enter once they have been seized.
- **Hoaxes.** Any credible insurgent or terrorist group can employ a hoax with considerable success. A threat against a person's life causes that person and those associated with that individual to devote time and efforts to security measures. A bomb threat can close a commercial building, empty a theater, or delay an aircraft flight at no cost to insurgents. False alarms dull the analytical and operational efficiency of key security personnel, thus degrading readiness.
- **Hostage taking.** Hostage taking is an overt seizure of one or more people to gain publicity or other concessions in return for releasing the hostage. While dramatic, hostage and hostage barricade situations are risky for perpetrators.
- **Indirect fire.** Insurgents may use indirect fire, such as mortars, to harass counterinsurgents or cause them to commit forces that can then be attacked by secondary ambushes.
- **Infiltration and subversion.** Insurgents use these tactics to gain intelligence and degrade the effectiveness of host-nation government organizations. These tactics involve getting host-nation government agencies to hire insurgent agents or by convincing members of the government to support the insurgency. Subversion may be achieved through intimidation, indoctrination of sympathetic individuals, or bribes.
- **Kidnapping.** While similar to hostage taking, kidnapping has significant differences. Kidnapping is usually a covert seizure of one or more persons to obtain specific results. It is normally very difficult to execute. Perpetrators may or may not be known for a long time. Media attention is initially intense but decreases over time. Because of the time involved, successful kidnapping requires elaborate planning and logistics. The risk to the perpetrators may be less than in the hostage situation.
- **Propaganda.** Insurgents may disseminate propaganda using any form of media, including face-to-face talks.
- **Raids or attacks on facilities.** Armed attacks on facilities are usually undertaken to—
 - Demonstrate the host-nation government's inability to secure critical facilities or national symbols.
 - Acquire resources (for example, robbery of a bank or armory).
 - Kill host-nation government personnel.
 - Intimidate the host-nation government and the populace.
- **Sabotage.** The objective in most sabotage incidents is to demonstrate how vulnerable the society or host-nation government is to terrorist actions. Industrialized areas are more vulnerable to sabotage than less developed areas. Utility, communication, and transportation systems are interdependent; a serious disruption of any affects them all and gains immediate public attention. Sabotage of industrial and commercial facilities can create significant disruption while making a statement of future intent. Military facilities and installations, information systems, and information infrastructures are possible targets.
- **Seizure.** Seizure usually involves a building or object of value in the eyes of the audience. There is some risk to perpetrators because security forces have time to react.

SECTION III – INTELLIGENCE, SURVEILLANCE, AND RECONNAISSANCE OPERATIONS

3-121. The purpose of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) operations during a COIN is to develop the intelligence needed to address the issues driving the insurgency. Several factors are particularly important for ISR operations in COIN environments. These include the following:

- A focus on the local populace.
- Collection occurring at all echelons.
- Localized nature of insurgencies.

- All Soldiers and Marines functioning as potential collectors.
- Insurgent use of complex terrain.

3-122. Intelligence gaps and information requirements determined during IPB may range from insurgent leaders' locations, to the populace's perceptions of insurgents, to HN political parties' status. In general, collection focuses on the populace, insurgents, and host nation.

3-123. The fact that all units collect and report information, combined with the mosaic nature of insurgencies, means that the intelligence flow in COIN is more bottom up than top down. Conducting aggressive ISR operations and pushing intelligence collection assets and analysts to the tactical level, sometimes as far as company level, therefore benefits all echelons. It strengthens local intelligence, enhances regional and national reporting, and bolsters operations at all levels. Two techniques— either attaching a basic intelligence analytical capability down to battalion or company level, or forming a company information management capability from assigned personnel—can help commanders handle the tactical information flow better.

3-124. Collection may occur in any unit and collectors may be pushed to the lowest levels; nonetheless, the overall intelligence synchronization plan (formerly the collection plan) must remain synchronized so that all echelons receive the intelligence they require. There are several means of ensuring this happens. One is to ensure that priority intelligence requirements (PIRs) are “nested” at all echelons. They may be tailored to local or regional circumstances, but tactical and operational collection efforts should support one another. Headquarters monitor requests for information from lower echelons and taskings from higher echelons to get information to requestors when they need it. Commanders ensure their subordinates understand the PIRs. Such understanding helps Soldiers and Marines know when to report something and what they should report.

3-125. Feedback from analysts and intelligence consumers to collectors is important to synchronizing the ISR effort. Responses tell collectors that a report is of interest and that they should follow it up. Such feedback may come from any unit at any echelon.

3-126. Also affecting intelligence synchronization is the requirement to work closely with U.S. Government agencies, HN security and intelligence organizations, and multinational intelligence organizations. Operational-level ISR planning drives the synchronization of these agencies' and organizations' efforts; however, coordination occurs at all echelons. Communication among collection managers and collectors down to the battalion level is important; it can eliminate circular reporting and unnecessary duplicate work. (See section IV.)

3-127. Insurgents often try to use complex terrain and seams between maneuver units to their advantage. (Seams are boundaries between units not adequately covered by any unit.) Collection managers do not ignore areas of complex terrain. They monitor seams to ensure insurgents do not establish undetected bases of operation.

THE INTELLIGENCE-OPERATIONS DYNAMIC

3-128. Intelligence and operations have a dynamic relationship. Even in permissive environments where a great deal is known about the enemy, there is an intelligence aspect to all operations. Intelligence drives operations and successful operations generate additional intelligence. For instance, an operation increasing the security and general happiness of a town often increases the amount of information its inhabitants offer. This information is processed into more intelligence, which results in more effective operations. The reverse is also true. Operations conducted without accurate intelligence may upset the populace and lead them to offer less information. In many cases, newly arrived units have little intelligence on their AO. They have to conduct operations to generate intelligence.

3-129. Because intelligence and operations are so closely related, it is important for collectors to be linked directly to the analysts and operators they support. Analysts must remain responsive to their supported units' intelligence requirements. Further, collectors should not passively wait for operators to submit requirements; rather, they should closely monitor the operational environment and recommend requirements based on their understanding of operators' needs.

HUMAN INTELLIGENCE AND OPERATIONAL REPORTING

3-130. *Human intelligence* (HUMINT) is the collection of information by a trained human intelligence collector from people and their associated documents and media sources to identify elements, intentions, composition, strength, dispositions, tactics, equipment, personnel, and capabilities (FM 2-22.3). (Trained HUMINT collectors are Soldiers holding military occupational specialties 97E, 351Y [formerly 351C], 351M [formerly 351E], 35E, and 35F, and Marines holding the specialty 0251.) HUMINT uses human sources as tools and a variety of collection methods, both passive and active, to gather information to satisfy intelligence requirements and cross-cue other intelligence disciplines. Interrogation is just one of the HUMINT tasks. (FM 2-22.3 provides the authoritative doctrine for HUMINT operations. It also contains policy for interrogation.) HUMINT operations often collect information that is difficult or sometimes impossible to obtain by other, more technical, means. During COIN operations, much intelligence is based on information gathered from people.

3-131. Operational reporting may also have information of intelligence value that originates from the local populace. People may approach Soldiers and Marines during the course of their day-to-day operations and offer information. Soldiers and Marines should take information and report it to the intelligence section. Doing so allows for verification of the information and establishes a means for HUMINT collectors to contact individuals offering information of value.

3-132. The lives of people offering information on insurgents are often in danger. Insurgents continuously try to defeat collection operations. Careless handling of human sources by untrained personnel can result in murder or intimidation of these sources. When this occurs, HUMINT can be dramatically reduced due to the word spreading that U.S. forces are careless or callous about protecting their sources. HUMINT collectors are trained in procedures that limit the risk to sources and handlers.

3-133. Counterinsurgents should not expect people to willingly provide information if insurgents have the ability to violently intimidate sources. HUMINT reporting increases if counterinsurgents protect the populace from insurgents and people begin to believe the insurgency will be defeated.

3-134. People often provide inaccurate and conflicting information to counterinsurgents. They may be spreading rumors or providing inaccurate information purposefully for their own reasons. Examples of reasons include accomplishing the following:

- Using counterinsurgents to settle tribal, ethnic, or business disputes.
- Leading counterinsurgents into ambushes.
- Enticing counterinsurgents into executing operations that upset the populace.
- Learning about U.S. planning time and tactics.
- Stretching COIN forces thin by causing them to react to false reports.

The accuracy of information obtained by Soldiers and Marines should be verified before being used to support operations. This means that information reported to patrols should be verified with all-source intelligence.

MILITARY SOURCE OPERATIONS

3-135. Because of their continuous contact with the populace, Soldiers and Marines regularly identify potential sources for HUMINT personnel to develop. It is therefore imperative that all counterinsurgents know the PIRs and that every patrol is debriefed. These debriefings should be as detailed as possible. Analysts and HUMINT collectors should work closely with operations staffs and other personnel to ensure new sources are properly developed. (Table 3-8) lists some potential HUMINT sources.)

3-136. Establishing a reliable source network is an effective collection method. Military source operations provide the COIN equivalent of the reconnaissance and surveillance conducted by scouts in conventional operations. HUMINT sources serve as “eyes and ears” on the street and provide an early warning system for tracking insurgent activity. Although counterinsurgents regularly get information from “walk-in” or “walk-up” sources, only HUMINT personnel are trained and authorized to work with HUMINT sources. Due to legal considerations, the potential danger sources face if identified, and the potential danger to troops involved, only HUMINT personnel may conduct military source operations. All Soldiers and Marines may record information given to them by walk-up contacts, including liaison relationships, but they may

not develop HUMINT sources or networks. (Refer to FM 2-22.3 for more information on military source operations.)

INTERROGATION OF DETAINEES AND DEBRIEFING OF DEFECTORS

3-137. Detainees and insurgent defectors are important HUMINT sources. The information they provide about the internal workings of an insurgency may be better than any other HUMINT source can provide. In addition, defectors can provide otherwise unobtainable insights into an insurgent organization's perceptions, motivations, goals, morale, organization, and tactics. Both detainees and defectors should be thoroughly questioned on all aspects of an insurgency discussed in section II. Their answers should be considered along with information obtained from captured equipment, pocket litter, and documents to build a better understanding of the insurgency. Properly trained Soldiers and Marines can conduct immediate tactical questioning of detainees or defectors. However, only trained HUMINT personnel are legally authorized to conduct interrogations. A trained debriefer should be used for questioning a defector. All questioning of detainees is conducted to comply with U.S. law and regulation, international law, execution orders and other operationally specific guidelines. (FM 2-22.3 provides the authoritative doctrine and policy for interrogation. Chapter 7 and appendix D of this manual also address this subject.)

Table 3-8. Potential sources of human intelligence

- **Patrol debriefings and after-action reviews.** Patrols regularly encounter individuals offering information and observe new enemy tactics and techniques. Patrol debriefings are especially important to units at brigade level and below; however, the information collected can be of higher echelon significance.
- **Civil affairs reports.** These reports are especially useful for gathering information about politics, economy, and infrastructure. Civil affairs personnel also regularly come into contact with individuals offering information.
- **Psychological operations (PSYOP) reports.** PSYOP personnel conduct opinion polls and gather information on community attitudes, perceptions, interests, and grievances. PSYOP personnel also regularly encounter individuals offering information.
- **Special operations forces reporting.** Special operations forces often work closely with local nationals and produce valuable human intelligence reports.
- **Leadership liaison.** Commanders and leaders regularly meet with their counterparts in the host-nation security forces and with community leaders. These meetings produce information or tips.
- **Contracting.** Contracting officers work with theater contractors, both host nation and external, performing support functions or building infrastructure. Contractors may offer information to contracting officers.
- **Multinational operations centers.** These provide a place to share information between host-nation and U.S. personnel.
- **Tips hotlines.** Telephone or e-mail hotlines provide a safe means for people to provide information. They are especially useful for obtaining time-sensitive intelligence, such as warning of an attack or the current location of an insurgent.
- **U.S. persons.** There will be times when U.S. civilians, such as contractors or journalists, offer information to counterinsurgents. For legal reasons, it is important to understand regulations regarding intelligence-related information collected on U.S. persons. (See FM 2-22.3.)

SURVEILLANCE AND RECONNAISSANCE CONSIDERATIONS

3-138. Because all Soldiers and Marines are potential collectors, the ISR plan addresses all day-to-day tactical operations. This means every patrol or mission should be given intelligence collection requirements as well as operations requirements.

3-139. Overt area and zone reconnaissances are excellent means for tactical units to learn more about their AO, especially the terrain, infrastructure, people, government, local leaders, and insurgents. Overt re-

connaissance by patrols allows commanders to fill intelligence gaps and develop relationships with local leaders, while simultaneously providing security to the populace.

3-140. Covert reconnaissance and surveillance operations employing scouts or concealed observation posts are often ineffective in places where the populace is alert and suspicious of outsiders. Such places include urban areas, suburban areas, and close-knit communities. In those places, it is very difficult for scouts to conduct reconnaissance or surveillance without being observed by insurgents or people who may tip off insurgents. Reconnaissance of a target may be noticed and cause insurgents to leave the area. Likewise, small groups of scouts may be attractive targets for insurgent attacks if the scouts' location is known. For these reasons, using a HUMINT network or aerial imagery platforms is often preferable to ground reconnaissance and surveillance. Successful ground reconnaissance in populated areas requires leaders to be creative in how they establish observation posts. One technique is for dismounted night patrols to leave a small "stay behind" observation post while the rest of a patrol moves on. Another effective technique is secretly photographing a place of interest while driving by it. However, commanders must weigh the benefits of these operations with the potential cost of insurgents receiving early warning of counterinsurgent intentions.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR OTHER INTELLIGENCE DISCIPLINES

3-141. An *intelligence discipline* is a well-defined area of intelligence collection, processing, exploitation, and reporting using a specific category of technical or human resources (JP 1-02). HUMINT is one of these disciplines. The following discussion addresses COIN-specific considerations for other selected intelligence disciplines and information types. Because of their importance to COIN, counterintelligence is covered separately in section IV and all-source analysis in section V.

SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE

3-142. In conventional environments, signals intelligence (SIGINT) collection is a good source for determining enemy locations, intentions, capabilities, and morale. The same applies in COIN operations. SIGINT is often helpful for confirming or denying HUMINT reporting and may be the primary source of intelligence in areas under insurgent control. Pushing SIGINT collection platforms down to tactical units can therefore improve intelligence collection.

OPEN-SOURCE INTELLIGENCE

3-143. Open-source intelligence (OSINT) is valuable for understanding the operational environment. It is often more useful than any other discipline for understanding public attitudes and public support for insurgents and counterinsurgents. OSINT is also an important means of determining the effectiveness of IO. Monitoring a wide variety of media in multiple languages benefits the COIN effort. If possible, monitoring should occur at every echelon with collection requirements. Each echelon should monitor the media that contain information relevant to operations at that echelon. For instance, reporting by major news networks often matters a lot at the combatant command level; in contrast, local newspapers or radio stations may be more important to tactical units.

IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE

3-144. In COIN operations, imagery intelligence (IMINT) platforms may be used for surveillance of likely insurgent safe houses and other facilities. Further, aerial IMINT platforms are also effective at detecting unusual personnel and supply movements. This information can help commanders determine where best to interdict insurgent lines of communications.

3-145. Static imagery, such as aerial photos of facilities, is useful for detecting long-term changes in structures or activities.

3-146. Real-time video, often from aerial surveillance platforms, is critical to assessing whether particular locations are likely sites of insurgent activity. This capability may also be used to track insurgents during

operations. If flown high enough that insurgents cannot hear the platform, real-time video provides surveillance in areas where it is difficult or impossible to use observation posts.

TECHNICAL INTELLIGENCE

3-147. Insurgents often adapt their tactics, techniques, and procedures rapidly. Technical intelligence on insurgent equipment can help understand insurgent capabilities. These may include how insurgents are using improvised explosive devices, homemade mortars, and other pieces of customized military equipment.

MEASUREMENT AND SIGNATURES INTELLIGENCE

3-148. Measurement and signature intelligence (MASINT) sensors can provide remote monitoring of avenues of approach or border regions for smugglers or insurgents. They can also be used to locate insurgent safe havens and cache sites and determining insurgent activities and capabilities. MASINT can also contribute to targeting.

GEOSPATIAL INTELLIGENCE

3-149. Geospatial intelligence (GEOINT) is the exploitation and analysis of imagery and geospatial information to describe, assess, and visually depict physical features and geographically referenced activities on the Earth. GEOINT consists of imagery, IMINT, and geospatial information. GEOINT may have some benefit for identifying smuggling routes and safe havens. Imagery can be very beneficial to operations in urban areas as well. It can help identify structures of interest and aid urban terrain navigation. (Paragraphs B-5 through B-9 contain more GEOINT-related information.)

INTELLIGENCE-RELATED ACTIVITIES

3-150. There are several activities and information sources important to COIN that are not intelligence disciplines but are related to them. Chief among these are target exploitation (TAREX), document exploitation (DOCEX), property ownership records, and financial records.

Target Exploitation and Document Exploitation

3-151. Documents and pocket litter, as well as information found in computers and cell phones, can provide critical information that analysts need to evaluate insurgent organizations, capabilities, and intentions. TAREX and DOCEX are also of great benefit to HUMINT collectors in substantiating what detainees know and whether they are telling the truth.

3-152. TAREX in a COIN environment is like evidence collection in a law enforcement environment. Procedures that ensure captured equipment and documents are tracked accurately and attached to the correct insurgents is necessary. Evidence needs to be enough to justify using operational resources to apprehend the individuals in question; however, it does not necessarily need be enough to convict in a court of law. Pushing HUMINT or law enforcement personnel to the battalion level and below can improve TAREX and DOCEX by tactical units. Procedures for ensuring that tactical units get the results of higher level TAREX and DOCEX are also important. Units must be able to receive intelligence collected from the documents, equipment, and personnel they capture in enough time to exploit it.

Property Ownership Records

3-153. Property ownership records include census records, deeds, and other means of determining ownership of land and buildings. They help counterinsurgents to determine who should or should not be living in a specific area and help them secure the populace. In some cases, it may be necessary for Soldiers and Marines to go door to door and collect census data themselves.

Financial Records

3-154. Information gathered on sources of insurgent funding can be very helpful to the COIN effort. Collection of financial records often requires help from agencies like the Department of the Treasury and financial institutions. It may also require analyzing criminal activities or traditional means of currency transfer.

SECTION IV – COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERRECONNAISSANCE

3-155. Counterintelligence counters or neutralizes intelligence collection efforts through collection, counterintelligence investigations, operations, analysis and production, and functional and technical services. Counterintelligence includes all actions taken to detect, identify, exploit, and neutralize the multidiscipline intelligence activities of friends, competitors, opponents, adversaries, and enemies.

3-156. Insurgents place heavy emphasis on gathering intelligence. They use informants, double agents, reconnaissance, surveillance, open-source media, and open-source imagery. Insurgents can potentially use any person interacting with U.S. or multinational personnel as an informant. These include the same people that U.S. forces use as potential HUMINT sources. Operations security is thus very important; U.S. personnel must carefully screen the contractors, informants, translators, and other personnel working with them. Failure to do so can result in infiltration of U.S. facilities and deaths of U.S. personnel and their partners.

3-157. Background screenings should include collection of personal and biometric data and a search through available reporting databases to determine whether the person is an insurgent. (Biometrics concerns the measurement and analysis of unique physical or behavioral characteristics [as fingerprint or voice patterns].) Identification badges may be useful for providing security and personnel accountability for local people working on U.S. and HN government facilities. Biometric data is preferable, when available, because identification badges may be forged or stolen and insurgents can use them to identify people working with the HN government.

3-158. Insurgents have their own reconnaissance and surveillance networks. Because they usually blend well with the populace, insurgents can execute reconnaissance without easily being identified. They also have an early warning system composed of citizens who inform them of counterinsurgent movements. Identifying the techniques and weaknesses of enemy reconnaissance and surveillance enables commanders to detect signs of insurgent preparations and to surprise insurgents by neutralizing their early warning systems.

3-159. Insurgents may also have a SIGINT capability based on commercially available scanners and radios, wiretaps, or captured counterinsurgent equipment. Counterinsurgents should not use commercial radios or phones because insurgents can collect information from them. If Soldiers and Marines must use commercial equipment or unencrypted communications, they should employ authorized brevity codes to reduce insurgents' ability to collect on them.

SECTION V – ALL-SOURCE INTELLIGENCE

3-160. Joint doctrine defines *all-source intelligence* as products and/or organizations and activities that incorporate all sources of information, most frequently including human resources intelligence, imagery intelligence, measurement and signature intelligence, signals intelligence, and open-source data in the production of finished intelligence (JP 1-02). Intelligence organizations fuse data and information into all-source intelligence products to support COIN operations. Analysis for COIN operations is very challenging, due in part to the—

- Need to understand perceptions and culture.
- Need to track hundreds or thousands of personalities.
- Local nature of insurgencies.
- Tendency of insurgencies to change over time.

3-161. Databases are very important for analyzing insurgent activities and personalities. At a minimum, there should be common searchable combatant command databases of insurgent actions and personnel, as well as another database of all intelligence reporting. These should be accessible by analysts in and out of theater. The common operational picture should include reporting from all units and organizations involved in the effort.

3-162. Because all echelons collect and use intelligence, all staffs are heavily involved in analysis. Units are simultaneously intelligence producers and consumers. This situation is normal at brigade and above; however, battalion staffs often do not have the personnel to collect patrol debriefs, analyze incoming information from multiple sources, produce finished intelligence products, and disseminate products to appropriate consumers. In many cases brigade intelligence sections may also be inadequate for a COIN environment.

3-163. COIN requirements may require pushing analysts to battalion and brigade staffs to give those echelons the required analytical support. There are also instances when analysts can be beneficial at the company level. This is the case when a maneuver company must collect large amounts of information on the local populace and insurgents. An analyst can help collect and process this information and develop an operational picture of the AO. Pushing analysts to brigade level and below places analysts closer to collectors, improves the common operational picture, and helps higher echelon staffs receive answers to their PIRs. Commanders may need to be creative in developing analytical capabilities within their units. Though it is not ideal, commanders have assigned nonintelligence personnel to work in the intelligence section.

3-164. Analysis at brigade and below is the basis for operational-level intelligence. This is due to the bottom-up flow of intelligence in COIN. Battalions and brigades develop intelligence for their AOs; higher echelons fuse it into combatant-command-wide intelligence of the insurgency. Operational-level intelligence adds information about national and international politics and their effects on the operational environment.

3-165. Analysis of enemy actions and comprehensive insurgency analysis are done at battalion level and above. These processes build on IPB and use the tools discussed in appendix B. Analysis of enemy actions, commonly called current operations, focuses on what the enemy is doing now. Comprehensive insurgency analysis focuses on the people in the AO. It develops information about relationships among them and the ideas and beliefs driving their actions. Comprehensive insurgency analysis brings together all other forms of analysis.

CURRENT OPERATIONS

3-166. Current operations intelligence supports a commander's understanding of what insurgents are currently doing. The basic tasks of analysts working in current operations are to—

- Analyze past and current enemy actions (event analysis and pattern analysis) to look for changes in the insurgents' approach or tactics.
- Track the effects of friendly operations on the populace and insurgents.
- Provide intelligence support to ongoing operations.
- Disseminate immediate threat warnings to appropriate consumers.

3-167. Intelligence for current operations comes from a variety of sources, but operations reports are particularly important. This is because current enemy activities are more often reported by patrols, units conducting raids, or observation posts than they are by dedicated intelligence collectors. OSINT is important for tracking IO effects. Current operations analysis depends on the insurgent actions database for determining changes in insurgent tactics and techniques.

COMPREHENSIVE INSURGENCY ANALYSIS

3-168. Accurate and thorough intelligence on insurgent organizations, leadership, financial support networks, and the operational environment contribute to more effective friendly operations. Comprehensive insurgency analysis integrates a range of analytic tools to develop this intelligence. (These tools include social network analysis and socio-cultural factors analysis.) Comprehensive insurgency analysis provides information upon which commanders and staffs base their understanding of the following:

- Insurgent organization.
- Insurgent leadership.
- Key nodes in the insurgent organization.
- Insurgents' approach, capabilities, and motivations.
- Insurgents' support base.
- Insurgent links to the community.

Effectively developing and integrating information from a range of intelligence and operations sources provides the detailed knowledge and insights required to exploit insurgents' vulnerabilities and mitigate their strengths. Table 3-9 lists key tasks associated with comprehensive insurgency analysis.

Table 3-9. Comprehensive insurgency analysis tasks

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Identify insurgent strategic, operational, and tactical goals, objectives, and imperatives.● Identify motivations, fears, concerns, and perceptions that shape the actions of insurgents and their supporters.● Identify grievances, fears, and concerns that the insurgents exploit.● Determine how culture, interests, and history inform insurgent and host-nation decision making.● Understand links among political, religious, tribal, criminal, and other social networks.● Determine how social networks, key leaders, and groups interact with insurgent networks.● Determine the structure and function of insurgent organizations.● Identify key insurgent activities and leaders.● Understand popular and insurgent perceptions of the host-nation, insurgency, and counterinsurgents—and how these affect the insurgency. |
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3-169. Developing knowledge and using network analytic tools requires an unusually large investment of time compared to conventional analytic problem-solving methods. Comprehensive insurgency analysis may not provide immediate usable intelligence. Analysts may have to spend weeks or months analyzing numerous all-source intelligence reports before providing an accurate picture of insurgent groups, leaders and activities. It is essential that commanders designate a group of analysts to perform comprehensive insurgency analysis. This team must be insulated from the short-term demands of current operations and day-to-day intelligence demands. These analysts focus on long-term intelligence development. It is ultimately the commander's responsibility to ensure that comprehensive and basic insurgent network analysis still occurs despite high-profile demands and time sensitive requirements.

3-170. Comprehensive insurgency analysis examines interactions among individuals, groups, and beliefs within the operational environment's historic and cultural context. One of the more important products of this analysis is an understanding of how local people think. This knowledge allows predictive analysis of enemy actions. It also contributes to the ability to develop effective IO and civil-military operations.

REACHBACK

3-171. *Reachback* refers to the process of obtaining products, services, and applications, or forces, or equipment, or material from organizations that are not forward deployed (JP 1-02). Deployed or deploying units should use reach capabilities to "outsource" time-intensive aspects of analysis. Reachback is particularly useful when deployments occur with little warning and when organizations used for reach have a great deal of expertise available on a given subject. Analysts may receive reach assistance from higher echelons or external sources. Most organizations affiliated with DOD regard assisting field commanders as one of their primary missions.

ANALYTIC CONTINUITY

3-172. The complexity and difficulty of analyzing an insurgency means it often takes analysts months to understand the operational environment and the insurgency. The most productive analysts and action offi-

cers generally have more than a year focused on an aspect of the insurgency problem; therefore, commanders should try to maintain continuity among their analysts. Intelligence and other staff sections should track operations from their home station and immerse themselves in related intelligence before deploying. This flattens the learning curve of units rotating in to an AO and increases their effectiveness during the deployment.

3-173. Part of unit transition should include exchange of relevant databases and knowledge of the AO. Effective intelligence handover saves time and effort for an incoming unit and ensures consistency of approach.

SECTION VI – INTELLIGENCE COLLABORATION

3-174. Effective intelligence collaboration organizes the collection and analysis actions of various units and organizations into a coherent, mutually supportive intelligence effort. Collaboration and synchronization of the effort between lower and higher echelon units and organizations reduces the likelihood of gaps in the intelligence effort. Some of the important operational- and strategic-level analytic support is called “tactical overwatch.” The intelligence portion of the common operational picture and other supporting intelligence for COIN operations is complex. Insurgencies do not normally lend themselves to generalizations like “if this leader is removed, the insurgency is over” or “this group drives the movement.” It is important not to oversimplify an insurgency. However, analysts and commanders still require a commonly understood means of defining and describing the enemy. One such means is using the following categories to track and report the insurgency:

- Region.
- Insurgent organization.
- Key personalities.
- Insurgent goals and motivations.

The mutual support that various intelligence units and organizations provide across all echelons facilitates timely and relevant intelligence.

3-175. Insurgencies are often localized; however, most have national or international aspects to them. This characteristic complicates intelligence collaboration between adjacent units and among various echelons. For instance, if numerous insurgent groups operate in one country, adjacent battalions within the country may face very different threats. Higher echelon analysts must then understand multiple insurgent organizations and determine the links, if any, among them. Usually, battalions focus on the population and insurgents in their AO. Higher echelon analysts determine links and interactions among the populace and insurgents across unit boundaries. Combatant-command-level analysts determine the major linkages within the area of responsibility and internationally. Based on these requirements, a common database based on intelligence reporting is a prerequisite for effective intelligence fusion.

3-176. Also complicating collaboration is the fact that COIN operations involve many government agencies and foreign security forces. Analysts must establish good working relationships with various agencies and elements to ensure they can fuse intelligence.

INTELLIGENCE CELLS AND WORKING GROUPS

3-177. Intelligence community assets operating in an AO work in or coordinate with the intelligence cell in one of the unit’s command posts. They are under the staff supervision of the unit intelligence officer. Table 3-10 (page 3-34) lists examples of intelligence community assets that may operate in a division AO.

3-178. As necessary, intelligence officers form working groups or boards to synchronize collection, analysis, and targeting efforts. Cells and working groups conduct regular meetings to accomplish the following:

- Establish and maintain shared situational awareness.
- Share collection priorities.
- Deconflict activities and operations.

- Discuss target development.
- Share results of operations.

These meetings build mutual trust and understanding of each member’s mission, capabilities, and limitations. Meetings should be coordinated with meetings of other staff cells, working groups, and boards (for example, the targeting board) as part of the command post’s battle rhythm.

3-179. An effective intelligence cell enhances the commander’s knowledge of the enemy, local populace, and friendly forces and agencies operating in the unit’s AO. Incorporating HN representatives (for example, intelligence services, military forces, and local government officials) and multinational partners into the intelligence cell should also be considered to foster teamwork, gain insight into the local society, and prepare the host nation to assume the COIN mission when multinational forces depart.

Table 3-10. Possible intelligence community assets in a division area of operations

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Defense Intelligence Agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Defense human intelligence case officers ▪ Reports officers ▪ Document exploitation teams ● Central Intelligence Agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chief of base ▪ Case officers ▪ Reports officers ● National intelligence support team (from the U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command —INSCOM) ● National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency ● Department of the Treasury analytic support teams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● U.S. Special Operations Command <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Special forces operational detachment-alpha teams ▪ Special mission units ▪ Civil affairs teams ▪ Psychological operations teams ● Immigration and Customs Enforcement/ Department of Homeland Security agents ● Air Force Office of Special Investigations special agents ● Federal Bureau of Investigation agents ● Department of State political advisor ● National Security Agency
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Protecting Sources

3-180. Protecting sources is another important consideration when sharing intelligence. Organizations may sometimes choose not to share information because acting on intelligence can compromise its sources. Using the targeting process to synchronize targeting decisions is usually a good way to protect sources. (See paragraphs 5-100 through 5-112.)

HOST-NATION INTEGRATION

3-181. COIN operations require U.S. personnel to work closely with the host nation. Sharing intelligence with HN security forces and government personnel is an important and effective means of supporting their COIN efforts. However, HN intelligence services may not be well developed and their personnel may not be well trained. Thus, HN intelligence should be considered useful but definitely not the only intelligence available. Usually, HN services are not the most important intelligence source. It is essential for U.S. personnel to evaluate HN intelligence capabilities and offer training as required.

3-182. In addition, infiltration of HN security forces by insurgents or foreign intelligence services can create drawbacks to intelligence sharing. Insurgents may learn what is known about them, gain insight into COIN intelligence sources and capabilities, and get early warning of targeting efforts.

3-183. When sharing intelligence with the host nation, it is important to understand the level of infiltration by insurgents or foreign intelligence services. Insofar as possible, intelligence should be tailored so required intelligence still gets to HN consumers but does not give away information about sources and capabilities. In addition, care is needed when providing targeting information; it should be done such that

insurgents do not receive early warning of an upcoming operation. As trust develops between HN and U.S. personnel, the amount of intelligence shared should grow. This will make the COIN effort more effective.

SECTION VII – SUMMARY

3-184. What makes intelligence analysis for COIN so distinct and so challenging is the amount of socio-cultural information that must be gathered and understood. However, truly grasping the operational environment requires commanders and staffs to devote at least as much effort to understanding the people they support as they do to understanding the enemy. All this information is essential to get at the root causes of the insurgency and to determine the best ways to combat it. Identifying the real problem and developing solutions is the essence of operational design, which is discussed in the next chapter.

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Chapter 4

Designing Counterinsurgency Campaigns and Operations

The first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgment that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish...the kind of war on which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into, something that is alien to its nature. This is the first of all strategic questions and the most comprehensive.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*

This chapter describes considerations for designing counterinsurgency campaigns and operations. For Army forces, this chapter applies aspects of command and control doctrine and planning doctrine to counterinsurgency campaign planning. While campaign design is most often associated with a joint force command, all commanders and staffs need to understand it.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CAMPAIGN DESIGN

4-1. In chapter 1, insurgency is described as an organized, protracted politico-military struggle designed to weaken government control and legitimacy while increasing insurgent control. Ultimately, the long-term objective for both sides in that struggle remains acceptance by the people of the state or region of the legitimacy of one side's claim to political power. The reason an insurgency forms to challenge the existing order is different in each case. The complexity of insurgency presents problems that have incomplete, contradictory, and changing requirements. The solutions to these intensely challenging and complex problems are often difficult to recognize as such because of complex interdependencies. While attempting to solve an intensely complex problem, the solution of one of its aspects may reveal or create another, even more complex, problem. The purpose of design is to achieve a greater understanding, a proposed solution based on that understanding, and a means to learn and adapt. For a U.S. military commander directed to counter an insurgency, knowing why an insurgent movement has gained support and the purpose of American involvement is essential in designing a counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign. Failure to understand both factors can have disastrous consequences, as illustrated by Napoleon's experience in Spain.

Campaign Assessment and Reassessment

During Napoleon's occupation of Spain in 1808, it seems little thought was given to the potential challenges of subduing the Spanish populace. Conditioned by the decisive victories at Austerlitz and Jena, Napoleon believed the conquest of Spain would be little more than a "military promenade." Napoleon's campaign included a rapid conventional military victory but ignored the immediate requirement to provide a stable environment for the populace.

The French failed to analyze the Spanish people, their history, culture, motivations, and potential to support or hinder the achievement of French political objectives. The Spanish people were accustomed to hardship, suspicious of foreigners and constantly involved in skirmishes with security forces. Napoleon's cultural miscalculation resulted in a protracted occupation struggle that lasted nearly six years and ultimately required approximately three-fifths of the Empire's total armed strength, almost four times the force of 80,000 Napoleon originally designated.

The Spanish resistance drained the resources of the French Empire. It was the beginning of the end for Napoleon. At the theater level, a complete understanding of the problem and a campaign design that allowed the counterinsurgency force to learn and adapt was lacking.

4-2. Design and planning are qualitatively different yet interrelated activities essential for solving complex problems. While planning activities receive consistent emphasis in both doctrine and practice, discussion of design remains largely abstract and is rarely practiced. Presented a problem, staffs often rush directly into planning without clearly understanding the complex environment of the situation, purpose of military involvement, and approach required to address the core issues. This situation is particularly problematic with insurgencies. Campaign design informs and is informed by planning and operations. It has an intellectual foundation that aids continuous assessment of operations and the operational environment. Commanders should lead the design process and communicate the resulting framework to other commanders for planning, preparation, and execution.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIGN AND PLANNING

4-3. It is important to understand the distinction between design and planning. (See figure 4-1.) While both activities seek to formulate ways to bring about preferable futures, they are cognitively different. Planning applies established procedures to solve a largely understood problem within an accepted framework. Design inquires into the nature of a problem to conceive a framework for solving that problem. In general, planning is problem solving, while design is problem setting. Where planning focuses on generating a plan—a series of executable actions—design focuses on learning about the nature of an unfamiliar problem.

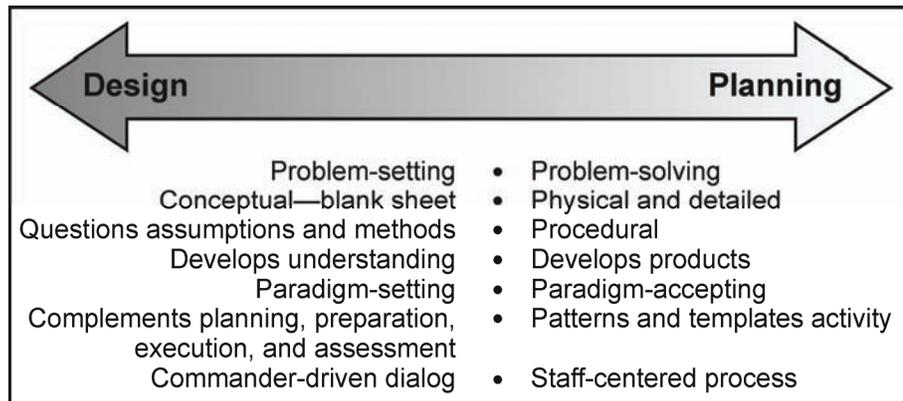


Figure 4-1. Design and planning continuum

4-4. When situations do not conform to established frames of reference—when the hardest part of the problem is figuring out what the problem is—planning alone is inadequate and design becomes essential. In these situations, absent a design process to engage the problem’s essential nature, planners default to doctrinal norms; they develop plans based on the familiar rather than an understanding of the real situation. Design provides a means to conceptualize and hypothesize about the underlying causes and dynamics that explain an unfamiliar problem. Design provides a means to gain understanding of a complex problem and insights towards achieving a workable solution.

4-5. This description of design at the tactical level is a form of what Army doctrine calls commander’s visualization. Commanders begin developing their design upon receipt of a mission. Design precedes and forms the foundation for staff planning. However, design is also continuous throughout the operation. As part of assessment, commanders continuously test and refine their design to ensure the relevance of military action to the situation. In this sense, design guides and informs planning, preparation, execution, and assessment. However, a plan is necessary to translate a design into execution. (FM 6-0, paragraphs 4-17 through 4-25, discusses commander’s visualization.)

4-6. Planning focuses on the physical actions intended to directly affect the enemy or environment. Planners typically are assigned a mission and a set of resources; they devise a plan to use those resources to accomplish that mission. Planners start with a design (whether explicit or implicit) and focus on generating a plan—a series of executable actions and control measures. Planning generally is analytic and reductionist. It breaks the design into manageable pieces assignable as tasks, which is essential to transforming the design into an executable plan. Planning implies a stepwise process in which each step produces an output that is the necessary input for the next step. (FM 5-0 contains Army planning doctrine. MCDP 5 contains Marine Corps planning doctrine.)

THE NATURE OF DESIGN

4-7. Given the difficult and multifaceted problems of insurgencies, dialog among the commander, principal planners, members of the interagency team, and host-nation (HN) representatives helps develop a coherent design. This involvement of all participants is essential. The object of this dialog is to achieve a level of situational understanding at which the approach to the problem's solution becomes clear. The underlying premise is this: when participants achieve a level of understanding such that the situation no longer appears complex, they can exercise logic and intuition effectively. As a result, design focuses on framing the problem rather than developing courses of action.

4-8. COIN design must be iterative. By their nature, COIN efforts require repeated assessments from different perspectives to see the various factors and relationships required for adequate understanding. Assessment and learning enable incremental improvements to the design. The aim is to rationalize the problem—to construct a logical explanation of observed events and subsequently construct the guiding logic that unravels the problem. The essence of this is the mechanism necessary to achieve success. This mechanism may not be a military activity—or it may involve military actions in support of nonmilitary activities. Once commanders understand the problem and what needs to be accomplished to succeed, they identify the means to assess effectiveness and the related information requirements that support assessment. This feedback becomes the basis for learning, adaptation, and subsequent design adjustment.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR DESIGN

4-9. Key design considerations include the following:

- Critical discussion.
- Systems thinking.
- Model making.
- Intuitive decision making.
- Continuous assessment.
- Structured learning.

4-10. Rigorous and structured *critical discussion* provides an opportunity for interactive learning. It deepens shared understanding and leverages the collective intelligence and experiences of many people.

4-11. *Systems thinking* involves developing an understanding of the relationships within the insurgency and the environment. It also concerns the relationships of actions within the various logical lines of operations (LLOs). This element is based on the perspective of the systems sciences that seeks to understand the interconnectedness, complexity, and wholeness of the elements of systems in relation to one another.

4-12. In *model making*, the model describes an approach to the COIN campaign, initially as a hypothesis. The model includes operational terms of reference and concepts that shape the language governing the conduct (planning, preparation, execution, and assessment) of the operation. It addresses questions like these: Will planning, preparation, execution, and assessment activities use traditional constructs like center of gravity, decisive points, and LLOs? Or are other constructs—such as leverage points, fault lines, or critical variables—more appropriate to the situation?

4-13. The Army and Marine Corps define *intuitive decision making* as the act of reaching a conclusion which emphasizes pattern recognition based on knowledge, judgment, experience, education, intelligence,

boldness, perception, and character. This approach focuses on assessment of the situation vice comparison of multiple options (FM 6-0/MCRP 5-12A). An operational design emerges intuitively as understanding of the insurgency deepens.

4-14. *Continuous assessment* is essential as an operation unfolds because of the inherent complexity of COIN operations. No design or model completely matches reality. The object of continuous assessment is to identify where and how the design is working or failing and to consider adjustments to the design and operation.

4-15. The objective of *structured learning* is to develop a reasonable initial design and then learn, adapt, and iteratively and continuously improve that design as more about the dynamics of the COIN problem become evident.

DESIGN FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY

4-16. Through design commanders gain an understanding of the problem and the COIN operation's purpose within the strategic context. Communicating this understanding of the problem, purpose, and context to subordinates allows them to exercise subordinates' initiative. *Subordinates' initiative* is assumption of responsibility for deciding and initiating independent actions when the concept of operations or order no longer applies or when an unanticipated opportunity leading to the accomplishment of the commander's intent presents itself (FM 6-0). (Subordinates' initiative is discussed in FM 6-0, paragraphs 2-83 through 2-92.) It facilitates decentralized execution and continuous assessment of operations at all levels throughout the campaign. While traditional aspects of campaign design as expressed in joint and Service doctrine remain relevant, they are not adequate for a discussion of the broader design construct for a COIN environment. Inherent in this construct is the tension created by understanding that military capabilities provide only one component of an overall approach to a COIN campaign. Design of a COIN campaign must be viewed holistically. Only a comprehensive approach employing all relevant design components, including the other instruments of national power, is likely to reach the desired end state.

4-17. As noted above, this description of campaign design is a form that Army doctrine calls commander's visualization. Design begins with identification of the end state, as derived from the policy aim. (Joint doctrine defines the *end state* as the set of required conditions that defines achievement of the commander's objectives [JP 1-02]). The end state provides context and logic for operational and tactical decision making. Consequently, strategic goals must be communicated clearly to commanders at every level. While strategy drives design, which in turn drives tactical actions, the reverse is also true. The observations of tactical actions result in learning and greater understanding that may generate modifications to the design, which in turn may have strategic implications. The COIN imperative to "Learn and Adapt" is essential in making the design process work correctly. Figure 4-2 illustrates the iterative nature of COIN campaign design and the large number of factors involved.

COMMANDER'S INTENT AND VISION OF RESOLUTION

4-18. Guided by the campaign's purpose, commanders articulate an operational logic for the campaign that expresses in clear, concise, conceptual language a broad vision of what they plan to accomplish. The operational logic is the commander's assessment of the problem and approach toward solving it. Commanders express it as the commander's intent. Ideally, the operational logic is expressed clearly and simply but in comprehensive terms, such as what the commander envisions achieving with various components or particular LLOs. This short statement of the operational logic helps subordinate commanders and planners, as well as members of other agencies and organizations, see the campaign's direction. It provides a unifying theme for interagency planning.

4-19. In addition, commanders also issue a form of planning guidance called the vision of resolution. The vision of resolution is usually expressed in the form of LLOs. LLOs for a counterinsurgency may include the following:

- Conduct information operations.
- Conduct combat operations/civil security operations.
- Train and employ HN security forces.

- Establish or restore essential services.
- Support development of better governance.
- Support economic development.

This list is an example only. Commanders determine the LLOs appropriate to the situation based on their assessment and their dialog with the leaders of other participating organizations.

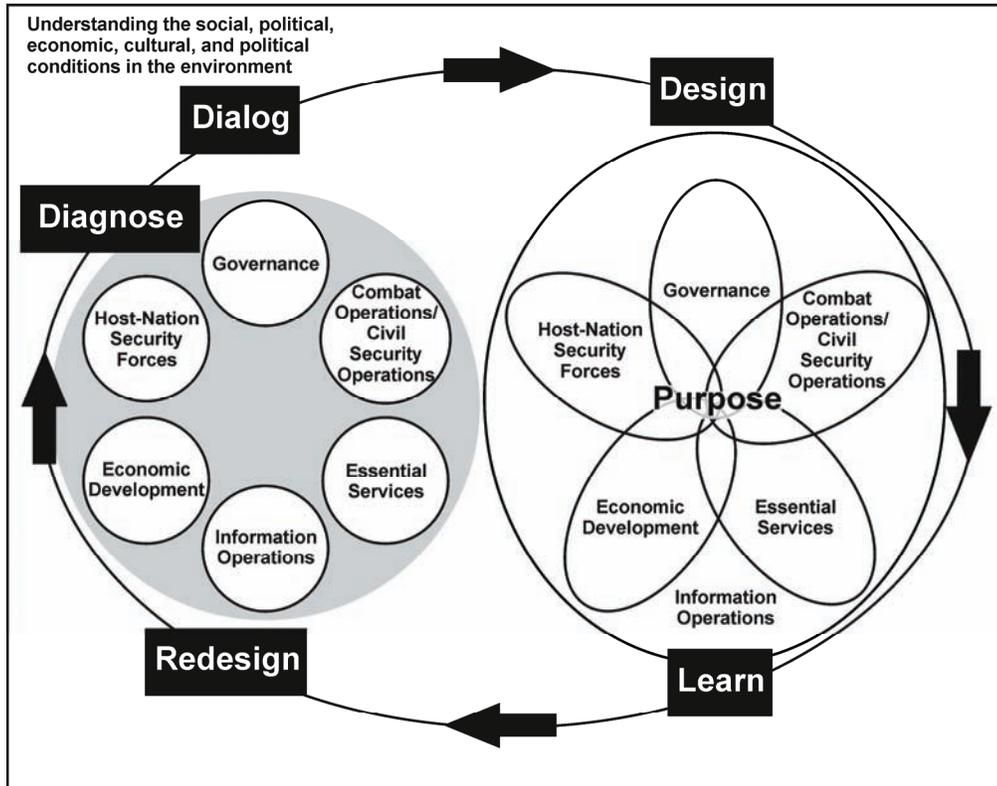


Figure 4-2. Iterative counterinsurgency campaign design

4-20. LLOs like those listed in paragraph 4-19 are not intended as a “success template.” Selecting and applying them requires judgment. The mosaic nature of insurgencies and the shifting circumstances within each area of operations (AO) requires a different emphasis on and interrelationship among the various lines. The situation may also require that military forces closely support, or temporarily assume responsibility for, tasks normally accomplished by other government agencies and private organizations. By broadly describing how the LLOs interact to achieve the end state, commanders provide the operational logic to link the various components in a comprehensive framework. This framework guides the initiative of subordinate commanders as they establish local conditions that support achieving the overall end state. It also promotes unity of effort among joint, interagency, multinational, and HN partners.

LOCAL RELEVANCE

4-21. Informed by the commander’s intent—including the end state and vision of resolution—subordinate commanders tailor and prioritize their actions within the LLOs based on the distinct and evolving circumstances within their respective AOs. Military forces are accustomed to unity of command; however, the interagency and multinational nature of COIN operations usually makes such arrangements unlikely. All participating organizations do share attitudes and goals. General cooperation on matters of mutual concern, established through informal agreements, may be the most practicable arrangement. Therefore, effective commanders empower subordinate leaders to perform the coordination, cooperation, and innovation needed to achieve unity of effort and execute operations in the manner best suited to local

conditions. The design—consisting of the commander’s intent, vision of resolution and other guidance issued as the campaign unfolds, and end state—provides the framework within which subordinates exercise this form of initiative.

LEARNING IN EXECUTION

4-22. Before commanders deploy their units, they make every effort to mentally prepare their Soldiers or Marines for the anticipated challenges, with a particular focus on situational awareness of the anticipated AO. *Situational awareness* is knowledge of the immediate present environment, including knowledge of the factors of METT-TC (FMI 5-0.1). COIN operations require a greater focus on civil considerations—the C in METT-TC—than conventional operations do. This situational awareness is only the beginning of an understanding of the AO that will mature as operations progress. However, commanders use it to begin to establish a common frame of reference.

4-23. Design begins based on this initial awareness. Aspects of the problem and means of resolving them do not remain static. Conditions are seldom consistent throughout any AO and continue to change based on actions by friendly, enemy, neutral, and other involved organizations. Rather than being uniform in character, the operational environment is likely to display a complex, shifting mosaic of conditions. To be effective, commanders—and indeed all personnel—continually develop and enhance their understanding of the mosaic peculiar to their AO. Observing tactical actions and the resulting changing conditions deepens understanding of the environment and enables commanders to relearn and refine their design and implementation actions.

4-24. Initially, situational awareness will probably be relatively low and the design will, by necessity, require a number of assumptions, especially with respect to the populace and the force’s ability to positively influence their perception of events. The design can be viewed as an experiment that tests the operational logic, with the expectation of a less-than-perfect solution. As the experiment unfolds, interaction with the populace and insurgents reveals the validity of those assumptions, revealing the strengths and weaknesses of the design.

4-25. *Assessment* is the continuous monitoring and evaluation of the current situation and progress of an operation (FMI 5-0.1). Effective assessment is necessary for commanders to recognize changing conditions and determine their meaning. It is crucial to successful adaptation and innovation by commanders within their respective AOs. A continuous dialog among commanders at all echelons provides the feedback the senior commander needs to refine the design. The dialog is supported by formal assessment techniques and red-teaming to ensure commanders are fully cognizant of the causal relationships between their actions and the insurgents’ adaptations. Accordingly, assessment is a learning activity and a critical aspect of design. This learning leads to redesign. Therefore, design can be viewed as a perpetual design-learn-redesign activity, with the commander’s intent, vision of resolution, and end state providing the unifying themes.

4-26. The critical role of assessment necessitates establishing measures of effectiveness during planning. Commanders should choose these carefully so that they align with the design and reflect the emphasis on and interrelationship among the LLOs. Commanders and staffs revise their assessment and measures of effectiveness during the operation in order to facilitate redesign and stay abreast of the current situation. Sound assessment blends qualitative and quantitative analysis with the judgment and intuition of all leaders. Great care must be applied here, as COIN operations often involve complex societal issues that may not lend themselves to quantifiable measures of effectiveness. Moreover, bad assumptions and false data can undermine the validity of both assessments and the conclusions drawn from them. Data and metrics can inform a commander’s assessment. However they must not be allowed to dominate it in uncertain situations. Subjective and intuitive assessment must not be replaced by an exclusive focus on data or metrics. Commanders must exercise their professional judgment in determining the proper balance.

GOALS IN COUNTERINSURGENCY

4-27. In an ideal world, the commander of military forces engaged in COIN operations would enjoy clear and well-defined goals for the campaign from the very beginning. However, the reality is that many goals emerge only as the campaign develops. For this reason, counterinsurgents usually have a combination of

defined and emerging goals toward which to work. Likewise, the complex problems encountered during COIN operations can be so difficult to understand that a clear design cannot be developed initially. Often, the best choice is to create iterative solutions to better understand the problem. In this case, these iterative solutions allow the initiation of intelligent interaction with the environment. The experiences of the 1st Marine Division during Operation Iraqi Freedom II illustrate this situation.

Iterative Design During Operation Iraqi Freedom II

During Operation Iraqi Freedom II (2004-2005), the 1st Marine Division employed an operational design similar to that used during the Philippine Insurrection (circa 1902). The commanding general, Major General James N. Mattis, USMC, began with an assessment of the people that the Marines, Soldiers, and Sailors would encounter within the division's area of operations. The area of operations was in western Iraq/Al Anbar Province, which had a considerably different demographic than the imam-led Shia areas in which the division had operated during Operation Iraqi Freedom I.

Major General Mattis classified provincial constituents into three basic groups: the tribes, former regime elements, and foreign fighters. The tribes constituted the primary identity group in western Iraq/Al Anbar Province. They had various internal tribal affiliations and looked to a diverse array of sheiks and elders for leadership. The former regime elements were a minority that included individuals with personal, political, business, and professional ties to the Ba'ath Party. These included civil servants and career military personnel with the skills needed to run government institutions. Initially, they saw little gain from a democratic Iraq. The foreign fighters were a small but dangerous minority of transnational Islamic subversives.

To be successful, U.S. forces had to apply a different approach to each of these groups within the framework of an overarching plan. As in any society, some portion of each group included a criminal element, further complicating planning and interaction. Major General Mattis's vision of resolution comprised two major elements encompassed in an overarching "bodyguard" of information operations. (See figure 4-3, page 4-8.)

The first element and main effort was diminishing support for insurgency. Guided by the maxims of "first do no harm" and "no better friend—no worse enemy," the objective was to establish a secure local environment for the indigenous population so they could pursue their economic, social, cultural, and political well-being and achieve some degree of local normalcy. Establishing a secure environment involved both offensive and defensive combat operations with a heavy emphasis on training and advising the security forces of the fledgling Iraqi government. It also included putting the populace to work. Simply put, an Iraqi with a job was less likely to succumb to ideological or economic pressure to support the insurgency. Other tasks included the delivery of essential services, economic development, and the promotion of governance. All were geared towards increasing employment opportunities and furthering the establishment of local normalcy. Essentially, diminishing support for insurgency entailed gaining and maintaining the support of the tribes, as well as converting as many of the former regime members as possible. "Fence-sitters" were considered a winnable constituency and addressed as such.

The second element involved neutralizing the bad actors, a combination of irreconcilable former regime elements and foreign fighters. Offensive combat operations were conducted to defeat recalcitrant former regime members. The task was to make those who were not killed outright see the futility of resistance and give up the fight. With respect to the hard-core extremists, who would never give up, the task was more straightforward: their complete and utter destruction. Neutralizing the bad actors supported the main effort by improving the local security environment. Neutralization had to be accomplished in a discrete and discriminate manner, however, in order to avoid unintentionally increasing support for insurgency.

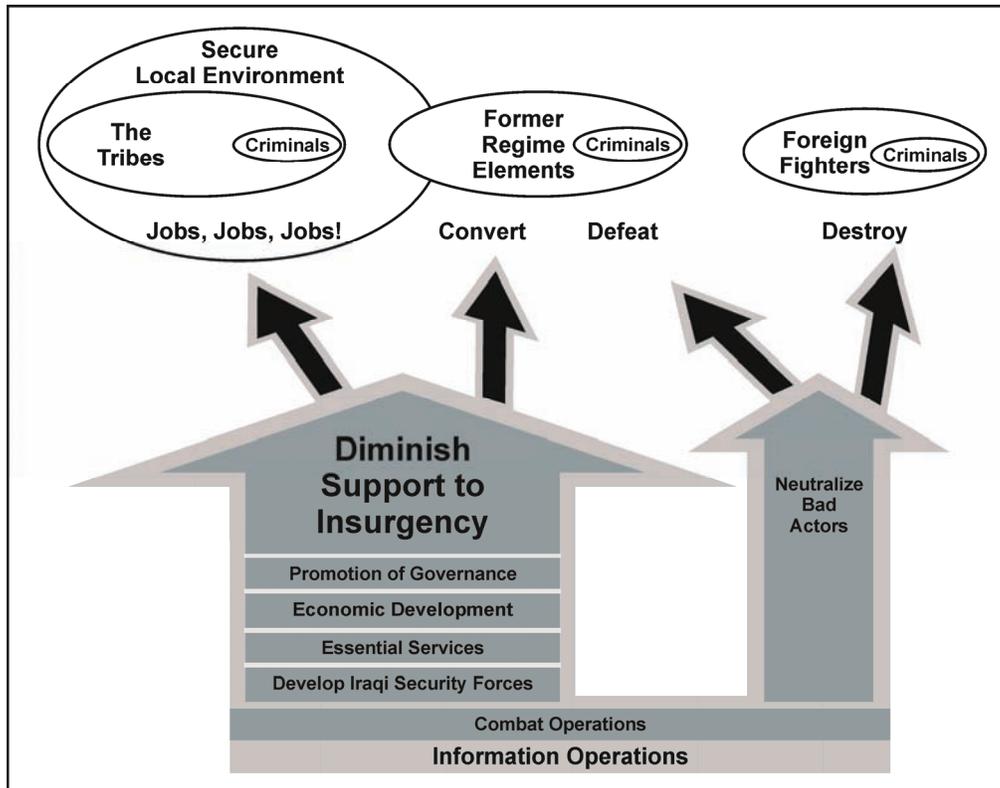


Figure 4-3. 1st Marine Division's operational design for Operation Iraqi Freedom II

Both elements described above were wrapped in an overarching “bodyguard” of information operations. Information operations, both proactive and responsive, were aggressively employed to favorably influence the populace’s perception of all coalition actions while simultaneously discrediting the insurgents. These tasks were incredibly difficult for a number of reasons. Corruption had historically been prevalent among Iraqi officials, generating cynicism toward any government. Additionally, decades of Arab media mischaracterization of U.S. actions had instilled distrust of American motives. The magnitude of that cynicism and distrust highlighted the critical importance of using information operations to influence every situation.

In pursuing this vision of resolution, the 1st Marine Division faced an adaptive enemy. Persistent American presence and interaction with the populace threatened the insurgents and caused them to employ more open violence in selected areas of Al Anbar province. This response resulted in learning and adaptation within the 1st Marine Division. The design enabled 1st Marine Division to adjust the blend of “diminishing support for insurgents” and “neutralizing bad actors” to meet the local challenges. Throughout the operation, 1st Marine Division continued learning and adapting with the vision of resolution providing a constant guide to direct and unify the effort.