



# COUNTERINSURGENCY A GENERIC REFERENCE CURRICULUM





## I. AIM OF THIS DOCUMENT

This document is the result of the best intentions of a multinational team of civilian and military academics (See pages 78-80 in the curriculum for the list of names) drawn from six countries. The aim of this document is modest. It does not pretend to be comprehensive nor does it intend to be the definitive curriculum for counterinsurgency education. Rather, this document aims to serve as a reference, a starting place, for individuals or organisations in NATO member states and partner countries looking to develop and/or supplement their professional military education (PME) in the area of Counterinsurgency (COIN).

This document serves as a catalyst to start dialogue within defence academies/schools about the kind of education they aspire to have in order to prepare their forces for operations in counterinsurgency environments. It is not intended to be adopted lockstep but rather to be adapted to fit particular national needs and goals. As a reference document this curriculum can serve to increase greater intellectual and professional interoperability within and between partner countries and NATO alliance members.

## II. COUNTERINSURGENCY

NATO doctrine defines counterinsurgency as comprehensive civilian and military efforts made to defeat an insurgency and to address any core grievances. Insurgents seek to compel or coerce political change on those in power, often through the use or threat of force by irregular forces, groups, or individuals. Counterinsurgents must not only develop short-term solutions to provide security for the targeted population and change disruptive behaviours, they must also determine the sources of the unrest and dissatisfaction fueling the insurgency. Counterinsurgents conduct long-term operations to eliminate those sources of unrest. This may require improving governance, developing the economy, or restoring essential services. These tasks require the participation of relevant civilian agencies, both indigenous and international.

In the current international environment, the threats and risks of intrastate violence and instability usually emanate from fragile states which are unable to provide the basic services the population expects them to deliver. Those states are particularly vulnerable to coercive challenges from armed groups. Insecurity and

instability are likely to result, stemming from government indifference to specific grievances or an inability to deal with the problems. Opportunists exploit any vacuum of authority. This situation does not always end up in an insurgency, but may lead to other forms of internal conflict such as civil protests. If the government is not capable of maintaining internal security, opposing groups tend to use force and court popular support while demeaning the authority and legitimacy of the government. This inhibits the government's ability to prevent or resolve societal conflicts. The fragility of such states has the potential to destabilize entire regions and to affect the global interests of others, especially when transnational terrorists get involved.

Contemporary insurgency and counterinsurgency is a complex mosaic involving many players. It is usually a "colonel's war" because brigade and battalion commanders have the best grasp of the local situation. Rarely is an insurgency monolithic, it is usually a loose coalition of various groups, including criminal organizations, often pursuing different goals and strategies. Support from foreign sources, including materiel, finances, and sanctuaries, is critical to sustaining the insurgency, and must be targeted or negated by counterinsurgents. Counterinsurgent forces are also varied, usually involving both indigenous and international military and civilian agencies. Creating and maintaining unity of effort between such disparate elements is challenging but essential, requiring a high degree of civil-military coordination and cooperation. Such conflicts take a long time to resolve, usually with some sort of political settlement. Counterinsurgents must defeat insurgent activity and provide security for the population while also supporting contested authorities in addressing popular grievances and fostering the perceived legitimacy of the contested government. Counterinsurgency is thus a complex form of security operations to enable stabilisation using all available instruments of power to create a secure environment, while promoting legitimate governance and rule of law. Often such conflicts boil down to a battle for legitimacy, with both insurgents and counterinsurgents vying for the support of the population.

## III. STRUCTURE OF THIS CURRICULUM

A curriculum is a specific learning program, a range of courses or topics that collectively describes the teaching, learning and assessment materials available for a given course of study. Creating a curriculum includes providing learners with a road map of what they can expect

to learn and a sense of how their learning is organised and structured. Typically, a curriculum has a nested structure, meaning there is an overarching program within which are several connected parts. Previous reference curricula employed multiple development phases and themes; however, this curriculum does not utilize that structure.

With respect to this generic Counterinsurgency Reference Curriculum, it is organised and structured in the following manner: First, the curriculum is primarily intended to serve as the blueprint for a single course on counterinsurgency. It may be possible to develop multiple courses tailored to the learning needs of different levels of audiences; however, the main purpose is to use this curriculum as the means to educate personnel on the counterinsurgency fundamentals. The curriculum is organised into seven blocks that are aligned with NATO counterinsurgency doctrine (see Table of Contents). Recognising that blocks are taught over a period of time, they are subdivided into modules (lessons). Each module contains suggested learning objectives which are in turn connected to the higher outcomes of the block.

Vignettes are included to illustrate key ideas as well as serve as a reference to specific case studies that may be used effectively with that block or module. The curriculum also contains two appendices with additional information to assist course developers. Appendix A contains information that was developed by the curriculum authors and has not been published elsewhere. Appendix B contains a sample exercise and questions that could serve as a culminating assessment for the course.

#### IV. USING THIS CURRICULUM

This curriculum makes certain implicit assumptions.

First, this curriculum deliberately flows from NATO counterinsurgency doctrine. Those who adopt this framework may wish to consider including alternative perspectives; however, the authors deliberately chose to adhere to NATO's approach because it represents the most likely counterinsurgency approach for users of this curriculum.

Second, it is assumed that institutions adopting this reference curriculum will devote appropriate time and resources with an expert counterinsurgency team to develop learning appropriate for the target audience. It is possible to adapt this curriculum to varied levels of experience or military education; however, the comprehensive outline should be followed regardless of the level. In developing specific courses from this reference curriculum, it is suggested that the local course designers consider the time and resources available, the education and prior knowledge of students, and the functions those students will be expected to perform upon completing the course.

Third, learning and assessment methods are briefly recommended for each block; however, course developers should carefully consider the methods that best align with the audience, resource constraints and specific outcomes included in the course. Methods other than those listed may be best suited for a specific learning or assessment situation.



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## Block 1 Insurgency

### Description

Insurgencies are complex political-military conflicts that require detailed analysis to be clearly understood and countered. Without a comprehensive understanding of what constitutes an insurgency it will be difficult for any external forces attempting to lend support to devise and implement a successful COIN strategy. The key to understanding an insurgency in a given operational environment rests on the ability to analyse the conditions, motivations, and characteristics of this type of political-military conflict. This analysis must include an examination of the following things: dynamics of an insurgency; strategic aims and methods used by insurgents; political, ideological, social, and military instruments used to achieve their goals; and potential vulnerabilities/weaknesses to be exploited by those working to mitigate the insurgency. This analysis should also provide insights into the potential vulnerabilities of the insurgency that can be turned into the COIN actions and activities by a host nation government and supporting external partners to defeat the insurgents. In this block the Malayan Insurgency, also called the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960, is used to provide illustrative vignettes to assist in understanding the nature of insurgency. The Malayan Emergency is further explored as a COIN case study in Appendixes B and C.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Define insurgency.
- 2) Describe the nature of an insurgency.
- 3) Describe potential grievances and prerequisites for an insurgency.
- 4) Provide examples of the nine dynamics of an insurgency and their sub-components.
- 5) Describe insurgent strategies.
- 6) Describe the primary activities used to achieve insurgent goals.
- 7) Explain the potential vulnerabilities of insurgent movements.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, debates, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions and debates

followed by either written assignments, case study briefings or knowledge tests.

### References

- Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>
- Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume 1. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv1.pdf>
- Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume II. Revised edition. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv2.pdf>
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## Module 1.1 Definition of Insurgency

### Description

Knowledge of the components of commonly accepted definitions of insurgency is an important first step in understanding this complex political-military form of conflict. To determine what is and what is not, an insurgency demands an analysis of its elements. The NATO COIN doctrine defines insurgency as the actions of an organised, often ideologically motivated group or movement that seeks to effect or prevent political change of a governing authority within a region. Additionally, insurgencies focus on persuading and/or coercing the population through the use of violence and subversion. Given this definition, an insurgency must, as a minimum, include three elements: (1) actions or activities by an organised group; (2) a goal of some form of political change over a ruling regime; and (3) the use of violence or subversive activity. All three components are necessary for a conflict to be an insurgency.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Define insurgency.
- 2) Analyse the three subordinate elements described in the definition of insurgency.
- 3) Describe the nature of insurgency as a distinct form of warfare.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) What are the key sub-elements in the definition of an insurgency?
- b) In addition to the NATO definition of COIN provided above, are there other definitions of insurgency? Do they have additional or different components?
- c) Compare conventional conflict to an insurgency. What are the differences and what are the similarities?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume 1. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv1.pdf>. Section I Southeast Asia “The Revolution in Malaya, 1948-1957”

Galula, David. Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. Westport: Praeger Security International, 1964. Chapter 1.

O’Neill, Bard E. Insurgency and Terrorism, 2nd Edition. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2005. Chapter 2.

### A Classic Insurgency: Malaya: 1948-1960

(This portion of the vignette illustrates the nature, definition and key sub-elements of an insurgency.)

*In the summer of 1948, after three years of increased criminal activity and acts of small-scale terrorism, the level of anti-government activity and organised violence against the government constituted a rebellion against British rule and the proposed plan for the Malaya colony to transition to independence. The Malayan Communist Party (MCP) with its military component, the Malayan Races Liberation Army (MRLA), and its supporting mass civilian auxiliary, the Min Yuen, coalesced into a revolt against the ruling colonial power. The MCP and its military component, supported predominantly by the Chinese ethnic population, had gained valuable experience in guerrilla operations in Malaya fighting against the Japanese during World War II. After 1945, this minority group felt increasingly disenfranchised as Malaya moved toward its promised sovereignty. The period of actual fighting conducted by battalion or regimental sized guerrilla forces was most intense in 1952-1953 as units from the United Kingdom and British Commonwealth countries were deployed to Malaya to quell the rising violence and support the local Malayan military and paramilitary units in their counterinsurgency efforts.*

*By 1957, the insurgency was under control and an independent Federation of Malaya was established. However, low level insurgent activity and terrorism directed by the communist ideologues continued until 1960.*



Men of the Malay Police Field Force wade along a river during a jungle patrol in the Temenggor area of northern Malaya.

## Module 1.2 Conditions for Insurgency

### Description

A functioning state enjoys a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within its territory. It is thus an exceptional situation where this prerogative is significantly challenged by other forces within the country. Therefore, it is necessary to examine some of the common factors that precipitate the rise of an organised and violent challenge to the established authority. There are several core grievances, including those based on identity, religion and economics (to name only three), that can help provide the genesis of an insurgent movement. However, these grievances alone are usually not sufficient to spark an uprising. There are three prerequisites that are critical elements to build and sustain an insurgent movement: (1) vulnerable population; (2) leadership direction; and (3) lack of government control. A combination of a shared perception of grievances and a situation where the other three prerequisites exist can provide the conditions for an insurgency to emerge and grow.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Examine common grievances in a population or society that could provide the impetus for an insurgency to emerge.
- 2) Discuss the three prerequisites for an insurgency.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) What are some grievances that helped spark recent or ongoing insurgencies?
- b) What are some of the characteristics of a vulnerable population in a recent or ongoing insurgency?
- c) Discuss some past or present insurgent leaders and why they were effective.
- d) What are some characteristics of a weak or ineffective government?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume 1. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv1.pdf>. Section I Southeast Asia "The Revolution in Malaya, 1948-1957".

O'Neill, Bard E. *Insurgency and Terrorism*, 2nd Edition. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2005. Chapter 2.

### Conditions for Insurgency in Malaya

(This portion of the vignette illustrates the three elements of an insurgency.)

*The grievances and prerequisites for an insurgency were clearly present in Malaya in the late 1940s. The ethnic Chinese who comprised about 40% of the population of the country were systematically denied a political voice in the emerging national government by the majority ethnic Malay elites, despite attempts by the British authorities to form a more representative government. Social and cultural divisions in the Chinese and Malay communities were further aggravated by their religious differences (Islam versus Chinese Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian traditions), and Chinese dominance of key sectors of the domestic economy. The Chinese themselves were divided ideologically in their support for the Chinese Nationalist and Communist governments established in 1949 on the Mainland and Taiwan. Prejudice toward the Chinese by the majority Malays who assumed greater political power under the terms of independence from Britain created specific grievances among a vulnerable population who were not well integrated into Malay society and were subject to deportation back to China.*

*The MCP and the communist-led Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) had worked with the British during WWII and had developed a viable political organisation with a strong leadership cadre that facilitated the post-war insurgency effort among the Chinese in a time of political and social turbulence as it transitioned from colonial rule.*



Workers on a rubber plantation in Malaya travel to work under the protection of Special Constables.

## Module 1.3 Dynamics of Insurgency

### Description

No two insurgencies are alike; however, they have certain common characteristics that are called dynamics in the NATO COIN doctrine. Understanding and being able to assess these unique dynamics are critical to creating a strategy to defeat an insurgency. For the most part, these dynamics are not classic military variables that would be analysed as part of an enemy order of battle. Instead these dynamics tend to be social, economic, political, ideological and contingent in nature. Although not exhaustive, some primary characteristics of an insurgency are as follows:

- 1) ideology;
- 2) cause and insurgent narrative;
- 3) internal support;
- 4) objective;
- 5) leadership;
- 6) environment and geography;
- 7) external support;
- 8) phasing and timing;
- 9) organisational and operational patterns.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe the nine dynamics of insurgency.
- 2) Explain how these dynamics are critical to the formation of an insurgency.
- 3) Analyse how these dynamics influence the success or failure of the counterinsurgency effort.

### Issues for Considerations

- a) What role does ideology play in an insurgency?
- b) How important is the cause in an insurgency?
- c) Discuss the levels and types of internal popular support.
- d) What role do the aims or objectives of the insurgency play?
- e) What makes a charismatic insurgent leader? Name some of the most famous insurgent leaders.
- f) What characteristics of geography and environment generally favour the insurgent?
- g) Discuss the various types of external support potentially available to an insurgent group.
- h) Discuss the different sources of external support available to an insurgency.

- i) Discuss the phases of an insurgency and why understanding the timing and phasing of an insurgency is critical for the government's COIN effort.
- j) What are the six types of elements that make up the membership of an insurgent organisation?
- k) What five functional areas are key to the operational activities of an insurgent group?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume 1. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv1.pdf>. Section I Southeast Asia "The Revolution in Malaya, 1948-1957".

O'Neill, Bard E. *Insurgency and Terrorism*, 2nd Edition. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2005. Chapters 2 and 3.

## Dynamics of the Insurgency in Malaya

(This analysis of the Malayan “Emergency” provides examples of the key dynamics of an insurgency.)

*The driving ideological underpinning of the Malayan insurgents was communism. The basic cause that drove the predominately ethnic Chinese insurgents was independence from a colonial power and a meaningful role in the new government. This was supported within the country by the majority of Chinese and by the Min Yuen auxiliary. This included some of the Indian minority population as well. The objective was the establishment of a form of government not dominated by the Malay ethnic elites in which they could participate fully. The leadership of the insurgency began to emerge in the 1930s as Chinese living in Malaya formed political factions and labour movements. This movement expanded and became more organised during the war with Japan, ironically with the help the British government and military. The jungle environment of Malaya provided a natural sanctuary for guerrilla units within the country. The shared border with Thailand, allowed an external sanctuary to exist until Thai and Malay forces began to cooperate in counter-guerrilla operations. The newly established communist People’s Republic of China provided very limited external resources including funding, arms and military equipment, but did provide extensive ideological, moral and psychological support for this “War of National Liberation.” The insurgent movement was planned to be carried out in three phases: 1. Weaken British Forces and their allies; 2. Drive the counterinsurgency forces back into the urban areas; and, 3. Expand guerrilla bases and insurgent recruiting to facilitate the complete control of Malaya. The pattern of organisation and operations were activities by guerrilla units of increasing size. Over time these units would expand in size and be able to conduct operations including small-scale raids and sabotage, destruction of economic enterprises to include rubber plantations, terror attacks to scare off the workers, and attacks on British and Malay military units.*



Police talking to an old Malayan who may have information about the communist bandits in the area.

## Module 1.4 Insurgent Strategies

### Description

Insurgent groups may use different approaches at different times to take advantage of the varying circumstances of the operational environment or to react to changes in the government's counterinsurgency strategy. There are several of these strategies or models that have been observed in the past and continue to be used by insurgent groups today. Bard O'Neill defines strategy as the systematic, integrated and orchestrated use of various instruments of power (diplomatic, informational, economic and military) to achieve goals. The use of these strategies no matter how imperfect or improvised provide the insurgent leadership an overarching model for its members to follow. These six strategies are:

- 1) conspiratorial;
- 2) military-focused;
- 3) urban;
- 4) protracted popular;
- 5) identify-focused;
- 6) composite.

### Learning Objective

- 1) Describe the six strategic insurgency models.
- 2) Explain the most important factors defining these distinct models.
- 3) Compare and contrast the key elements of these models.

### Issues for Considerations:

- a) Describe the approach used in a conspiratorial insurgent strategy.
- b) What role do conventional armed forces play in the implementation of a military-focused approach?
- c) What role does terrorism play in the urban model?
- d) Discuss the three phases of the protracted popular warfare model?
- e) Why is the identity-focused approach more common in the contemporary security environment?
- f) Discuss why an insurgent leadership group might change or use a combination of strategies over time.

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

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O'Neill, Bard E. *Insurgency and Terrorism*, 2nd Edition. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2005. Chapter 3.

### Insurgent Strategy in Malaya

(This example shows one of the strategies, the protracted popular strategy used in Malaya.)

*This political-military conflict was a classic communist protracted struggle led by the MCP and planned in several phases over an extended period of time. The insurgent strategy was to exhaust the enemy forces (the British military and their allies) making them vulnerable to military defeat or worn down enough to cause them to abandon their Malay allies or seek a negotiated settlement. In this case, after more than a decade of trying, the guerrilla forces were unable to produce a military defeat or gain political legitimacy. The insurgent movement could not overcome its weaknesses and vulnerabilities.*



Local guards from the Senoi tribe at Fort Kemar, protecting the local population from raids by communist guerrillas.

## Module 1.5 Insurgent Vulnerabilities

### Description

The past successes of insurgencies and examples ongoing today demonstrate the difficulty of countering this type of conflict. Some insurgencies are defeated while others conclude in international-led negotiations as insurgent groups become part of the normal political process. In instances where insurgencies have failed, counterinsurgents have been able to exploit some or all of the common insurgent vulnerabilities including:

- 1) security and secrecy;
- 2) decentralisation;
- 3) inconsistency of insurgent narrative;
- 4) insurgent propaganda;
- 5) need to establish a base of operations (sanctuaries);
- 6) reliance on both internal and external support;
- 7) economic or financial weakness;
- 8) internal division or factionalised leadership.

### Learning Objective

- 1) Describe insurgent vulnerabilities.
- 2) Explain the difficulties for counterinsurgents to attack these vulnerabilities.

### Issues for Considerations:

- a) Describe the insurgent problem of remaining covert and conducting key recruitment and support activities.
- b) What are some of the methods of isolating insurgents from the general population?
- c) Describe potential insurgent command and control issues.
- d) What is a narrative?
- e) What is the role of propaganda in an insurgency?
- f) How important is a safe and secure sanctuary to insurgent operations?
- g) Discuss the importance of external support?
- h) How are insurgencies funded?
- i) Is the decapitation of insurgent leadership a viable COIN strategy?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

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Galula, David. Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. Westport: Praeger Security International, 1964. Chapter 7

O’Neill, Bard E. Insurgency and Terrorism, 2nd Edition. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2005. Chapter 8.

### Insurgent Vulnerabilities in Malaya

(This vignette illustrates some of the vulnerabilities of the insurgency.)

*The insurgency in Malaya was conducted or supported by about one-third of the identifiable Chinese minority population. Enough Chinese remained loyal to the government or were turned to make it relatively easy for the COIN forces to infiltrate the insurgent movement. The MCP had virtually no external support and the internal sources were isolated especially when the New Village program was implemented to improve the lives of the rural Chinese. An additional vulnerability was an inconsistent grand narrative because as Malaysians were granted independence from Britain the communist anti-colonial rhetoric was no longer effective. Militarily, the insurgents suffered difficulties in recruiting and problems with jungle sanctuaries that were difficult to supply and subject to both air and ground attacks. In addition, there were leadership issues early in the movement as Chin Peng replaced Loi Tok who defected in 1947. Loi Tok fled with MCP funds which added significantly to the financial woes of the movement. Even with these vulnerabilities the MCP was able to continue the insurgency for more than a decade.*



Two suspected communist terrorists after capture by a Malayan Police patrol in the jungle.

## Module 1.6 Insurgent Activities to Achieve Their Goals

### Description

Although insurgencies are at times difficult and intractable to contain and defeat, using the appropriate mix of strategies, resolve and local reforms makes it possible to resolve the insurgency. The COIN effort must address the primary activities used by the insurgents. Typically, there are numerous primary activities employed by insurgents and they must be front and centre in any strategy to contain and attenuate most insurgencies. The activities include:

- 1) non-violent activities (boycotts, demonstrations occupation of government buildings);
- 2) violent activities (Actions of armed elements, terrorism, and kidnappings);
- 3) national and international propaganda;
- 4) social assistance;
- 5) political activism;
- 6) relationships with insurgent groups in other countries.

### Learning Objective

- 1) Discuss the key insurgent activities for achieving their goals.
- 2) Explain the strengths and weakness of the violent activities available to the insurgents.
- 3) Describe how political activism and social assistance aid the insurgent movement.
- 4) Outline how propaganda and cooperation among insurgent networks and key international actors assists the insurgents.

### Issues for Considerations:

- a) How do insurgent groups use violence to further their goals?
- b) What is the role of propaganda in an insurgency?
- c) Identify some forms of social assistance insurgents might employ to win support.
- d) How do insurgents conduct political activities in support of their efforts?
- e) Describe how insurgent groups might “go international.”

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

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## Insurgent Activities in Malaya

(This example shows several activities used by insurgents in Malaya.)

*The MCP initially used labour unrest and urban riots beginning in 1946 to organise against the government. These activities reached a peak in 1948 when the British announced the "Emergency." The MRLA then began a program of ambushes, assassinations, sabotage, terrorist activity, and raids on police stations. This escalated to attacks on deployed British forces. In addition to the violent activities, the MCP continued its propaganda effort to increase its logistical support and assist its recruiting efforts among the Chinese population. In a parallel effort, pro-communist elements gained support in legal political parties and labour unions. This resulted in increased participation in representative organisations. When the movement began in the late 1940s, both China and the Soviet Union were active in supporting Wars of National Liberation and Communist organisations worldwide. In addition, Communist supported insurgencies were active in Korea, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Ideological and moral support increased with the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October of 1949. There was a high level of international support for anti-colonial efforts, especially in Asia.*



Leaflet dropped on Malayan Communist Forces in 1953. Chinese text reads: "If any member of the Malayan Communist Party is able to leave the jungle and bring out a Bren gun, or able to lead the Peace Keeping Forces to unearth a hidden Bren gun that he or she knows about, he will be eligible for a \$1,000 reward. Receive a \$1,000 reward to start a new life!".



## Block 2 Principles and Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency

### Description

Insurgency and counterinsurgency are “wars amongst the people,” therefore their political and military aspects cannot be separated as clearly as those of conventional warfare. Every political decision will influence the planning and conduct of operations, and affect the behaviour of the security forces. Every military operation (successfully or otherwise) will have serious political consequences on the political and legal environment.

External powers may assist a host nation to focus its resources and capabilities on fighting a counterinsurgency, or they may deploy their forces to fight the insurgency directly. In either case, certain principles will be relevant to operations. These principles supplement, but do not replace the principles that apply to all allied joint and multinational operations. Counterinsurgency is also subject to some paradoxes, procedures that have been generally accepted and practiced for centuries in conventional warfare that may be counterproductive in counterinsurgency. Instead of producing positive results, their application may harm the cause of the host nation government and the counterinsurgent forces.

It is important to keep in mind from the outset that neither the principles, nor the paradoxes are discrete, separate items in a checklist. They are interdependent, supporting and reinforcing, - and occasionally contradicting each other. Any action by the government is likely to involve several principles and paradoxes at one time. Neither the principles nor the paradoxes are rigid rules that are prescriptively applied to an operation. Rather, they are guidelines for the planners to think about as they plan and execute counterinsurgency operations. This section addresses these principles and paradoxes as well as the two basic approaches to COIN.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Describe the counterinsurgency principles and paradoxes recognized in the NATO doctrine.
- 2) Describe the two fundamental approaches to COIN.
- 3) Apply the principles based on the conditions of the operational environment.
- 4) Recognize and reconcile the contradictions between the generally recognized principles of war and those of counterinsurgency.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, debates, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions and debates followed by either written assignments, case study briefings or knowledge tests.

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## **Principles and Paradoxes in the Hukbalahap Insurgency in the Philippines, 1946-1954**

(This vignette provides the background on this insurgency that will be used to illustrate some of the principles and paradoxes of COIN in the following modules.)

*World War II left the Philippines in ruins. The devastating campaigns of American and Japanese armies, and Japanese reprisals for guerrilla operations decimated the population and destroyed much of the country's infrastructure. The United States (the colonial power) granted independence to its erstwhile colony on July 4 1946, but the euphoria of independence soon dissipated as the new government proved inadequate to the tasks of reconstruction and drifted into incompetence and corruption. These conditions created a unique opportunity for the Communist Party of the Philippines to seize power.*

*The communists had emerged from the war with a highly effective armed force, the Hukbalahap (Hukko ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon – People's Army against the Japanese – colloquially known as Huks). They also had a cause. Their “land for the landless” slogan promised to reform the archaic agricultural system that kept the rural population in virtual indentured servitude and perpetuated the disparity between the wealthy and the poor. The average Philippine peasant had little understanding of Marxist ideology, but he did understand the idea of having a secure title to his own land.*

*The insurgency started shortly after the Japanese withdrawal, when the communists saw themselves squeezed out of political influence. Initially, the insurgency achieved significant gains due primarily to mistakes committed by the Philippine government and the security forces. After a reorganization of the security forces in 1950, appropriate policies were put in place that resulted in reduced popular support to the Huks. The insurgency came to an end in 1954.*

## Module 2.1 Population-centric and Enemy-centric COIN

### Description

This module addresses the two primary approaches to counterinsurgency: enemy-centric and population-centric. The first priority for population-centric COIN is winning the support of the local population. Ideally, the government provides physical security, good governance and economic opportunities, addresses the grievances that led to the insurgency, and thereby wins the population's support. These actions prevent or seriously hamper insurgent recruitment among the population, and at the same time deprive the insurgents of their cause. Gradually the insurgency becomes irrelevant and withers away.

Enemy-centric COIN theory holds that the government's main focus must be the destruction of the enemy. Once the insurgent forces have been eliminated, economic development and improvements in governance can proceed. In practice, elements of the two approaches are used together. Security must be established by defeating local insurgent forces before people-centric COIN policies can be put into effect. Conversely, even the most severe enemy-centric COIN campaign will have population-centric elements. NATO's current COIN doctrine emphasizes the population-centric aspects of COIN. In this module, students will examine the background and the most common tactics, techniques and procedures of the two approaches.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe the historical, political, social and economic background behind the development of the two primary counterinsurgency approaches.
- 2) Describe the fundamental principles of each counterinsurgency approach.
- 3) Identify the most common Tactics, Techniques, Procedures (TTPs) of each approach.
- 4) Analyse how the elements of the two approaches can be mixed to create the foundations for a winning campaign strategy.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) Both enemy-centric and population-centric counterinsurgency methods have achieved some notable successes and some spectacular failures. In light of this, is NATO's emphasis on population-centric COIN appropriate in all situations?

- b) What are some of the factors that influence a government to apply one or the other approach?
- c) What social/cultural factors contribute to selecting an approach?
- d) How do Commanders determine the appropriate mix of population-centric and enemy-centric policies and TTPs?
- e) How may an unsuccessful combination of the two approaches be corrected?

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U.S. Government counterinsurgency Guide, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, 2009. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/119629.pdf>. Pages 12-15.

## Counterinsurgency Approaches in the Philippines

(This example illustrates how the Philippine security forces adjusted their counterinsurgency approach.)

*Initially the Philippine security forces were not trained to fight an insurgency and relied on heavy-handed tactics to compensate for their lack of skill. They carried out firepower intensive conventional operations, large unit sweeps and destructive raids against the Huks, and treated the rural population as potential enemies. In their hunt for subversives they often resorted to indiscriminate abuse, including torture of civilians. As a result of this enemy-centric COIN strategy, support for the Huks increased significantly. At the height of its power (1949-1950) the movement claimed 15,000 guerrillas and a million sympathizers. The Philippine government came close to defeat.*

*In mid-1950s, a reorganisation of the armed forces and police reorganisation their discipline and accountability. COIN procedures that focused on engaging the insurgents without collateral damage to civilians were developed. The security forces also began to engage the civilians as fellow citizens and potential allies rather than as potential enemies. Security forces provided adequate local security, assisted in public works projects, and opened their medical clinics to local civilians. At the same time, new government policies (especially a land-distribution programme) addressed poverty and land ownership, the core grievances that served as the drivers of the insurgency. This shift to a people-centric COIN strategy turned the situation around and gradually drained away the Huks' popular support.*



Philippine constabulary patrol.

## Module 2.2 NATO Principles of COIN

### Description

Over time nations have adopted various sets of principles to defeat insurgencies. While French doctrine recognizes five principles, the United States, United Kingdom and Canadian doctrines contain ten principles, most of which are nearly identical. NATO's counterinsurgency doctrine integrates these into nine principles. The purpose of this module, the most important part in this block, is to introduce, discuss and explain NATO's nine COIN principles.

The nine principles are:

- 1) political primacy;
- 2) develop and promote the legitimacy of the contested government;
- 3) hand over responsibility to the local forces as soon as practicable;
- 4) secure the population;
- 5) understand the human environment;
- 6) defeat the insurgent armed forces;
- 7) operate within international, national law and respect domestic law;
- 8) prepare for a protracted campaign;
- 9) learn and adapt quickly.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe the NATO doctrine's COIN principles.
- 2) Identify the relationships between counterinsurgency's political and military aspects reflected in the principles.
- 3) Describe the importance of constantly balancing all principles.
- 4) Identify the risks inherent in violating (intentionally or unintentionally) one or more of the principles.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How are the alliance's core values expressed in NATO's counterinsurgency doctrine?
- b) How can the principles in NATO's doctrine be reconciled with those of national COIN and conventional conflict doctrines?
- c) How can the principles presented in a doctrinal publication be reconciled with, and applied to the actual situation on the ground?
- d) How is the population-centric approach to counter-

insurgency reflected in NATO's principles?

- e) How can the alliance's values, the host nation's national social values, and the NATO COIN principles be reconciled?
- f) How can the principles help the counterinsurgent recover from the consequences of erroneous decisions?
- g) How can military forces trained in conventional warfare quickly adapt to the special requirements of counterinsurgency?
- h) How can the counterinsurgent reconcile the requirements of a common doctrine with the need to learn and adapt quickly?

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## Counterinsurgency Principles in the Philippines

(The following examples from the Hukbalahap insurgency and the Philippine government's COIN operations illustrate some of the COIN principles.)

*Initially, the security forces sought to end the insurgency by defeating the Huks' armed forces in the field, without concern for the dignity, property or security of the rural population. As a result the population was stuck between the two sides, the government and the Huks demanded loyalty, and both resorted to coercion to elicit it. The armed forces behaved as foreign occupiers, treated the civilian population as potential guerrilla supporters rather than fellow citizens, and often extorted supplies and money. Their behaviour violated the principles of securing the population and operating within the law, and negatively affected the legitimacy of the contested government.*

*The focus on military success answered the principle of defeating the insurgent, but since it was not supplemented by actions that served the interests of the population, it violated the principle of political primacy. Military operations achieved limited success, and the insurgents became stronger because the government failed to address the key drivers of the insurgency: desperate poverty and desire for land.*

*In 1950 under the leadership of the new Secretary of Defense (Ramón Magsaysay), the armed forces were reorganized, discipline was tightened, and new tactics, techniques and procedures were introduced. The armed forces started to provide reliable local security and local self-defence militias were organized to supplement security. Abuses of the civilian population were punished, corruption was reduced, and focused operations reduced collateral casualties. These actions implemented the principles of securing the population, defeating the insurgent, and operating within the law; their success resulted in promoting the legitimacy of the government.*

*Corruption, inefficiency, bribery and intimidation had come to dominate Philippine politics soon after independence, and public confidence in the political processes diminished. In order to restore that confidence, the armed forces were deployed to guarantee the fairness of the elections in 1951 and 1953. Army units provided security at political rallies, and protected the candidates. Military communications systems were used to disseminate vote counts as quickly as possible in order to prevent*

*ballot stuffing and fraudulent counts. The public perceived these measures as guarantees of the honesty and transparency of the elections. The legitimacy of the government was strengthened and the people's confidence in the security forces also increased.*

*A number of non-military programs were also introduced in order to supplement military operations. When they were not out on operations against the Huks, army units repaired roads and bridges, built schools, provided basic medical services to rural communities, and military lawyers offered free legal assistance to those too poor to afford professional legal advice in their disputes.*

*One of the new programs, the Economic Development Corps (EDCOR), was particularly successful in draining away both popular support and manpower from the Huks. Guerrillas who surrendered were offered 10-15 hectares of land at a fair price, and received start-up loans at a reasonable interest rate. Later the program was also made available to farmers who were willing to relocate to newly established settlements. Many of the new settlements were deep in "Huk country," providing a counter narrative to Huk propaganda as well as a secure alternative to life under the rebels. EDCOR took the wind out of the Huks' most important sail: "land for the landless" was a promise in the uncertain future, while EDCOR's 10-15 hectares were concrete reality. Even some senior guerrilla leaders defected to take advantage of the amnesty and participate in the program.*

*During the early years of the insurgency the operations of the armed forces failed to degrade the Huks' strength. The situation changed significantly only when military reforms began to take effect and new tactics were developed. There was a gradual shift away from large unit sweeps to small unit operations and commando-type deep penetration raids. The employment of special operations forces (often disguised as insurgents) was particularly effective in drawing out and defeating Huk forces. A new government policy, "all-out friendship or all-out force" was also put in place in 1950. The policy combined incentives (EDCOR's land distribution program, economic and political reform, as well as amnesty for surrendering Huks) with coercion (military operations). This offered clear alternatives: give up the struggle and engage in peaceful commercial pursuits that could bring a measure of prosperity, or fight a losing battle against a government that was becoming stronger every day. The combination of relentless, skilfully applied force and clear*

*incentives to give up the struggle answered the principles of defeating the insurgent and political primacy: the military strength of the guerrilla forces was gradually eroded and their popular support drained away until they had no choice but to give up the struggle.*

*Magsaysay's reforms, which were the direct result of a correct understanding of the human environment, restored the balance between political actions and military operations. As the government was seen not only to promise to address the people's grievances, but actually introduced policies that worked, the people responded in kind, and transferred their support from the Huks to the government.*

*The Philippine government, as well as the security forces made plenty of mistakes in the course of the campaign, and began to achieve notable successes only when they satisfied the principle of learning and adapting quickly. They had to learn the best COIN practices by trial and error, and they switched from purely enemy-centric operations to a mix of enemy-centric and people-centric policies only when they were already close to defeat. At the tactical level, especially in the employment of special operations forces, the learning and adaptation process was exemplary, but at the operational strategic and political levels it was slower than it should have been.*

*Throughout the campaign the United States assisted the Philippine government with funds, equipment, training and advisors, but did not deploy combat troops. The American presence was visible, but since there were no Americans directly involved in the fighting, their influence did not serve to detract from the legitimacy of the government, an all too frequent phenomenon when the government has to rely on foreign military support. As a result, handing over responsibility to local forces as soon as practicable was not an issue in the Philippines.*



Minister of Defence Magsaysay and U.S. adviser Edward Lonsdale.

## Module 2.3 Paradoxes of COIN

### Description

The counterinsurgency operational environment is very complex, but it is different than traditional warfare because counterinsurgency requires a different way of thinking. The paradoxes presented below are examples of the different mind-set required for military units to be successful in COIN. These paradoxes presented here are intended to stimulate the thinking of those charged with conducting a counterinsurgency. They are not intended to be applicable in all cases, and the list itself is not exhaustive.

- 1) The more you protect a force, the less secure you may be.
- 2) The more force is used, the less effective it may be.
- 3) The more successful a counterinsurgency operation is, the less force can be used and the more risk must be accepted.
- 4) If a tactic works today, it might not be the case on the following days; if it works in a given area, it might not work in another area.
- 5) Tactical success alone guarantees nothing.
- 6) Doing nothing may be the best reaction.
- 7) Some of the counterinsurgent's most appropriate weapons do not shoot.
- 8) The host nation doing something tolerably is often better than the external security force doing it very well.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Identify the limitations of conventional warfare TTPs in counterinsurgency and some contradictions between the principles of counterinsurgency.
- 2) Explain the benefits and risks of operating amid the people versus establishing overly restrictive force protection policies.
- 3) Identify potential effects of "collateral damage" and ways to avoid excessive force, prevent collateral damage, and maintain security.
- 4) Describe why military successes must be linked with economic, social and political measures.
- 5) Explain the potential consequences of the counterinsurgent overreaction to insurgent provocations.
- 6) Describe the importance of developing host nation capabilities and the advantages of turning over responsibility to host nation forces.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) What are the potential consequences of ignoring COIN's paradoxes?
- b) How may counterinsurgents develop the judgment to determine the adequate level of force needed in a particular situation?
- c) How can a Commander instil restraint in his subordinates?
- d) What are the possible consequences of Rules Of Engagement (ROEs) remaining unchanged as the security situation improves?
- e) How can tactical actions (whether successful or not) undermine or support the host nation's political goals?
- f) How can counterinsurgents avoid overreaction to insurgent provocation and use the provocation against the insurgent?
- g) How can non-kinetic activities be conducted in an unsecured environment?
- h) What are the risks of the external counterinsurgent forces operating without input from the host nation government?
- i) What are the key capabilities and institutions the host nation must develop before it can take over the counterinsurgency effort?

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## Counterinsurgency Paradoxes in the Philippines

(The following paragraphs illustrates some of the paradoxes of COIN observed in the Hukbalahap insurgency. The reference material contains additional examples.)

### 2. *The more force is used, the less effective it may be*

*Early in the conflict the security forces entered unfamiliar areas with weapons at the ready, as invaders in a hostile country. They routinely treated the local population as potential enemies. When they managed to find Huk forces, they engaged them using conventional, firepower intensive tactics, which produced collateral casualties among the civilians. These practices alienated the population, increased support for the Huks, and increased the very dangers the soldiers were trying to avoid.*

### 3. *The more successful a counterinsurgency operation is, the less force can be used and the more risk must be accepted*

*Special operations were particularly effective against the Huks. Small teams of the security forces were trained to look, speak, and behave as guerrillas, and were infiltrated into Huk areas. They gathered information, made contact with genuine Huk forces, engaged them and called in stronger units to kill, or capture the survivors. The special operations teams achieved operational successes that far exceeded their unit size and firepower.*

### 4. *If a tactic works today, it might not be the case on the following days; if it works in a given area, it might not work in another one*

*Information about the nature of the special operations teams was quickly disseminated among Huk units. In order to remain successful, tactical details, targets, operational areas had to be constantly changed. The security forces stayed ahead of the Huks, and special operations units (Nenita, X-Force, Charlie Company) became true chameleons. They could blend into any environment, from the jungle to rural community to big city slum.*

### 7. *Some of the counterinsurgent's most appropriate weapons do not shoot*

*Deploying the armed forces on non-military tasks (public works projects, mobile clinics, security for national elections), and launching government programs that directly*

*addressed the core grievances of the population (land-ownership and poverty) reduced the popular support for the Huk far faster than battlefield successes.*



Luis Taruc, HUK leader addressing a meeting.





## Block 3 Operational Environment

### Description

NATO defines the operational environment as “a composite of the conditions, circumstances and influences that affect the employment of the capabilities and bear on the decisions of the commander.”

Conventional military tasks, such as the defeat of other conventional forces or the seizure of terrain, are generally confined to force-on-force engagements. Commanders in conventional operational environments are concerned with tactics, deployment of forces, the ability to mass and shift fires, and the ability to sustain and move their forces. Civilians are either not considered at all, or are viewed as either impediments or aids to the movement of forces and supplies. The COIN operational environment is much more complex, requiring consideration of and involvement with civilian populations. A commander in a COIN environment does not “win” when he seizes terrain or defeats an enemy army. Rather, his work is just beginning. A commander who does not analyse and engage with the operational environment will soon have cause to view that environment itself as an enemy.

Commanders must deal with the operational environment they are faced with, not the one they wish they had. Strategies and tactics which would be effective in one environment may be counterproductive in a different one. Commanders and leaders must be constantly attuned to changes and variations in the operational environment and must adjust their lines of effort accordingly. This block will introduce students to the assessment and categorization of the operational environment of COIN and how the factors of the operational environment affect COIN operation.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Identify the elements of a stable state and apply them to a COIN situation.
- 2) Identify the elements of state instability and apply them to a COIN situation.
- 3) Define and analyse the operational environment.
- 4) Identify the components of the operational environment and apply them to a COIN situation.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions, debates followed by either written assignments or knowledge tests.

### References/Readings

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## Module 3.1 Elements of a Stable State

### Description

A state, at its most basic level, is a political organisation which exercises legitimate control over a defined set of lands. Strong states exercise more control and can provide more services such as security and education. A stable state is a product of the interaction between security, economic and infrastructure development, governance, and the rule of law. Weak states struggle to control their territory and provide services to their inhabitants.

Understanding the elements of a stable state is crucial to understanding insurgency because the failure of these elements leads to the insurgency. When a state becomes unable to govern all of its sovereign territory it is likely to attract irregular activists because they see an opportunity to operate unchecked by the government. The key factor of state governance is the relationship between the governing and governed. In most cases if this relationship degrades, the government will likely be challenged, possibly leading to irregular activity.

### The factors of a stable state are:

Security. Security is a broad topic which covers a variety of fields. It is defined as freedom from persecution, want and fear. The limits of security are bounded only by the ambitions of man. For example, education can be considered an element of security. Component of security include:

- Human security is the security of individuals and their culture including freedom from physical attack and outside domination. It also involves the things people need to sustain life, such as food and water.
- Personal security refers to the component of security which protects individuals from attacks and systemic violence.
- National security is the traditional understanding of security, and refers to the ability of states to exercise sovereignty.
- Physical security is the part of national security which protects infrastructure and critical installations.

Economic and Infrastructure Development. This refers to the economic and physical infrastructure needed to sustain the needs and expectations of the population. Because different populations have different expectations, this will vary in different parts of the world. Development should be suited to the operational environment, and should be constantly checked for adequacy and appropriateness.

Governance and rule of law. People expect the structures of a stable state to resolve issues in an impartial or at least predictable manner. These structures may be legal, governmental, social or tribal, but they should be common, acknowledged as legitimate, and generate a predictable outcome within each populace group. This predictability contributes to a feeling of security in the dispensation of justice.

Societal relationships. The three elements above make up the competencies of the stable state. The societal relationships, however, determine if the state is stable. If the elements are present but are not broadly consistent with the societal relationships, then the state is unstable.

Enduring political settlement which is widely accepted. In a stable state, the elements of the state are brought together in a manner consistent with societal relationships, and are then institutionalized as the result of a political settlement. This settlement gives the force of law and the power of the state to the societal relationships, and thus advances the elements of the state in a manner which meets with the acceptance of all within the state. In the absence of the other elements, the political settlement will not function.

All of these elements interact with each other; all are needed for stability. The breakdown of any element may lead to instability and an insurgency.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Define the factors of a stable state.
- 2) Assess the importance of a stable state to COIN.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) What elements of a stable state are most important in a given COIN environment?
- b) How can security forces help a government improve or detract from the elements of a stable state?
- c) Can an insurgency exist in a stable state?

### References/Readings

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## Module 3.2 Elements of State Instability

### Description

If any of the elements of a state are degraded or eroded, whether through corruption, external attack, natural disaster or any other factor, then other elements of the state may erode thereby weakening the political settlement and the legitimacy of the state. Once the political settlement is degraded and state legitimacy declines, the conditions exist for an insurgency.

Factors of instability are varied, and tend to occur together rather than in isolation. However, one factor (if sufficiently large) can destabilise an entire state. Conditions tend to spiral downward until they are comprehensively addressed.

### The factors of state instability:

**Economic factors.** These factors can lead to economic weakness or even collapse, which then makes a state difficult to govern and ripe for insurgency. Economic collapse is usually accompanied by the degradation or destruction of infrastructure, the rise of black markets and the concurrent inability of government to collect revenue, increasing unemployment and aid dependency, and a vulnerability to humanitarian events such as a natural disaster.

**State fragility.** The most common aspect of state fragility is corruption or inefficiency, which is almost always present in governments suffering insurgencies and undermines the basic function of a state. A breakdown in state or social legitimacy, which can be due to governmental or social factors such as perceived domination of government by one ethnic or social group, is another factor which contributes to state fragility. Finally, a state where other groups such as clans or militias exercise force in a way that is accepted by some of the populace is a fragile state and can easily be challenged by an insurgency.

**Social disintegration or national fragmentation.** If the members of a state find their social systems challenged or destroyed, or the state increasingly defines itself in national and ethnic terms, then the state is ripe for an insurgency.

If these factors are present, the political settlement underlying the state is stressed. The state becomes vulnerable to an insurgency. Outside powers seeking

to support an insurgency will find fertile ground in a country with a frayed political settlement.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Define the elements of state instability.
- 2) Assess the importance of a state instability to COIN.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) What elements of state instability are most important in a COIN environment?
- b) How can a government mitigate or exacerbate state instability factors?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

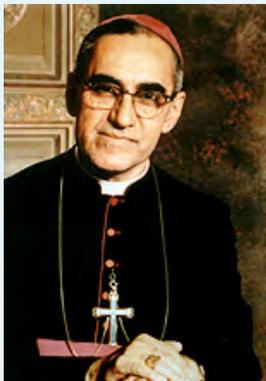
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## The El Salvador Insurgency: 1980-1992

(This vignette illustrates how factors of state instability nurtured an insurgency)

*El Salvador was one of the most politically and economically backward states in the world in 1980. A small group of elites controlled most of the government structures and the economy. Agriculture was primarily plantation based or subsistence farming with the most densely populated land in Central America. In the 1930s, there was an attempt at revolution which was brutally suppressed with about 10,000 deaths. This period became known as "The Slaughter." In 1972 and 1977, there were elections which were widely considered to be rigged. Given these circumstances, rising numbers of Salvadorans saw their government as an instrument of oppression to be overthrown. Only a small number of elites were committed to the state as it was functioning in 1980.*

*In the wake of rigged elections, the leftist opposition in El Salvador began to see no chance for change within the existing political system and turned to violent action. At the same time, there was a steep economic downturn which increased unemployment and raised prices throughout the country. Seeing opportunity, Russia and Cuba brought leftist movements together during talks in Cuba under a single revolutionary party. In March 1980, Archbishop Oscar Romero (a vocal advocate of reform and social justice) was murdered by a right-wing death squad while holding Mass. This act eliminated the last avenue for legitimate protest within the Salvadoran political settlement, and led the country into a full-fledged civil war.*



Archbishop Óscar Romero - his assassination in 1980 led the country into a full-fledged civil war.

## Module 3.3 Components and Analysis of the Operational Environment

### Description

In COIN, the variable factors of the operational environment are those factors which the state, the security forces, and the insurgents must consider. The factors affect civil and military plans and, in some instances, shape those plans. An astute, well-resourced, or lucky government or commander may be able to alter some of these factors; but all must take them into account.

The components of the operational environment are interrelated. Effective operations must take this into account. Plans and programs must be holistic and comprehensive. Success in one area is not likely to bleed over into another area. Rather, continued failure in one area is more likely to discredit success in another.

### Components of the Operational Environment

A common doctrinal approach to understanding the operational environment is to group its components under the acronym PMESII. (Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information and Infrastructure). Those components can be further broken down as follows.

**Political Environment.** The classic study of war focuses on the political origins and resolution of military conflict. This factor is perhaps the best known among soldiers. In a COIN environment, security forces may lack a mandate from the general population to be present and to operate among the population. If this mandate is lacking, it is generally due to a political situation in which elements of the population view the government and all who support it as lacking legitimacy. If this lack of legitimacy is not addressed, through reform, then military efforts will be ineffective.

**Human Environment.** In many ways, this is the most complicated factor of the operational environment. The human environment is multifaceted and fragmented, and the revolution in communications technology has further fragmented this environment. The human environment can be shaped by propaganda, lethal and non-lethal actions, media, and interpersonal relations. For simplicity of analysis, it is best to break down the human environment into four groups:

- **Supporters.** This group will generally support the government rather than the insurgency. However, their motives may not be the same as the govern-

ment's. For example, they could be concerned more with ethnic dominance or personal enrichment rather than with effective governance.

- **Neutrals.** This group does not actively support either side in the conflict but, through active or passive consent, may hold the key to victory. Insurgent and government forces seek to bring neutrals to their side.
- **Opposition.** This group is generally not supportive of the government, but is not willing to actively fight against it. Governments to move this group towards the government side and away from the insurgents. The insurgents will generally shelter among this group. Inept government efforts against the opposition group will be counterproductive and will produce more support for the insurgents.
- **Hostile.** This group is comprised of the active fighters and their knowing supporters. In some instances, they can be brought into the ranks of government supporters, but only with great difficulty and a great amount of time.

Leaders and authorities play an outsized role in the human environment. Engaging, persuading and co-opting them will have a major impact on the human environment. Culture is part of the human environment as well. Commanders must take cultural considerations into account and, if need be, modify their forces and practices to ensure success.

**The Physical Environment.** Densely populated cities or barren areas with few water and food resources are all considerations which require military and civil intervention in a COIN environment. If any of the needs of the populace are not met, whether through lack of infrastructure or harsh environment, then the possibility of state failure increases. Increasing desertification, combined with ineffective government and a flawed response to the challenges of desertification, have been cited as an underlying cause of the Yemeni insurgency.

**The Security Environment.** The security environment includes not just host nation police, but also military actors from foreign forces, security forces and private guards, such as the private security forces often hired to guard mines and oil facilities in developing countries. These forces have varying degrees of professionalism and moral conduct, and often in an insurgency are part of the problem.

The Information Environment. This is the most rapidly developing component of the operational environment. Technology has made every corner of the world capable of gathering and propagating information from anywhere. Every person with access to the internet is now a publisher, no matter how extreme or widely outside of international norms his opinions may be. Military commanders no longer have the luxury of dictating what messages the populace will hear by control of several radio stations and newspapers. In the modern COIN environment, military commanders must widen their area of interest to include global media outlets and must be prepared to vigorously react to and counter messages from a variety of sources.

The Economic Environment. Most countries with active insurgencies also have great economic disparity. The ranks of insurgents are often drawn from the “have-nots,” while the “haves” make up the bulk of government supporters. This is a situation which is generally long-standing and beyond the means of commanders to correct, but must be considered in the overall COIN plan, to include development efforts.

These factors are all intertwined, and failure in one is likely to lead to failure in others. Commanders cannot be ‘compartmentalized’ if they are to be effective. Focus may have to shift from one factor to another rapidly.

### **Learning Objectives**

- 1) Define the components of the COIN operational environment.
- 2) Appraise the relevance of operational environment components to COIN.
- 3) Contrast the various elements of the operational environment in different COIN situations.
- 4) Analyse the COIN Operational Environment.

### **Issues for Consideration**

- a) What components of the operational environment are most significant in a COIN environment?
- b) How can a government or security forces identify the most significant component of an operational environment? How can they best utilise this knowledge?
- c) What is the operational environment in a COIN situation? How does it differ from a conventional military operational environment? How does it differ from peacetime?
- d) How does the operational environment affect COIN? Can a commander shape the operational environment in his favour?

### **References/Readings**

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

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## The El Salvador Insurgency: 1980-1992

(This example shows how the actions in different components of the operational environment stabilized condition in the country.)

*The Salvadoran war raged for over a decade as a proxy war between Soviet and American backed forces. Neither side was able to achieve a decisive victory on its own. Finally, a peace settlement was reached in 1992 which required broad political and economic reform. The leading guerrilla movement, the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN), entered the reformed political process as a non-violent political party (and have since served as the party of government). At the same time, land reform and economic reforms were undertaken to provide a more equitable political, economic, and social settlement which built a new political settlement. While El Salvador continues to be a challenged, poor state, it is no longer one characterized by political violence*



Combatants of the People's Revolutionary Army, a component of FMLN.



## Block 4 Intelligence Preparation of the Environment

### Description

Effective counterinsurgency operations along all the lines of effort are shaped by timely, specific, and reliable intelligence, gathered and analysed at the lowest possible level and disseminated throughout the force. Because of the dispersed nature of counterinsurgency operations, counterinsurgents' actions are a key generator of intelligence. A cycle develops where operations produce intelligence, that intelligence drives subsequent operations. Reporting by unit patrols, diplomats, and governmental and non-governmental civilian agencies is often of greater importance than reporting by specialised intelligence agencies. Because COIN focuses so much on the population, through political and economic activities as well as normal military actions, intelligence collection often has more in common with social analysis or anthropology than standard military intelligence. This requires learning new techniques of collecting and analysing information, and mastering new skills to utilise and apply the results in ways that enhance COIN campaigns. Focus cannot only be on the enemy, information must also be gathered about the local people as well as their government and security forces. Counterinsurgents must be aware of the characteristics and agendas of all actors in the complex environment. In this block, multiple illustrative vignettes from the readings will be used to assist in understanding intelligence preparation of the environment.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Identify what is unique about gathering intelligence for counterinsurgency.
- 2) Analyse the social and cultural aspects of a society.
- 3) Describe the makeup and vulnerabilities of human networks.
- 4) Evaluate insurgent approaches, vulnerabilities, and sources of grievances.
- 5) Identify sources, advantages and disadvantages of various types of intelligence.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, debates, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions and debates followed by either written assignments or knowledge tests.

### References

ATTP 3.4.4.1 Guidance for the Application of Tactical Military Activities in COIN Brussels: NATO Standardization Agency, 2013.

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/)

Kilcullen, David. "Intelligence." Understanding Counterinsurgency: Doctrine, Operations, and Challenges. Eds., Rid, Thomas and Thomas Keaney. New York and London: Routledge, 2010. 141-159.

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## Module 4.1 Unique Nature of Intelligence in COIN

### Description

Counterinsurgency is an intelligence driven endeavour; however, the intelligence necessary for COIN is very different than conventional military operations. 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 address the issues driving the insurgency. Success in COIN also depends upon activities in lines of effort besides combat operations thereby creating a set of very complex information requirements. In this module, students will broaden their understanding about what those complex information requirements are, and why adjusting to them may be difficult.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Analyse the importance of intelligence for COIN.
- 2) Compare the intelligence requirements for conventional war with those for COIN.
- 3) List the biases that interfere with proper intelligence collection for counterinsurgent forces.
- 4) Explain how such biases can be mitigated or overcome.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) Why is effective intelligence in COIN primarily focused on people?
- b) Do military intelligence services have unique problems in conducting proper intelligence for COIN?
- c) How do short unit rotations inhibit the conduct of COIN?
- d) What aspects of developing intelligence for conventional war also apply to COIN?

### References/Readings

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/) Paragraphs 3-1 to 3-6, 3-12 to 3-14.

Gelder, Laura, et al. "COIN Operations and Intelligence Collection and Analysis," Military Review Special Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2006,

<http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/418/rec/7> Pages 188-195.

Kilcullen, David. "Intelligence." Understanding Counterinsurgency: Doctrine, Operations, and Challenges. Eds., Rid, Thomas and Thomas Keaney. New York and London: Routledge, 2010. 141-159.

### Intelligence in Iraq

(In early operations in Iraq, American intelligence was often not as good as that gathered by more knowledgeable local agencies.)

*In August 2006, seasoned US Marine Corps intelligence officers stationed in Anbar Province in Iraq provided a very gloomy assessment combating the insurgency. The conclusion of their report was that there was nothing the U.S. military could do to improve the political and social situation, and indeed the United States had lost the war in Anbar. However, early the next year, Iraqi military intelligence developed a completely opposite evaluation, predicting that the local tribes were about to revolt against the insurgents and the situation was about to undergo a radical improvement. That is exactly what happened.*

*The inaccurate American assessment was based on technical intelligence and an inadequate understanding of the socio-cultural factors in the province, while the host nation relied on mostly human intelligence sources and their greater understanding of the social, political, cultural, and economic realities of Anbar. Intelligence for COIN requires a different set of sources and a different process of analysis than more conventional military operations. Host nation forces usually have a great advantage in this arena.*



A US soldier gathers intelligence from local inhabitants and civilian aid organizations in IRAQ.

## Module 4.2 Civil Considerations and Socio-Cultural Factors

### Description

The first step of intelligence preparation of the environment is to define the operational environment. The second step is to describe the effects of the environment. In counterinsurgency, that involves analysing a host of civil considerations described under the acronym ASCOPE: areas, structures, capabilities, organisations, people, and events. The most important category is people, with its own subdivisions of society, social structure, culture, language, power and authority, and interests. In order to successfully execute counterinsurgency, all those social and cultural complexities must be clearly understood. Information needs to be gathered to properly shape the counterinsurgency in the theatre of operation, including determining the key issues driving and sustaining the insurgency.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Apply the ASCOPE framework to describe the civil considerations of a society within a counterinsurgency theatre of operations.
- 2) Explain how to conduct human terrain mapping of an area.
- 3) Describe the most important social and cultural aspects of a counterinsurgency theatre of operation.
- 4) Describe the most important political and economic aspects of a counterinsurgency theatre of operation.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How important are popular perceptions in shaping a counterinsurgency campaign, and how can counterinsurgents determine them?
- b) What techniques, such as patrols, can a force use to conduct human terrain mapping?
- c) How do the roles of women and children influence a society?
- d) What sort of grievances can fuel an insurgency?

### References/Readings

ATTP 3.4.4.1 Guidance for the Application of Tactical Military Activities in COIN Brussels: NATO Standardization Agency, 2013.

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf>

or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/). Paragraphs 3-16 to 3-73, including Table 3-1.

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## Psychological Operations in Haiti

(This vignette illustrates how ignorance of local language and culture almost ruined an operation.)

*One proposed psychological operations action developed for Operation Uphold Democracy to stabilise Haiti in 1994 illustrates why an accurate understanding of the society and popular perceptions is necessary in such operations. Before American forces were deployed, leaflets were prepared to inform the Haitian populace of U.S. intentions. The original leaflet was printed in French, the language of the Haitian elite.*

*However, after a late revision, the one actually used was published in Creole, the official and common language of Haiti, because one astute team member realised the need to reach a wider audience. If a pamphlet in French had been distributed, it could have undermined the American mission in the country in several ways. The majority of the population would have been unable to read the document. The subsequent deployment of U.S. forces into the country, therefore, could have been perceived as hostile. The mission, which was intended in part to restore equality within Haiti's social structure, could have backfired if the Haitians viewed the French pamphlet as an indication of U.S. favouritism toward the Haitian elite.*



An example of the leaflets used in Haiti. It is deep blue, with a flag of Haiti in full colour in the centre. Around the flag are the words in Creole “Democracy - The Multinational Force - Peace.” A white dove is shown at the far right.

## Module 4.3 Network Analysis

### Description

The contest between insurgents and counterinsurgents is mostly a competition between human networks. Traditional relationships have been augmented by modern communications technologies that make networks more complex, faster reacting, and greatly empowers those who use such media. Counterinsurgents have to understand how to find and exploit those enemy relationships while building and reinforcing their own. Mastering the techniques of network analysis can enable a counterinsurgent to unravel enemy organisations and foil their plans and strategies.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe how insurgent networks develop and evolve.
- 2) Describe the conduct of social network analysis.
- 3) Explain how networks can be targeted and disrupted.
- 4) Discuss how socio-cultural and civil intelligence can assist in analysing networks.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How have insurgent networks changed over time?
- b) How can a counterinsurgent find and exploit vulnerabilities in enemy networks?
- c) How did social network analysis contribute to the capture of Saddam Hussein in Iraq?
- d) How do counterinsurgents establish and strengthen their own networks?

### References/Readings

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/). Paragraphs B-29 to B-56.

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Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2006, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/418/rec/7>. Pages 180-187.

## Capturing Saddam Hussein

(This vignette illustrates how the proper application of social network analysis led to the capture of Saddam Hussein.)

*The capture of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein in December 2003 was the result of hard work along with continuous intelligence gathering and analysis. Each day another piece of the puzzle fell into place. Each piece of intelligence led to coalition forces identifying and locating more of the key players in the insurgent network—both highly visible ones like Saddam Hussein and the lesser ones who sustained and supported the insurgency. This process produced detailed diagrams that showed the structure of Hussein's personal security apparatus and the relationships among the persons identified.*

*The intelligence analysts and commanders in the 4th Infantry Division spent the summer of 2003 building link diagrams showing everyone related to Hussein by blood or tribe. Those family diagrams led counterinsurgents to the lower level, highly trusted, relatives and clan members harbouring Hussein and helping him move around the countryside.*

*Over days and months, coalition forces tracked how the enemy operated. Analysts traced trends and patterns, examined enemy tactics, and related enemy tendencies to the names and groups on the tracking charts. This process involved making continual adjustments to the network template and constantly determining which critical data points were missing. Late in the year, a series of operations produced an abundance of new intelligence about the insurgency and Hussein's whereabouts. Commanders then designed a series of raids to capture key individuals and leaders of the former regime who could lead counterinsurgents to Hussein. Each mission gained additional information, which shaped the next raid. This cycle continued as a number of mid-level leaders of the former regime were caught, eventually leading coalition forces into Hussein's most trusted inner circle and finally to his capture.*



The hole where Saddam Hussein was hiding when he was captured by US forces.

## Module 4.4 Threat Evaluation

### Description

The third step of intelligence preparation of the environment is to evaluate the threat, while the fourth is to determine the ensuing threat courses of action including an analysis of enemy vulnerabilities. Once that has been done, commanders can develop plans to defeat the enemy's courses of action, to include addressing the popular grievances that are fuelling unrest. Completing those steps requires a thorough understanding of insurgency, the enemy and the society in which they are operating. Contemporary counterinsurgents may find themselves facing a coalition of different insurgent groups and approaches, requiring plans to defeat multiple enemy courses of action simultaneously. Analysing the insurgent threat involves applying all the information learned in the first block of this curriculum.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe how to evaluate an insurgency.
- 2) Describe the indicators of various insurgent approaches.
- 3) Analyse the vulnerabilities of an insurgency.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How does an insurgent gain and maintain popular support?
- b) How can counterinsurgents diminish or eliminate that support?
- c) Which insurgent approach is the hardest to discover and counter? Which is the easiest?
- d) How did General Mattis' evaluation of the insurgencies he faced in western Iraq shape his plan to deal with them?

### References/Readings

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/). Paragraphs 3-74 to 3-120, including Table 3-7, 3-168 to 3-170.

Mansoor, Peter and Mark Ulrich. "Linking Doctrine to Action: A New COIN Center of Gravity Analysis". Military Review Special Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader II, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2008, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/243/rec/7>. Pages 21-27.

### Evaluating the Threat in Iraq

(This vignette shows how one American division analysed a very complex set of threats in its sector.)

*During Operation Iraqi Freedom II in 2004-2005, the U.S. 1st Marine Division deployed to Anbar Province in western Iraq. The unit commander, Major General James Mattis, began with an assessment of all the people and threats that his troops would encounter within the division's area of operations. That analysis identified three potential threats and growing insurgencies in the province. The first involved the local Sunni tribes. They had various internal tribal affiliations and looked to a diverse array of sheiks and elders for leadership while pursuing an identity-focused strategy.*

*The second group involved former regime elements who had been displaced from power, individuals with personal, political, business, and professional ties to the Ba'ath Party that had ruled Iraq under Saddam Hussein. These included civil servants and career military personnel with the skills needed to run government institutions, but who saw little to gain from a democratic Iraq. They tended to favour a more conspiratorial or protracted popular war strategy.*

*The last group involved foreign fighters associated with Al Qaeda, a small but dangerous minority of transnational Islamic subversives following a military focused strategy of insurgency. Some portion of each group included a criminal element, also with different goals, further complicating planning and interaction. Major General Mattis and his staff realised that they would have to develop plans to defeat each of those threats differently. As part of their analysis, the Marines also determined that the Sunni tribes were the most important threat, and could be best approached with programs to provide security and jobs.*



General James Mattis briefs Marines in Iraq.

## Module 4.5 Identifying and Integrating Intelligence Sources

### Description

Because COIN involves more than just combat operations and varies from place to place, multiple sources of intelligence are necessary to weaken and blunt insurgent activities. Finding, sifting and integrating these multiple sources of intelligence are not easy. Sources of intelligence include new surveillance technologies, document exploitation, and interviews of people. Sometimes, we can rely too much on technology that can be easily employed from a distance. In the end, that is no substitute for human intelligence (HUMINT) on the ground in COIN, and a wealth of information is not much use without many hours of painstaking analysis to turn it into useful intelligence. And even that will be wasted if it cannot be produced and distributed in a timely manner to the forces who need it. This module will expose students to the variety and complexity of the sources available to develop intelligence in COIN, and provide some ideas on how to integrate them.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Identify the sources, advantages, and disadvantages of human intelligence.
- 2) Identify the sources, advantages, and disadvantages of intelligence from technology.
- 3) Describe the various organisations involved in COIN, military and civilian, who will be providers and users of intelligence.
- 4) Analyse how best to integrate all those organisations, including those belonging to the host nation.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) Compare and contrast human intelligence with intelligence from technology.
- b) How does terrain influence which methods of intelligence gathering are most effective?
- c) How does a counterinsurgent evaluate the reliability of an informant?
- d) How does a counterinsurgent evaluate the reliability of a document or media recording?
- e) How do intelligence and operations interact with each other?

### References/Readings

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/). Paragraphs 3-121 to 3-154, 3-160 to 3-165, 3-174 to 3-176, 3-181 to 3-183.

Liebl, Vernie. "Paper and COIN: Exploiting Enemy Documents". Military Review Special Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader II, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2008, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/243/rec/7>. Pages 133-137.

Marr, Jack et al. "HUMINT-Centric Operations: Developing Actionable Intelligence in the Urban Counterinsurgency Environment". Military Review Special Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader II, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2008, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/243/rec/7>. Pages 116-125.

## Analysing Documents in Afghanistan

(This vignette shows how a few captured documents led to major intelligence revelations.)

*In January 2004, an American special forces team killed a sniper in the Bermal Valley, Paktika Province, Afghanistan. On his body were 24 pieces of paper, which were quickly transferred to an intelligence unit for immediate analysis. Trained personnel with linguistic and cultural skills determined that the individual had been a Taliban religious recruit from Pakistan.*

*The bits of paper disclosed phone numbers of contacts in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Further analysis uncovered a network supporting the Taliban that involved agencies not only in those two countries, but also in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and South Africa. Based on those small documents from one isolated source, counterinsurgent forces were able to find and target a large support network for the insurgency in Afghanistan.*



U.S. intelligence personnel, with captured Taliban member (far left in bed of truck), confiscated documents, and computer hard drives, await helicopter extract from Gardez, Afghanistan.



## Block 5 Operational Design and Planning

### Description

Design is the process for identifying the nature of problems in the operational environment that a military force will need to solve. Planning is used to determine how operations will be executed to achieve the intended solutions. In general, design is problem setting and planning is problem solving. For COIN, this means that design would identify the complicated problem sets that a counterinsurgent must handle. Planning along multiple lines of effort is then necessary to solve the problems and achieve successful outcomes. The design and planning processes must be iterative because the COIN situation evolves in unanticipated ways that reveal new aspects of the problem sets and new solutions.

This block focuses on planning at the operational level. The operational level links the tactical action with achievement of the strategic end state. Generally speaking, the NATO operational planning process also applies to COIN planning. The principles are described in the Allied Command Operations (ACO) Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive (COPD). For COIN, the design and planning effort contributes to reaching the overall strategic end state by focusing on securing the population, neutralising the insurgents and addressing the core grievances of the insurgency.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Understand how to design and plan for COIN.
- 2) Describe how the Comprehensive Approach applies to COIN.
- 3) Describe campaign planning for COIN.
- 4) Identify key planning considerations for COIN.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, debates, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions and debates followed by either written assignments or knowledge tests.

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

Allied Command Operations Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive (COPD) Interim. Version 2.0, Brussels, 2013. <https://www.cmdrcoe.org/download.cgi.php?id=9>

ATP 5-0.1 Army Design Methodology. Washington DC, 2015. [http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR\\_pubs/DR\\_a/pdf/web/atp5\\_0x1.pdf](http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR_pubs/DR_a/pdf/web/atp5_0x1.pdf)

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/)

Wilson, Gregory. "Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect Approach". Military Review Special Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader II, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2008, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/243/rec/7>. Pages 38-48.

## Napoleon's Failure in Spain

(This vignette illustrates the catastrophic results of a failure to properly design and plan a counterinsurgency campaign in Spain.)

*During Napoleon's occupation of Spain in 1808, it seemed that 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, and failed to develop a viable end state. The French failed to analyse 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 ignorance of the operational environment and 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, and the occupation was the beginning of the end for Napoleon.*



This Goya painting depicts French atrocities trying to suppress the insurrection in Spain.

## Module 5.1 Operational Design

### Description

The intent of operational design is to understand the problem set that you are dealing with in the COIN operational environment.

The development of an operational design is fundamental to operational planning and it must use non-military means as well as military means. Operational design represents the formulation of an overarching idea for the operation, based on a general estimate of the situation, the mission analysis, and the commander's intent. Operational design provides elements to help visualise and shape the operation to accomplish the mission. Elements of operational design help to visualise the arrangement of joint capabilities in time, space and purpose to accomplish the mission. The keys to operational design include: understanding the strategic guidance; determining the end state and objectives; understanding PMESII factors; identifying the adversary's principal strengths and weaknesses; and developing an operational framework.

Operational design for COIN should reflect a whole of government Comprehensive Approach applicable to each phase of the campaign. Because there is only one strategy or campaign, there should be only one operational design. This single design should incorporate all actors, especially the host nation. Activities should reflect all elements of national power and be organised in a framework of Lines of Operation/Lines of Effort that are grouped by theme, for example by security operations or economic development.

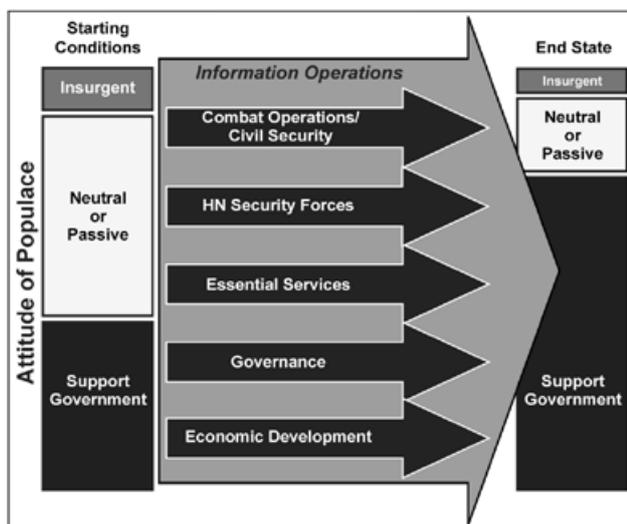


Figure 5-1. Example of a Framework for a Coin Campaign showing potential Lines of Effort for the Information Operations theme.

### Learning Objective

- 1) Apply the elements of operational design.
- 2) Develop an operational framework for a campaign.
- 3) Understand and develop lines of effort/lines of operation for COIN.

### Issues for Considerations

- a) What is operational design?
- b) What are the decisive conditions, effects, and actions necessary for a successful counterinsurgency?
- c) What is the role of lines of effort/lines of operation? How are they determined?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

Allied Command Operations Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive (COPD) Interim. Version 2.0, Brussels, 2013. <https://www.cmdrcoe.org/download.cgf.php?id=9>. Pages 4-52 – 4-57.

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2006. <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/COIN-FM3-24.pdf> or [http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM\\_3-24\\_15DEC2006\\_13424/](http://everyspec.com/ARMY/FM-Field-Manual/FM_3-24_15DEC2006_13424/). Paragraphs 4-27 - 4-28, including Iraqi case study, and 5-7 - 5-49.

## Campaign Design in Iraq

(This vignette illustrates how one general used the design process to achieve success in a very complex threat environment.)

*Once Major General James Mattis and his 1st Marine Division had determined the triple insurgent threat in Anbar Province in Iraq in 2004 (see Module 4.4), his planners had to design a campaign to achieve coalition objectives in that province. They grouped their planned actions along six lines of operation – promotion of governance, economic development, essential services, develop Iraqi security forces, combat operations, and information operations.*

*His campaign had two major objectives. The first was to diminish support to the insurgency among the Sunni tribes, while the second was to neutralise the bad actors in the foreign fighters, mostly provided by Al Qaeda. The former regime elements were subjected to a combination of both approaches. The end result of the campaign by 2007 was that most of the former regime elements joined the government, and the Sunni tribes turned on Al Qaeda to help counterinsurgent forces to expel the foreign fighters from their midst.*



General Mattis in consultation with Iraqi security forces.

## Module 5.2 Introduction to Operational Level COIN Planning

### Description

This module focuses on planning for the counterinsurgent forces contribution to COIN at the operational level. The operational level links tactical actions with achievement of the strategic end state. The general rules for the NATO operational planning process also apply to COIN planning. Commanders use operational art and design to provide a framework to integrate the operational factors of time, space and purpose to achieve the conditions that make up the strategic end state. This introduction uses the Comprehensive Operation Planning Directive as its core planning document.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Define the NATO Comprehensive Approach as applied to COIN.
- 2) Explain the direct, balanced and indirect operational approaches to COIN.
- 3) Describe the NATO general principles for operational planning.
- 4) Explain the importance of political considerations in COIN planning.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How does one apply the Comprehensive Approach in a COIN environment?
- b) How should planning emphasise the strategic end-state while considering the desired and undesired effects of COIN activities?
- c) What are the advantages and disadvantages of the different operational approaches to COIN?
- d) How should the analysis of the following factor into COIN planning: 1) time as it relates to the mission; 2) space as it applies to the area of operations; 3) forces (types and quantity)?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

Allied Command Operations Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive (COPD) Interim. Version 2.0, Brussels, 2013. <https://www.cmdrcoe.org/download.cgf.php?id=9>. Chapter 1.

Wilson, Gregory. "Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-Philippines and the Indirect Approach". Military Review Special Edition – Counterinsurgency Reader II, Fort Leavenworth: Combined Arms Center, 2008, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p124201coll1/id/243/rec/7>. Pages 38-48.

### The Indirect Approach in the Philippines

(This vignette highlights how the indirect operational COIN approach worked successfully in the Philippines.)

*In 2002, the United States dispatched Joint Task Force 510, comprised of 1300 troops, to the southern Philippines to help the government there "separate the population from, and then destroy, Abu Sayyef," an insurgent group who had begun a reign of terror in the region. With American forces around the world stretched thin to support other activities in the global war against terrorism, JTF 510 decided to pursue an indirect approach working "by, with, and through" the host nation.*

*After developing a framework for a campaign with three interconnected lines of operation – Building the Philippine Armed Forces, Focused Civil-Military Operations, and Information Operations – the counterinsurgent effort, led by indigenous forces, neutralised most of Abu Sayyef within three years.*



A US adviser accompanies members of the Philippine Armed Forces on patrol in the Zamboanga Peninsula in operations to defeat Abu Sayyef insurgents.



## Block 6 Comprehensive Implementation

### Description

In order to serve the political objective of reconciliation in a counterinsurgency, the planning phase and the conduct of the operational campaign must address three complementary and interconnected elements: the insurgents; the terrain; and the population and local elites. Success in addressing the three elements limits the insurgent's freedom of action. The counterinsurgents want to seize the initiative and force the insurgents into a reactive posture.

The whole of government comprehensive approach must take into account the multiple dimensions of counterinsurgency including the aspirations of the host nation government and the local operational environment conditions.

Any external counterinsurgent forces must support the host nation's counterinsurgency strategy through a broad range of measures taken to support internal defence and development (IDAD), promote the host nation's growth, and improve the ability to protect itself from the insurgency. IDAD is the full range of measures taken by a nation to promote its growth and to protect itself from subversion, lawlessness, insurgency, terrorism and other threats to its security. In this block, students will examine the military operational approach to COIN.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Understand the operational approach of clear, hold and build.
- 2) Identify the role of the military component in COIN.
- 3) Determine the importance of non-kinetic operations in COIN.
- 4) Understand the need for flexible adaptation in the use of kinetic and non-kinetic operations in the dynamic COIN environment.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, debates, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions and debates followed by either written assignments or knowledge tests.

## References

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CDEF, DT-23- Military assistance to a foreign country: Army contribution. Paris, 2012. <http://www.cdef.terre.defense.gouv.fr/contents-in-english/our-publications/old-publications/doctrine-tactique/dt-23-military-assistance-to-a-foreign-country-army-contribution>

CDEF, Weapons and hearts: paradoxes of nowadays wars. Paris, 2010. <http://www.cdef.terre.defense.gouv.fr/contents-in-english/our-publications/old-publications/doctrine-tactique/weapons-and-hearts>

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FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2014. [http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR\\_pubs/DR\\_a/pdf/web/fm3\\_24.pdf](http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR_pubs/DR_a/pdf/web/fm3_24.pdf)

Galula, David. Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. Westport: Praeger Security International, 1964

JD 3.4.4, Counter-Insurgency (COIN), the French Joint Doctrine Paris, 2010. [http://www.cicde.defense.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/JD\\_3-4-4\\_NP.pdf](http://www.cicde.defense.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/JD_3-4-4_NP.pdf)

JP 3-22 Foreign Internal Defense. Washington, D.C., 2010. [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new\\_pubs/jp3\\_22.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_22.pdf)

## Module 6.1 Clear-Hold-Build Approach

### Description

NATO's preferred operational approach to COIN is Clear-Hold-Build (CHB). CHB is civil-military action taken in COIN which combines NATO, host nation and civil actors. CHB encompasses offensive, defensive, stability and enabling activities.

Clear is a mainly offensive tactical mission task that requires the commander to remove enemy forces and eliminate organised resistance within an assigned area. This enables the host nation to develop the capability to address the insurgency's root cause and eliminate the conditions that allow the insurgency to exist.

Hold means counterinsurgents ensure that areas that were freed from enemy control remain under the control of the counterinsurgents and host nation. The objective of the hold phase is to set the conditions for the host-nation security apparatus to provide security for the population. Hold is mainly a defensive mission.

Build is mainly a stability mission focused on the capacity of local institutions to deliver services, advance the rule of law, and nurture civil society. The objective of the build phase is to remove the conditions that allow the insurgency to exist, specifically addressing the root causes.

In this module, students will examine the CHB operational approach, the overlap among the phases, and the complexity of executing the approach within the COIN environment.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe the CHB phases.
- 2) Describe the primary activities and actors for each phase.
- 3) Describe how the transition between phases occurs as the operational environment changes.
- 4) Explain how the multidimensional nature of the comprehensive approach integrates military, police and civilian components.
- 5) Explain how the desired end-state affects the application of CHB.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) Who are the various actors of the whole of government comprehensive approach?

- b) How should civilian agencies, military and police coordinate their efforts to implement CHB?
- c) How does the role of the civilian agencies, military and police change with each phase of CHB?
- d) How and why does the pace of transition between phases vary from area to area?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

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## **An Example of Clear-Hold-Build: Morocco, 1925-1926: Rif War**

(This vignette emphasizes the importance of CHB in Morocco.)

*On March 1911, Abdelhafid, Sultan of Morocco, besieged by rebellious tribes in his capital Fez, requested security assistance from France and Spain. One year later a treaty was signed between the three countries, yielding administration the northern part of Morocco to Spain and the rest of the country to France. The Spanish controlled area was mainly composed of the steep Rif mountains. The Rif, a natural shelter for the revolting tribes, dominates the plain where Fez is located. In the Rif Mountains is “bled Siba”, the home area of the dissidents opposed to the “bled Maghzen”, the region still controlled by the government.*

*The French governor was Marshall Lyautey, a pupil of French General Gallieni, designer of the soft colonisation concept and of the “oil spot method” for counterinsurgency. His policy was to provide direct support to the Sultan of Morocco, relying on the local power structures and elites to rule the country while respecting the traditional balance of power. That allowed him to send many troops to France for World War 1, including native riflemen.*

*After WW1, a rebellion began in the Rif Mountains to throw Spain out of northern Morocco and to create an independent republic. Abd el Krim, the Riffian leader, organised his troops in a new way. He blended regular troops, with modern equipment and artillery with tribal units. Spain suffered heavy losses and defeats and withdrew forces from strongpoints, conceding freedom of action to the rebellion. Late in 1924, Abd el Krim was strong enough to challenge the power of the Sultan and to threaten the French area of responsibility. Lyautey had an accurate understanding of the situation and asked for reinforcements from Paris, fearing an attack in spring of 1925. France, deeply concerned by the situation in Germany, was reluctant to disengage troops in Europe and send them to Morocco.*

*Abd el Krim rallied all the Riffian tribes and convinced the neighbouring ones in the French area to rise up. A massive attack was launched on the 14th of April 1925. Abd el Krim proclaimed that he would assume the political and religious roles of the Sultan by the 3rd of July,*

*With his limited resources, Lyautey succeeded in delaying Abd el Krim’s troops before they reached Fez. This delay*

*allowed France to massively reinforce Lyautey’s troops from the adjacent French territory of Algeria and from Europe in order to block Abd el Krim.*

*Then, the counterinsurgency began in earnest, aiming to restore the full authority of the Sultan throughout the country. The French and Spanish planned to regain control of their two areas of responsibility. The French plan consisted of three phases. First, they drove Abd el Krim’s forces back into the mountains before the rainy season and coordinated with Spain. These operations cleared the area.*

*Then Lyautey started the hold phase by taking advantage of the operational pause provided by the rains, undermining Abd el Krim’s authority and support by using political and psychological operations against the tribes. Early in May 1926, a final push broke the remaining rebellion and captured Abd el Krim. Then, the build phase restored the Sultan’s authority and administration over the whole country.*



Marshall Lyautey inspecting a military post in Rif, 1924.

## Module 6.2 Considerations for Military Support of CHB

### Description

Implementation of CHB requires a comprehensive, whole of government approach in order to be successful. Within this context, counterinsurgency is not a conventional military operation, although conventional tactics may apply. Commanders must adapt their tactics to the operational environment. The three specific considerations covered in this module are:

- 1) Coherence with political direction. Military activities against an insurgency are part of a whole of government comprehensive approach and, consequently, must be linked to the political strategy.
- 2) Focus on the population. Because the actions of the population contribute to campaign success, the population is the primary focus, making it necessary for counterinsurgents to gain and retain influence with the people.
- 3) Understanding of the insurgent. Gaining a clear understanding of the insurgent's motivations, structures, strengths and weaknesses is a critical output of the analysis process. Intelligence needs to drive operations.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Analyse why military operations must be in accordance with the whole of government comprehensive approach.
- 2) Explain how military actions supporting the population may be more important than actions against the enemy.
- 3) Identify the link between ASCOPE and the implementation of military actions.
- 4) Explain how the armed forces can use the full range of kinetic and non-kinetic actions to support the whole of government approach.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How can armed forces gain the trust and support of the population?
- b) How can armed forces coordinate their actions with internal civilian agencies and police components?
- c) How can armed forces coordinate with international and non-government organisations?
- d) How does a lack of clear political guidance affect military COIN operations?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

### Military Support in Morocco

(This vignette illustrates military actions to support the whole of government approach and the transition from kinetic to non-kinetic operations.)

*Understanding the Moroccan traditional way of life and social rules produced numerous political options. Counterinsurgency operations were designed to support the political goal of restoration of the Sultan's formal authority. Understanding the local concept of "caida" was paramount. It was the comprehensive body of non-written rules governing the relationship between the various classes of the population.*

*One of the rules stated that a leader had to physically come back to the places where he had been defeated to erase previous shame. The French authorities tried as much as possible to have the Sultan ride his horse through all reconquered villages. A second action was to have all the Friday prayers in the mosques all over the country conducted on behalf of the Sultan.*



Abd el Krim.

## Module 6.3 Military Objectives

### Description

The goal of the military contribution to COIN is to secure the population and neutralise the insurgents. This goal allows the commander to establish the following military objectives: secure the population; isolate the insurgents from their support; neutralise the insurgent armed organisations; and rally the “reconcilable” groups.

To secure the area, the commander should identify what the military forces may be required to contribute to human security tasks, recognising that military involvement is a last resort and that the main responsibility lies with international organisations and the host nation government. Counterinsurgent forces must sever the insurgents from their support base by isolating them from their resources and external support. Neutralising the insurgent’s armed organisations curtails their use of violence. This objective requires a long-term effort, often more psychological than physical, and is often achieved by involving the population. Programs fostering national reconciliation can lure “reconcilable” elements away from the insurgency.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe methods to reduce internal support (free and forced) for insurgents.
- 2) Describe methods to reduce external (state and non-state) support for insurgents.
- 3) Describe the relationship between the various military objectives.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How can the armed forces participate in isolating the insurgents from their outside support?
- b) What is the concept of “oil spot”?
- c) How do you combine mobile and static forces to achieve the objectives?
- d) Which non-kinetic actions could be implemented by armed forces to neutralise the insurgency?
- e) How do counterinsurgents reduce voluntary and coerced popular support for the insurgency?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>.

De Courrèges, Hervé et al. Principes de contre-insurrection. Paris: Editions Economica, 2010.

### Isolating Insurgents in Morocco

(This vignette illustrates how to isolate insurgents from their support.)

*A critical objective of the counterinsurgency operation was the isolation of Abd el Krim’s forces from three different sources of support.*

*1) Support from inside the tribes was reduced by challenging his authority with the tribes.*

*2) Outside political support was crippled by targeting the London based Rif Committee of the pro-Arab British fascist leader Robert Gordon-Canning and the Moscow led “3rd International”.*

*3) Outside technical support was severed by eliminating German military advisors and intercepting merchant ships in the Mediterranean Sea that were smuggling weapons.*



French Foreign Legion in Morocco.

## Module 6.4 COIN Military Tasks

### Description

Counter-insurgency is not a conventional military operation; therefore, the military must perform some tasks that are not usually performed in conventional warfare. Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) in COIN operations contributes to the isolation of the insurgents from the civilian population in order to deprive the insurgency of new recruits, resources, intelligence and credibility. Simultaneously, CIMIC fosters a better relationship between civilians and the security forces.

Information operations (INFOOPS) are conducted to influence the civilian population. The struggle for dominance in the cognitive domain is a constant necessity in COIN, particularly where insurgents rely on the use of information to manipulate public opinion. Paradoxically, the reality is that “what is believed is more important than what is true”. Defeating the insurgent narrative has to be part of the COIN campaign.

The psychological dimension of an insurgency is as important as the physical. Conflict is a struggle of wills that takes place in people’s minds as well as on the battlefield; therefore, Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) play an important role in counterinsurgency.

Counterinsurgents from outside the host nation often provide assistance (e.g. advising, training and equipping) to the host-nation security forces. While NATO as an alliance or individual NATO states may intervene in a country that only needs enablers to enhance an already effective military force, a host nation may lack an effective military that has the capacity to conduct a counterinsurgency. The desired goal of such assistance is a successful transition to independent host-nation security force operations.

Counterinsurgency operations target the active military element of the insurgent movement and are an important supporting component of the counterinsurgency effort. In this module, students will learn how each of these tasks supports achieving the military objectives.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Explain why IOs and NGOs are important to the COIN campaign.
- 2) Describe how CIMIC is used to coordinate with IOs-NGOs.

- 3) Identify how strategic communication and information operations influence military and insurgent success.
- 4) Explain why military actions must be aligned with Information Operations and Psychological Operations objectives.
- 5) Describe how counterinsurgency operations are used in COIN.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) How does undisciplined military behaviour undermine Information and Psychological Operations?
- b) What added-value do PSYOPS bring to INFOOPS?
- c) Why must the commander be prepared to react quickly in INFOOPS?
- d) What could be the phases to build local security forces?
- e) How do external forces conduct combined operations with local security forces?
- f) What are the main characteristics of counterinsurgency warfare?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

JP 3-22 Foreign Internal Defense. Washington, D.C., 2010. [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new\\_pubs/jp3\\_22.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_22.pdf). Chapter II.

Chauvancy, Francois. “Operational military assistance to foreign armed forces- Joint exploratory concept. CDEF, DT-23- Military assistance to a foreign country: Army contribution. Paris, 2012. <http://www.cdef.terre.defense.gouv.fr/contents-in-english/our-publications/old-publications/doctrine-tactique/dt-23-military-assistance-to-a-foreign-country-army-contribution>. Pages 12-15.

## Building Local Security Forces in Morocco

(This vignette illustrates providing assistance to the local security forces.)

*To participate in the security of the Sultanate, France tried to preserve the Moroccan traditional power and social structures. Under the control and the guidance of French authorities, the internal defence forces of “Mokhaznis” were reinforced with the creation of a local recruited Royal Gendarmerie Corps. In the same vein, the tribal irregular auxiliary forces of “Goumiers” were gradually integrated into French regular forces. They served as the model for the current Moroccan armed forces. A specific “Indigenous affairs” corps was created including almost 300 French officers. They learned Arabic and Berber languages, Islamic law, and tribal rules in order to link French authorities with Moroccan civil servants in establishing the rule of law.*



Abdelhafid, Sultan of Morocco, who requested assistance from France and Spain.



## Block 7 Assessment of Counterinsurgency

### Description

Assessing the effectiveness of counterinsurgency operations is critical to accomplishing the mission. Traditionally, counterinsurgency operations have relied heavily on purely military criteria to measure success. Experiences from contemporary counterinsurgency have called into question the validity of these “traditional” assessment methods. High “body counts” and other traditional quantitative metrics have proven to be ineffective measures of success. Against the backdrop of the contemporary security environment, COIN operations be measured and analysed differently. Success looks very different than conventional warfare therefore the factors measured and the analysis of the data must also be different. This block provides information on ways to improve the assessment of COIN operations.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Define assessment as it applies to COIN.
- 2) Describe the importance of assessment in COIN
- 3) Identify the military factors and conditions indicating success in COIN.
- 4) Identify the non-military factors and conditions indicating success in COIN.

### Learning Methodology/Assessment

Teaching/delivery strategies may include subject matter experts, seminars, discussions, debates, case studies, readings, and classroom simulations.

Students should be assessed through participation in classroom activities including discussions and debates followed by either written assignments or knowledge tests.

### References

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

Connable, Ben. Embracing the Fog of War. Assessment in Metrics and Counter Insurgency. Santa Monica: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2012. <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG1086.html>.

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2014. [http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR\\_pubs/DR\\_a/pdf/web/fm3\\_24.pdf](http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR_pubs/DR_a/pdf/web/fm3_24.pdf).

JP 3-24, Counterinsurgency. Washington DC, 2013. [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new\\_pubs/jp3\\_24.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_24.pdf).

JDP 3-40 Security and Stabilisation: The Military Contribution. Shrivenham, 2009. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/49948/jdp3\\_40a4.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/49948/jdp3_40a4.pdf).

Preliminary Basics for the Role of Land Forces in Counterinsurgency, Cologne, 2010. <https://info.publicintelligence.net/GermanyCOIN.pdf>.

Ulrich, Mark. Cutting the Gordian Knot. The Counterinsurgency's Guide to Defeating Insurgencies and Conducting Populist Centric Operations. 2010. Pages 53-63.

Wells, Matthew. Measuring Success in Third Party Counterinsurgency. The Problems with Violence Levels and the Potential of Non-Combatant Attitudes. Michigan, 2012. [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2106712&download=yes](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2106712&download=yes).

## Module 7.1 Definition of Assessment

### Description

Assessment is a continuous analytic process designed to measure the success of COIN efforts. When combined with intelligence information, assessments help to inform operational and strategic decision making. Senior military leaders and policy staffs use this information to assess progress, determine how to allocate (or reallocate) resources, identify trends that may determine success or failure, or ascertain whether and when it may be necessary to alter a strategy. Assessments can be presented in a variety of forms, including narrative papers, quantitative graphs, maps, and briefing slides.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Describe assessment in COIN.
- 2) Analyse the importance of assessment in COIN operations.
- 3) Describe the importance of continuously updating assessment measures as the COIN environment evolves.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) Why is assessment in COIN difficult?
- b) How is assessment of COIN operations different from conventional operations?
- c) What are the benefits associated with assessing COIN operations?

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies. Washington, D.C., 2014. [http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR\\_pubs/DR\\_a/pdf/web/fm3\\_24.pdf](http://www.apd.army.mil/epubs/DR_pubs/DR_a/pdf/web/fm3_24.pdf)

JP 3-24, Counterinsurgency. Washington DC, 2013. [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new\\_pubs/jp3\\_24.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_24.pdf)

JDP 3-40 Security and Stabilisation: The Military Contribution. Shrivenham, 2009. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/49948/jdp3\\_40a4.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/49948/jdp3_40a4.pdf)

Preliminary Basics for the Role of Land Forces in Counterinsurgency, Cologne, 2010. <https://info.publicintelligence.net/GermanyCOIN.pdf>

## Module 7.2 Assessment of COIN Operations: Military Factors

### Description

COIN is successful when three general conditions are met. First, the host-nation government effectively and legitimately controls social, political, economic, and security institutions that meet the population's general expectations, including adequate mechanisms to address the grievances that may have fuelled support for insurgency. Second, the insurgency and its leaders are effectively co-opted, marginalised, or separated physically and psychologically from the population, with the voluntary assistance and consent of the population. Third, armed insurgent forces have been defeated, marginalised or demobilised, and reintegrated into the political, economic and social structures of the population.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Identify the military factors and conditions indicating success in COIN.
- 2) Describe the operational conditions and insurgent behaviours that should be assessed to determine the success of COIN operations.

### Issues for Considerations

- a) What traditional measures of military success may be used to assess COIN operations?
- b) How can various interpretations of incidents of violence affect assessment?
- c) What are the limitations of relying solely on quantitative data to measure the effectiveness of a chosen COIN strategy?

### References/Readings

Preliminary Basics for the Role of Land Forces in Counterinsurgency, Cologne, 2010. <https://info.publicintelligence.net/GermanyCOIN.pdf>

Ulrich, Mark. Cutting the Gordian Knot. The Counterinsurgency's Guide to Defeating Insurgencies and Conducting Populist Centric Operations. 2010. Pages 53-63.

## Module 7.3 Assessment of COIN Operations: Non-Military Factors

### Description

Deploying military force alone is no guarantee of successful counterinsurgency. Military measures on their own, however important they may be, cannot ensure success in establishing security and state order. In some situations, a local teacher or doctor may turn out to be more efficient at tackling insurgency than an entire infantry company. Fully assessing COIN operations requires examining many factors that are not traditionally evaluated in military operations. Measurement of these non-military factors will provide leaders with a much better understanding of how the campaign is unfolding and whether operations are achieving the intended outcomes.

### Learning Objectives

- 1) Identify the non-military factors and conditions indicating success in COIN.
- 2) Describe the PMESII factors that should be assessed to determine the success of non-military COIN operations.

### Issues for Consideration

- a) What techniques can be employed to obtain reliable assessment data?
- b) What sources may provide information to assess non-military factors?

### References/Readings

Preliminary Basics for the Role of Land Forces in Counterinsurgency, Cologne, 2010. <https://info.publicintelligence.net/GermanyCOIN.pdf>

Ulrich, Mark. Cutting the Gordian Knot. The Counterinsurgency's Guide to Defeating Insurgencies and Conducting Populist Centric Operations. 2010. Pages 53-63.



## Appendix A Key Question for Evaluating COIN

### Description

This appendix is included in the curriculum because there are very few references for assessing the effectiveness of COIN operations. Two lists of assessment questions have been developed by the curriculum writing team that should serve as the basis for assessing COIN operations.

### Questions to Assess the Military Effectiveness of COIN Operations

- 1) Do insurgents no longer militarily control terrain, neighbourhoods, towns, rural areas (areas considered non-permissive to friendly forces)? Do insurgents no longer effectively conduct combat or guerrilla operations? How much military capability is needed by the assistance force to defeat attacks by the insurgents? Are host nation forces and local security forces able to conduct operations on their own? How much foreign military assistance is still needed?
- 2) Are the insurgents still able to disrupt major supply routes (MSRs) and road systems through ambush (IEDs, EFPs, SAF)? Do insurgents still effectively prepare to conduct operations (emplace IEDs, snipers' positions, caches, dead drops/runners)?
- 3) Are insurgents able to effectively conduct sniper/ambush operations against dismounted personnel?
- 4) Are insurgents no longer able to conduct effective attacks against military bases and outposts with direct fire and assaults?
- 5) Are insurgents no longer able to mass forces during attacks against combat outposts or smaller civilian communities?
- 6) Do insurgents conduct accurate interdiction of military bases with use of indirect fire weapons consistently at the right time and place?
- 7) Are insurgents able to intimidate the local host nation military and make them ineffective?
- 8) Do insurgents no longer control regions or areas by military means? Do assistance forces and host nation military/ security forces have a high degree of freedom of movement (or are they restricted by own security regulations)?
- 9) Do insurgents no longer actively target lines of communication (roads, rail, etc.)?
- 10) Do insurgents no longer actively target governmental communications systems (radio and television towers, phone and cell transmission structures and/or lines)?
- 11) Do insurgents no longer actively target government institutions (police stations, town halls, government buildings)?
- 12) Do insurgents no longer conduct effective attacks against reconstruction efforts?
- 13) Do insurgents no longer conduct effective attacks against combat outposts?
- 14) Are insurgent actions no longer effective in forcing local security forces to deploy across a wide front?
- 15) Are insurgents no longer able to use physical and psychological means to effectively create feeling of hopelessness among assistance force and/ or local security forces?
- 16) Do insurgents conduct hit and run operations instead of pitched battles? How "effective" are those hit and run operations? How often do they take place?
- 17) Is there a marked increase or decrease in the sophistication and effectiveness of weapons, IEDs, snipers, etc. from a military point of view?
- 18) Are insurgents still technically able to employ propaganda activities like clandestine radio broadcasts, newspapers, and pamphlets that openly challenge the control and legitimacy of the established authority?

### Questions to Assess the Overall Effectiveness of the COIN campaign

- 1) How much is COIN supported and accepted/legitimized in national and international press as well as world opinion? To what degree do the insurgents receive acknowledgement from external governments that they are just and admirable? How much moral support do insurgents receive from noticeable celebrities, press, or politicians?
- 2) Is the host nation government recognised internationally?
- 3) How is the public attitude about COIN in their home countries affecting the assistance force?
- 4) Do insurgents no longer enjoy sanctuary in other countries?
- 5) Do insurgents no longer enjoy sanctuary in neighbouring countries?

- 6) Are insurgents in contact with a neighbouring country whose government openly supports or finances the insurgency?
- 7) Are there any bases for refit, consolidation, training and arms delivery in neighbouring countries?
- 8) Are insurgents able to freely travel across international borders?
- 9) Do the insurgents have support of local populations, existing in external nations, who provide sanctuary and shelter?
- 10) Do members of the assistance force have the feeling of being welcome/accepted by the local population or regional authorities? Is the foreign military power regarded with friendliness, popularity and respect or as an "occupational power"? Are Provincial Reconstruction Teams regarded as "colonial powers" or "friends"? Has insurgent legitimacy increased or decreased among the local population?
- 11) Does the assistance force have freedom of movement or are there any "no-go" areas in the cities and the countryside?
- 12) Do local people accept (or complain about) harsh measures (curfews, checkpoints, house searching, restrictions of free movement etc.) by the assistance force and/or local security forces?
- 13) How strong is the relationship of assistance force with local people? Do local people, leaders or influential people deliver reliable information about open or hidden activities by insurgents? Does the population no longer fear reprisals by the insurgents? Are insurgents no longer able to intimidate the population by preventing them from providing assistance and intelligence to counterinsurgents? Does the assistance force get sympathy from local authorities, warlords, social "elites" and community leaders? Do these elites enjoy a legitimate status among ordinary people?
- 14) Is the government, local/regional authority willing to cooperate with the assistance force? Is the governing authority popular among local people (or still considered as a puppet of the "occupation power")?
- 15) Are insurgents still able to intimidate the population by violent acts (bomb attacks, blackmail etc.)? Do insurgents no longer enjoy freedom of movement without being reported to host nation security forces? Do people have the feeling of being protected by the assistance force against military attacks from insurgents? Do insurgents no longer enjoy active or hidden support from the majority of local people? Are insurgents still able to mobilize the populace (strikes, riots, boycotts etc.)?
- 16) What kind of force protection and what degree of body protection (body armour, armoured vehicles, light or heavy weapons) is needed by the assistance force in daily business?
- 17) Are insurgents no longer regarded as liberators of the country? Do local people consider insurgent acts as criminal? Do insurgents more and more need to act "illegally" or brutally against the population (kidnapping, bribery, blackmail) to recruit supporters or extort supply goods from local people? Are their acts considered as criminal by the majority of the populace?
- 18) Is the host nation able to "run" society? Is social life and society relatively intact (markets, schools, doctors, ambulances, police, fire stations, trash, electricity etc.)?
- 19) Is the government accepted by the majority of the population? Is it corrupt or does it have a legitimate status among the population? Does the government sustain the rule of law (it may also be Sharia or "Ancient" Law Codex)? Does the populace exercise the freedom of speech (it may also be "freedom of speech" in a radical or extremist context supporting the insurgents)? How is the attitude of the majority of people about the political aims and ideology of the insurgents?
- 20) Can local security forces provide daily security? Does corruption interfere with security or governance? Are host nation security forces, intelligence agencies, and police doing their jobs? Is the assistance force still needed to support local forces actively or only by monitoring their work? Are local security forces increasingly able to handle insurgents without using the armed forces or secret services?
- 21) Does the populace have the feeling of self-governance? Do people have a hopeful perspective about the future of the country?
- 22) Are insurgents no longer able to psychologically destabilise government institutions and authorities? Are insurgents no longer able to effectively infiltrate or destabilise government institutions, security forces, and educational facilities?

## Appendix B Culminating Assessment Exercise Options

### Description

Assessment of learning is critical to determine if students have achieved the learning objectives and outcomes. This section contains suggestions for how to conduct a culminating evaluation at the end of the COIN course. Analysis of a case study or current COIN example is not the only way to assess learning; however, the authors are recommending this method because it provides a flexible way to engage students in dialog about COIN that will reveal what they have learned and areas that they may not understand.

### References/Readings

Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN), Edition a Version 1, July 2016. <http://nso.nato.int/nso/zPublic/ap/AJP-3.4.4%20EDA%20V1%20E.pdf>

Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume 1. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv1.pdf>

Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume II. Revised edition. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv2.pdf>

Komer, Robert W. The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort. Santa Monica, Rand, 1972. <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R957.html>

### Preparation

The students should read Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4 Allied Joint Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN) and attend instructor led classes for each module of the COIN course. Students should answer questions on the NATO doctrine and other assigned readings during class instruction.

### Case Study Assignment

Early in the COIN course, the students should be assigned to a 4-6 person group. Each group should select

or be assigned an insurgency or revolutionary war case study from one of the two casebooks (see references). This will permit the students to work on the case study throughout the COIN course. When feasible, students should also conduct research to supplement the data in the casebook. If other research is not possible, then the instructors need to ensure the cases selected from the casebook have enough information to complete the assessment exercise. If instructors are uncertain about whether a case study will be sufficient for the assignment, we recommend using The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort (referred to throughout Block 1 and in Appendix C).

Each group would be required to present their case to the rest of the class using one of the formats below. These presentations should be at the end of the course. The students should be evaluated (formally or informally) for their individual contribution and for the overall group product. The preferred method is a formal PowerPoint presentation where each member of the group participates in the briefing. An alternative would be to use a whiteboard or “butcher” paper to present the information.

### Assessment Format

Option one is to strictly follow the module outline of the COIN curriculum. Each group should cover:

- 1) The factors that led to the insurgency.
- 2) How the insurgency or revolutionary war was fought by the insurgents.
- 3) The methods and operational approach used by the counterinsurgents;
- 4) The reaction or impact on the people.
- 5) The outcome and an analysis of who won, who lost, and why

This informal narrative approach works well in a small group setting where the instructors and students have developed a good rapport. Questions may be interjected at any time by the instructors or fellow students during the course of the presentation.

Option two is to require a formal presentation using a more structured format. The outline below does not follow the exact module format of this COIN curriculum, but is a classic insurgency case study presentation format. The student case study group would be expected to present a formal briefing covering as much

of the format below as possible using information from the case study materials and other sources of information (if available). A complete sample of this assessment option is shown in Appendix C.

Option three is to follow an ongoing insurgency or revolutionary war during the course of instruction and have each student maintain a journal or notebook on this real-world situation. Require them to turn in their journal notes at the end of each module to show how they applied what they learned in the module to the ongoing situation. This method provides a very effective check on learning and would reinforce the learning outcomes. If news sources are not readily available, the instructor team needs to provide information for the students to analyse.

The method selected will depend on the venue, the time allotted for the course, and the familiarity of the instructors with COIN and the COIN instruction. As a minimum, instructors should use probing questions to check that students understand the material being taught. A method of evaluation should be part of every COIN course.

## Appendix C Sample Case Study Assessment Exercise

### Description

Instructors may use this methodology to help students understand counterinsurgency and to assess learning. Student study groups may be assigned different insurgencies or readings followed by the requirement to provide a briefing or presentation to the entire class. Students can share a single, common reading or be told to research the insurgency using sources from a library or the Internet. The students should then formulate a response, and present to the response to the class later in the course. The instructor can shorten or tailor the outline to emphasize key aspects of the study of insurgency and counterinsurgency. When feasible, require students to conduct a PMESII assessment of the operational environment prior to completing this COIN Case Study Methodology.

An abbreviated example of how to use the case study methodology to assess learning is shown in Table C-1. Table C-2 shows a sample answer for the Malayan Insurgency case study and includes a bibliography for that insurgency. The methodology can be completed by using any one of these publications. However, using multiple sources should produce a more accurate, nuanced, and informed solution.

### Sample Solution References

- Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary War, Volume 1. Special Operations Research Office, 2013. <https://fas.org/irp/agency/army/casebookv1.pdf>
- Galula, David. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Westport: Preger Security International, 2006.
- Komer, Robert W. *The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort*. Santa Monica, Rand, 1972. <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R957.html>
- Nagl, John A. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons for Malaya and Vietnam*. Chicago: Chicago Press, (2005)
- Stubbs, Richard. *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960*. London: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Thompson, Robert. *Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lesson of Malaya and Vietnam*. New York: F. A. Praeger, 1966.

## Table C-1 The Counterinsurgency Case Study Methodology Format

Topic	Areas to Analyze
Strategic and Historical Setting: Pre-Insurgency Situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Historical background</li> <li>b) Current geographic and regional context</li> <li>c) Groups, grievances, attitudes, connections</li> <li>d) Galula's prerequisites (cause, government administrative weakness, geographic environment, available outside support)</li> </ul>
Conduct of the Insurgency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Initial phase (leaders, goals, and type of insurgency)</li> <li>b) Organization, decision-making, communication</li> <li>c) Ideology, objectives, message</li> <li>d) Strategy, patterns, use of violence and terror</li> <li>e) Development, phases, adaptation</li> <li>f) Operational analysis (organizational COG, lines of operation, culmination)</li> <li>g) Decisive points, vulnerabilities for this insurgency (from following or others):               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i) Image(s) to key groups, efforts to shape image</li> <li>ii) Recruiting</li> <li>iii) Training, developing</li> <li>iv) Movement</li> <li>v) Internal and external sanctuaries</li> <li>vi) Money (obtaining, moving, distributing)</li> <li>vii) Arms, ammunition, materiel</li> <li>viii) Insurgent-controlled areas (administration, expansion)</li> <li>ix) External influence, support, direction</li> <li>x) Unity: competing organizations; fragmentation</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Conduct of the Counterinsurgency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Initial situation analysis, responses</li> <li>b) Civil military organization, decision-making, integration</li> <li>c) COIN plan               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i) Analysis of insurgency (objectives, strength, strategy)</li> <li>ii) Decisions, policies</li> <li>iii) Resources, other limitations</li> <li>iv) Leaders</li> </ul> </li> <li>d) Information, influence operations</li> <li>e) Implementation, adjustments               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i) Identification of key groups, mobilization efforts</li> <li>ii) Populace resource control measures</li> <li>iii) Key tactics, techniques, and procedures</li> <li>iv) Efforts in security, balanced development, mobilization, neutralization</li> </ul> </li> <li>f) Operational analysis (organizational cog, lines of operation, decisive points, culmination)</li> <li>g) External support, influence (including advisors' role, impact)</li> </ul>

Topic	Areas to Analyze
Responses of Population/ Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Key groups' initial support</li> <li>b) Changes in groups (objectives, membership, relationships); emergence of new groups</li> <li>c) Changes in support to insurgency, counterinsurgency               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i) Critical perceptions (of ability to protect/coerce/reward, purpose, end state)</li> <li>ii) Actions or inactions (reasons, causes)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Net Assessment/Current & Future Direction(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Option 1: Principles of COIN—Historical Principles and Contemporary Imperatives (FM 3-24)</li> <li>b) Option 2: IDAD Principles and Functions (JP 3-07.1)</li> <li>c) Option 3: Student option</li> </ul>
Lessons Learned or Observed for Current and Future Operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Strategic</li> <li>b) Operational</li> <li>c) Tactical</li> </ul>

## Table C-2 Abbreviated Sample Solution for the Malayan Insurgency

### Strategic and Historical Setting: Pre-Insurgency Situation

a) Historical background.

In 1942, Japan invaded and occupied the British colony of Malaya in Southeast Asia. During the war, the British Army supported guerrilla units who opposed Japanese rule. One of these groups evolved into the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) and its armed forces, the Malayan Races Liberation Army (MRLA). At the end of World War II in 1945, Great Britain began the process of de-colonization across the globe. Granting independence to India and Pakistan in 1947 was among the most notable actions of de-colonization. The minority Chinese population strongly opposed Great Britain's de-colonization plan because they viewed it a discriminatory. Their opposition led to widespread violence that peaked in the summer of 1948 with guerrilla attacks on British economic interests in the rural areas of Malaya.

Strategic setting.

The Malayan Emergency began as de-colonization swept across Asia. From North Korea, to the Philippines, in French Indochina, and British India, new nations were rising with the help of their former colonial masters. There were also nations that were not being allowed to seek independence. Communist movements supported by the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China (after 1949) arose in these states. The rise of communism and Wars of National Liberations played a role in Malaya even though Great Britain had planned to give Malaya its independence in 1948.

b) Geographic context.

See Map [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east\\_and\\_asia/southeast\\_asia\\_pol\\_2013.pdf](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/southeast_asia_pol_2013.pdf)

c) Groups, grievances, attitudes, connections.

The primary group that supported the insurgency were the ethnic Chinese who suffered significant discrimination at the hands of the majority Malay. The form of government called for in the independence agreement did not adequately address this issue.

d) Galula's prerequisites (cause, government administrative weakness, geographic environment, available outside support).

The prerequisites for an insurgency existed in Malaya in 1948.

- A Chinese and Indian Malay minority population opposed economic, political, and social discrimination.
- The newly formed Malaya government was weak administratively, divided politically and ideologically, and had a weak security infrastructure.
- The geography aided the insurgency in terms of ability to hide in jungle sanctuaries, however, there were drawbacks. The topical climate had limited food available, and no other country provided sanctuary after Thailand closed off access to its territory.
- The USSR and China provided political and propaganda support; however, the British Navy controlled sea access thereby limiting imports to support the insurgents.

### Conduct of the Insurgency

a) Initial phase (leaders, goals, and type of insurgency).

Leaders. The Malay Chinese Chin Ping, who fought against the Japanese and was awarded the Order of the British Empire, replaced Loi Tak, who absconded with funds meant to support the revolutionary effort.

Goals. Overthrow British rule and establish a communist people's democracy.

Type of Insurgency. Protracted guerrilla war.

- b) Organization, decision-making, communication.  
 Organization. Small group, cellular structure.  
 Decision-making. Central direction, decentralized execution of terroristic actions and small unit attacks.  
 Communication. Cellular structure, human-to-human networks.
- c) Ideology, objectives, message.  
 Communism, a democratic socialist society, independence with full rights for Chinese and Indian Malays.
- d) Strategy, patterns, use of violence and terror.  
 Strategy. Protracted guerrilla war designed to weaken and cause an over-reaction by security forces.  
 Patterns. Activities designed to weaken the governmental security apparatus and cause damage to British and Malay elite economic infrastructure.  
 Use of Violence and Terror. Criminal activity in the cities and terrorist attacks on rural economic infrastructure characterized the early phases along with a general uprising and communal riots. The plan was to eventually organize units able to engage and defeat British military forces in the field.
- e) Development, phases, adaptation.  
 Development. The guerrilla organization took advantage of wartime experience fighting the Japanese, the arms caches they had hidden immediately after the war, and the Chinese and Indian Malay populations that had and were suffering from discrimination.  
 Phases. There were three planned phases of the rural based protracted insurgency.
1. Weaken British and Malay security forces, preserve and expand their own forces.
  2. Drive the security forces from the rural areas and restrict them to static defense of supply centers and urban areas. Move from guerrilla to mobile warfare.
  3. Establish strong bases, increase areas of potential recruiting, and eventually link up forces and bases to control the country by defeating the weakened security forces.
- f) Operational analysis (organizational COG, lines of operation, culmination).  
 Strategic COG. The weak and inefficient Malay government.  
 Operational COG. British Ground Forces.  
 Lines of Operations.
- Recruiting Guerrillas and civilian mass organization (Min Yuen).
  - Propaganda (Anti British, Anti Malay, pro Chinese and Indian minorities)
  - Criminal and Terrorist Activities
  - Internal and External Logistics Support
  - Counter-Security Force (British and Malay) Activities
- Culmination. To induce counterinsurgency culmination, the insurgents planned to survive until security forces no longer were able to conduct large scale offensive sweeps in the rural base areas. To prevent their own culmination, the insurgents planned to maintain sufficient forces to continue criminal and terrorist activity throughout the country.
- g) Decisive points, vulnerabilities for this insurgency (from following or others).
- i) Image(s) to key groups, efforts to shape image. The insurgents and mass base of Chinese and Indian ethnics constituted about 40 percent of the population. Their ability to gain the support of a majority of Malay was a key vulnerability.
  - ii) Recruiting. Proved extremely difficult, especially after the re-settlement of Chinese squatters in new villages.
  - iii) Training, developing. Problems building and securing base camps inhibited training and organization of larger units with the capacity to defeat regular British and Commonwealth units.

- iv) Movement. Movement in rural areas became more and more difficult as the size, training, and competence of local Malay security forces improved.
- v) Internal and external sanctuaries. Maintaining jungle sanctuaries became more difficult as British light infantry units improved, using local scouts, air reconnaissance and attack capabilities. There were no major external sanctuaries with the minor exception of the Thai border area. Chin Peng and his headquarters occupied a border site at the end of the emergency.
- vi) Money (obtaining, moving, distributing). Outside support was very limited, internal support came from intimidation and coercion of both Malay and Chinese inhabitants.
- vii) Arms, ammunition, materiel. Most arms and war materials came from hidden caches provided by Britain to fight the Japanese during World War II and supplies were captured from Malay security forces.
- viii) Insurgent-controlled areas (administration, expansion). Early in the emergency, 1948-1951, the insurgents operated relatively easily in the jungle and rural areas. The “new village” resettlements and the introduction of British combat formations shrank insurgent controlled areas and administration in the Chinese villages became difficult.
- ix) External influence, support, direction. The victory of Mao Zedong in China in 1949 over Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists provided some hope and encouragement for the Communists in Malay, but outside support remained mostly rhetoric coupled with a shared doctrine of protracted guerrilla warfare.
- x) Unity: competing organizations; fragmentation. The Chinese Malay guerrillas only maintained unity with a core element of less than a thousand fighters.

### **Conduct of the Counterinsurgency**

#### a) Initial situation analysis, responses.

The weak and disjointed initial response from 1948 to 1951, under the direction of the High Commissioner Sir Henry Gurney, aided the nascent insurgent movement. The Malay majority’s rejection of the proposals by the British government to grant independence and fair treatment for Chinese and Indian ethnics provided the fuel to ignite the full-fledged insurgency by the minorities. Gurney was assassinated in the summer of 1951 and was replaced by General Sir Gerald Templar January 1952. He instituted a comprehensive plan to win the “hearts and minds”.

#### b) Civil military organization, decision-making, integration.

With the arrival of Sir Gerald Templar, a British “committee system” was established from national to district level. The military system paralleled the existing civil administrative structure with military personnel dual-hatted in the top positions. Over time these positioned were transitioned to Malayan officials. Decision making was monopolized by military commanders in the Director of Operations position originally put in place in 1950 by General Briggs. By 1956, over 90% of the civil service was integrated and being run by the Malaysians

#### c) COIN plan.

- i) Analysis of insurgency (objectives, strength, strategy). The destruction of the Malayan Communist Party and its ability to conduct subversive activities within the emerging Malay political structure along with the defeat of the Malay Races People’s Army were the key objectives. By 1952, the security forces significantly outnumbered the active guerrilla forces. The strategy was a comprehensive political and military plan of action.
- ii) Decisions, policies. The key decision by General Templar was to institute a comprehensive social, economic, political, and military plan using the Malayan people as the primary resource.
- iii) Resources, other limitations. Resources were adequate, but not abundant, to implement the comprehensive plan.
- iv) Leaders. General Sir Gerald Templar and General Sir Robert Thompson.

#### d) Information, influence operations.

One of the most important aspects of the information operations was the announcement in 1952 of

willingness of the British government to grant Malaysians their independence. The independence happened in 1957, near the end of the emergency.

e) Implementation, adjustments.

- i) Identification of key groups, mobilization efforts. The Malays were kept from joining the insurgency while the Chinese Malaya population was finally brought under control and removed from actively supporting the Min Yuen and the MRPA.
- ii) Populace resource control measures. The government effectively controlled the Chinese Malay populace with the New Village strategy and the control of foodstuffs, especially rice.
- iii) Key tactics, techniques, and procedures. General Sir Templar instituted a comprehensive counterinsurgency approach with propaganda as well as economic and social programs to reduce discrimination and support for the MCP. National, regional, and local forces were raised, trained, equipped and deployed to protect the populace, key economic targets, lines of communication and government assets. The regular British and Commonwealth military forces, with helicopters for mobility and fixed-wing assets for reconnaissance and bombing of insurgent base camps, significantly eroded the military capabilities of the insurgents. The military approach might best be described as presence, persistence, and patience.
- iv) Efforts in security, balanced development, mobilization, neutralization. Templar used the four classic areas of Foreign Internal Defense defeat the insurgency:
  - 1) Security. The populace was a focus of the security effort.
  - 2) Balanced Development. The natural resources in Malaya, (i.e. rubber and tin) were in demand because of the Korean War and the post WWII economic situation which allowed improvements to the daily lives of the average Malay.
  - 3) Mobilization. The Malay population and Chinese Malays bought into the effort to defeat an insurgency socially, politically, economically, and militarily.
  - 4) Neutralization. Guerrilla formations and bases were targeted, attacked, destroyed, and persistently harried to the point of surrender in the jungle and rural areas.

f) Operational analysis (organizational cog, lines of operation, decisive points, culmination)

Strategic COG. Ability of the MCP and MRPA to recruit.

Operational COG. External Support and Ability to Build Secure Bases.

Lines of Operation.

- Security of Populace.
- Defeat of the MRPA.
- Transfer of Governance to competent democratic Malay run political and bureaucratic structure
- Building a stable economy

g) External support, influence (including advisors' role, impact)

External Support. The continuing support of the British government and the forces of Britain and the Commonwealth was crucial. To prevent outside support from Russia and China was also important, but relatively easy to do with the Royal Navy and an easily defendable and controllable coastline.

Advisors. The British Army had historically worked with indigenous populations to build police, security, and military forces. In addition, there was a tradition of British officers serving in foreign nation's forces and colonial formations. Imperial policing was a primary duty of the British military for over a century. Because Malaya and Singapore were colonies, British military and government officials were thoroughly familiar with the region of Southeast Asia.

### **Responses of Population/Society – Sample Analysis for This Topic**

a) Key groups' initial support.

Support from the Chinese Malay population was initially strong, but declined over time as the life of the average person deteriorated due to the costs of supporting the MCP, the MRPA, and the Min Yuen.

b) Changes in groups (objectives, membership, relationships); emergence of new groups.

The MCP had a very difficult time recruiting outside of the Chinese Malay and supporting groups within the country did not emerge.

c) Changes in support to insurgency, counterinsurgency.

- i) Critical perceptions (of ability to protect/coerce/reward, purpose, end state). The arrival of General Templar and the initiation of his “hearts and minds” comprehensive counterinsurgency campaign severely retarded the growth of the MCP revolutionary movement. The development of competent Malay security forces at the local, regional, and national level allowed for the protection of both the Malay and Chinese Malay populations. This freed the British and Commonwealth forces to focus on the defeat of the guerrillas and separating them for the support of the Min Yuen.
- ii) Actions or inactions (reasons, causes). The Malayan people began to support the counterinsurgency effort as the British government had agreed to grant independence. The ethnic Chinese were the focus of a variety of political, economic, and social programs including extensive resettlement. Over a half million Chinese squatters were moved to areas where they could be better protected and controlled. This was supported by an information campaign to counter the Communist propaganda. Slowly, but surely over time the causes of the insurgency were dealt with as part of the overall counterinsurgency program. The guerrillas grew more and more inactive among the people as they were driven further back into the jungle and their ability to obtaining funding, food, and weapons, internally and externally were blocked.

**Net Assessment/Current & Future Direction(s)**

a) Who won?

The Malay majority population supported by the British government and military.

b) Who lost?

The Chinese Malay Communist Party, the Chinese and Indian minorities, and their military arm.

c) What were the key reasons or factors involved in the outcome?

- i) The British and Malaya Security Forces showed the ability to adapt to the insurgent threat as it emerged over time.
- ii) The key weaknesses of the Malay Communist Party and Malaya Races Liberation Army were:
  - Lack of outside financial and military support.
  - Inability to recruit beyond the Chinese minority populations. Even Chinese minority population recruitment was greatly reduced after 1952.
  - The lack of MRLA support and new recruits helped the superior British and Commonwealth military forces eventually wear down the MRLA
  - Weak and divided insurgent leadership (political and military) that could not build an effective fighting force to oppose the government security forces and the British military.
  - The MCP and MRLA could not successfully react to a comprehensive and coordinated military, social, political, and economic counterinsurgency strategy established under the leadership of General Templar.

**Topic: Lessons Learned or Observed for Current and Future Operations**

- A comprehensive, population-centric counterinsurgency approach applied consistently over time can defeat an insurgency.
- An insurgency without, or denied, external support is difficult to maintain.
- Even a relative small insurgency, conducted by a distinguishable and separate ethnic group, is not easily opposed and takes a long time to defeat.
- Political-Military Conflicts can only be defeated with a political-military attuned leadership.

The methodology can be completed by using any one of these publications. However, using multiple sources should produce a more accurate, nuanced, and informed solution.

## Abbreviations

<b>ACO</b>	Allied Command Operations
<b>ASCOPE</b>	areas, structures, capabilities, organisations, people, and events
<b>CIMIC</b>	Civil-Military Cooperation
<b>COIN</b>	Counterinsurgency
<b>COPD</b>	Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive
<b>EFP</b>	Explosively Formed Penetrator
<b>HUMINT</b>	Human Intelligence
<b>IDAD</b>	Internal Defence and Development
<b>IEDs</b>	Improvised Explosive Device
<b>INFOOPS</b>	Information Operations
<b>IO</b>	International Organization
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organization
<b>MSR</b>	Major Supply Route
<b>PME</b>	Professional Military Education
<b>PMESII</b>	Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information and Infrastructure
<b>PSYOPS</b>	Psychological Operations
<b>ROE</b>	Rules of Engagement
<b>TTP</b>	Tactics, Techniques and Procedures

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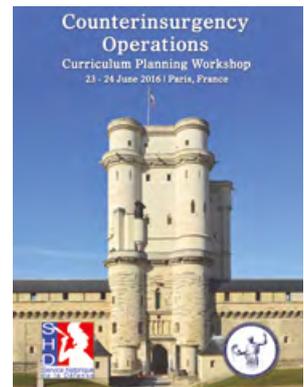
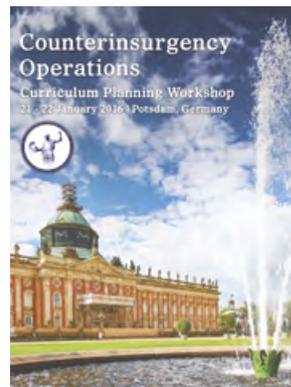
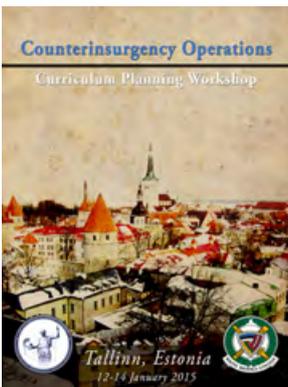


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