
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS
THE BASIC SCHOOL
MARINE CORPS TRAINING COMMAND
CAMP BARRETT, VIRGINIA 22134-5019

**COUNTERINSURGENCY
MEASURES
B4S5499XQ
STUDENT HANDOUT**

Counterinsurgency Measures

Introduction

This lesson will focus on the basics of counterinsurgency (COIN), and will provide the provisional rifle platoon commander with a basic understanding of insurgency, and provide the student with the start point to begin their own study of insurgency and counterinsurgency. It is not meant to be an exhaustive study of the topic and serves to focus on the tactical level considerations and congruent actions.

Importance

U.S. involvement in a counterinsurgency demands a whole-of-government approach. Defeating an insurgency requires a blend of both civilian and military efforts that address both assisting the host-nation government in defeating the insurgents on the battlefield and enabling the host nation in addressing the root causes of the insurgency. Moreover, after large scale combat or in an ungoverned space, there may not be a functioning host-nation government. In those cases, U.S. forces must work with population groups in the area and enable them to build governmental capacity. In either case, U.S. civilian and military participants in counterinsurgency cannot compensate for lack of will, acceptance of corruption, or counterproductive behavior on the part of the supported government or the population.

In This Lesson

This lesson will begin with analyzing the enemy we find ourselves facing, with a discussion on Insurgents and their Insurgencies.

This lesson covers the following topics:

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Learning Objectives

Enabling Learning Objectives:

TBS-ATFP-2101f Given a scenario involving enemy insurgents, a mission, and a commander's intent, identify counterinsurgency measures to accomplish the mission IAW MCWP 3-33.5 Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies

TBS-ATFP-2101g Given a scenario involving enemy insurgents, a mission, and a commander's intent, define "insurgency" IAW MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies

TBS-ATFP-2101h Given a scenario involving enemy insurgents, a mission, and a commander's intent, describe the elements of an insurgency IAW MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies.

TBS-ATFP-2101i Given a scenario involving enemy insurgents, a mission, and a commander's intent, describe the dynamics of an insurgency IAW MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies.

TBS-ATFP-2101j Given a scenario involving enemy insurgents, a mission, and a commander's intent, describe the three phases of an insurgency IAW MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies.

TBS-ATFP-2101k Given a scenario involving enemy insurgents, a mission, and a commander's intent, describe the Rule of Law in regard to counterinsurgency operations IAW MCWP 3-33.5, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies.

Insurgency

Terms

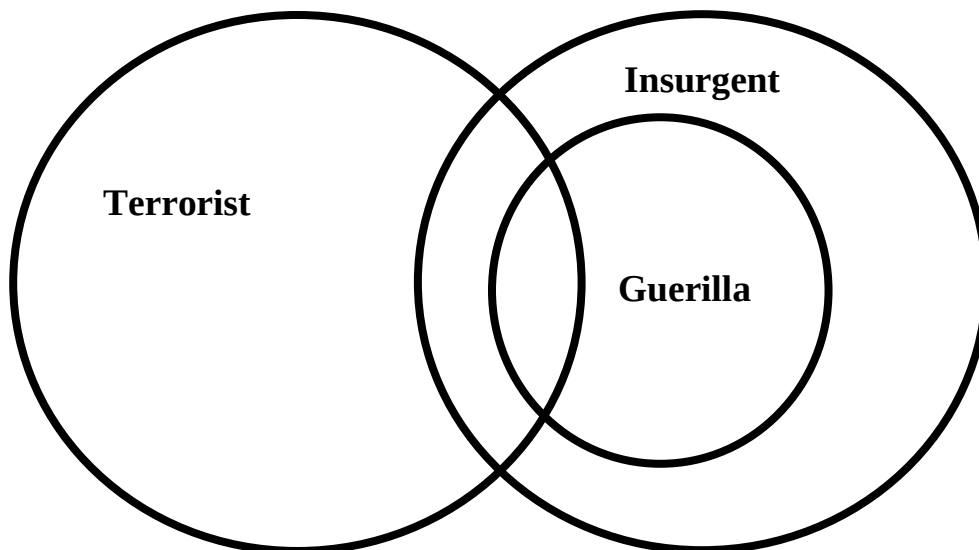
Insurgency – An *insurgency* is the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region. Insurgency can also refer to the group itself. (JP 3-24)

Insurgent - member of an insurgency. Doctrinally, an organized resistance movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. Insurgencies are typically a part of (and subordinate to) a larger resistance movement that includes other, non-violent aspects, such as political actions and international coordination

Guerrilla - The overt military aspect of the insurgency.

Terrorist – One who uses violence or the threat of violence to create fear; the intent is to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

Terrorism and guerilla warfare are techniques that may or may not be employed in pursuit of an overall insurgent strategy. Guerillas are a subcomponent of an insurgency that works overtly toward the goals of that insurgency. The following Venn diagram establishes links between insurgents, guerrillas, and terrorists:



Insurgency (Continued)

Aspects of an Insurgency

Insurgency is typically a form of internal war, one that occurs primarily within a state and has at least some elements of civil war. The exception being resistance movements where indigenous elements seek to expel or overthrow what they perceive as a foreign or occupation government.

Insurgency goals fall between two extremes: to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within a single state, or to break away from state control and form an autonomous entity or ungoverned space that they control.

Terrorism, on the other hand, is a technique that may be employed independently or as part of an insurgency (by guerrilla forces or not). The goals of a terrorist are not necessarily specific to governments; they typically focus on broader ideological goals. They may not even focus their attacks on governments, but on societies directly.

Analyzing an Insurgency

Each Insurgency is unique. In all cases, insurgents aim to force political change; any military action is secondary and subordinate, a means to an end. (MCWP 3-35 1-24)
Understanding specific aspects of the insurgency allows for more appropriate methods to counter. To create that understanding it is critical to identify the following:

Insurgency (Continued)

Mobilization Means and Causes

The primary struggle in an internal war is to mobilize people in a struggle for political control and legitimacy. Insurgents and counterinsurgents seek to mobilize popular support for their cause. Both try to sustain that struggle while discouraging support for their adversaries.

Mobilization Means:

Persuasion

In times of turmoil, political, social, security, and economic benefits can often entice people to support one side or the other. Ideology and religion are powerful means of persuasion.

Coercion

Insurgents may use coercive force to provide security for people or to intimidate them and the legitimate security forces into active or passive support. Kidnapping or killing local leaders or their families is a common insurgent tactic to discourage working with the government.

Reaction to abuses

Firmness by security forces is often necessary to establish a secure environment; a government that exceeds accepted local norms and abuses its people or is tyrannical generates resistance to its rule. Security force abuses and the social upheaval caused by collateral damage from combat can be major escalating factors for insurgencies.

Foreign support

Foreign governments can provide the expertise, international legitimacy, and money needed to start or intensify a conflict.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGO) can wittingly or unwittingly support insurgencies; i.e. legitimizing charitable agencies and/or raising funds overseas that are diverted through corrupt local agencies.

Apolitical motivations

Insurgencies attract criminals, mercenaries, and individuals inspired by the romanticized image of the revolutionary or holy warrior. It is important to note that political solutions might not satisfy some of them enough to end their participation.

Insurgency (Continued)

Mobilization Means and Causes (Continued)

Mobilization Causes:

A cause is a principle or movement militantly defended or supported. Insurgent leaders often seek to adopt attractive and persuasive causes to mobilize support. These causes often stem from the unresolved contradictions existing within any society or culture. These contradictions may be real; however, insurgents may create artificial contradictions created using propaganda and misinformation.

Deep-seated, strategic causes vs. temporary and local ones:

- Insurgents can gain more support by not limiting themselves to a single cause, adding or deleting them as circumstances demand. They attract supporters by appealing to local grievances; then they lure followers into the broader movement.

Successful COIN operation must address the legitimate grievances insurgents use to generate popular support. Insurgencies take many forms; however, most share common attributes. The proportion of each element relative to the larger movement depends on the strategic approach (conspiratorial, military, etc) the insurgency adopts.

Elements of Insurgency

Leadership - An essential element of any insurgency is its leadership and its leadership structure. This can vary greatly and is dependent on whether the insurgency is a networked insurgency or a hierarchical insurgency. However, because of its importance, it is covered under the first dynamic.

Guerilla Units - Guerrillas are used for a wide range of military purposes, but their primary purpose is to achieve a political end. For example, attacks on host-nation forces may undermine host-nation legitimacy among a population and create insurgent safe havens. Guerrilla units can conduct small-unit tactical operations and can mass for larger operations. Ambushes against convoys are examples of small-unit tactics an insurgent group may use. These tactics have the advantage of preventing an insurgent group from becoming decisively engaged. As an insurgency gains military power, guerrilla units increase their ability to conduct large scale attacks.

Insurgency (Continued)

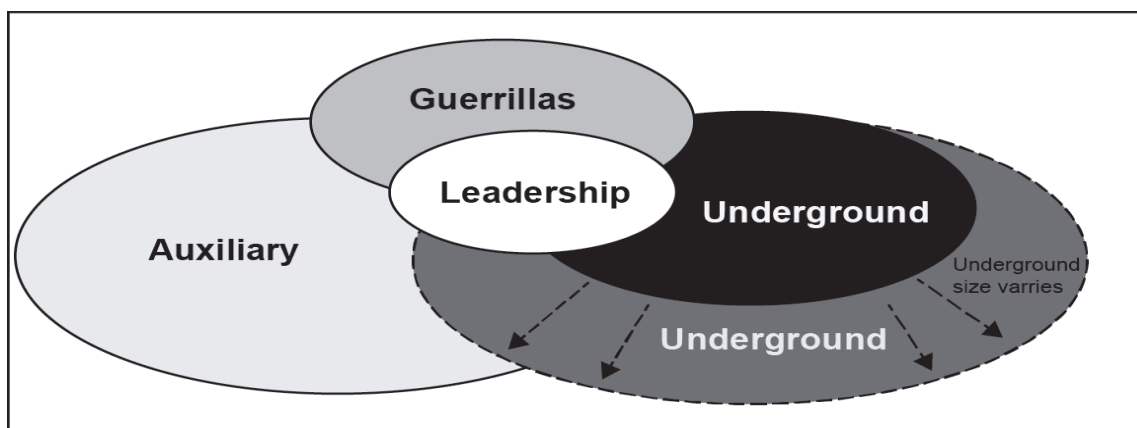
Elements of Insurgency (Continued)

During the final insurgency stage, war of movement, guerilla units can perform actions meant to destroy the host-nation military force. This can be a decisive action for an insurgency. If successful, a war of movement can overthrow the government or allow the insurgency to reach other political goals. However, if the insurgency begins a war of movement too soon, the insurgency can deplete its military power and undermine its political power.

Auxiliary Forces - Auxiliary forces also include economic support systems to fund the insurgency's military and political operations. Economic support systems include—.

- Fund raising and terrorist finance networks.
- Pillaging, looting, extorting, and enslaving a population.
- Business operations that include both direct control, joint ventures, and taxation of enterprises in these industries:
 - Illicit trade in commodities and natural resources (such as oil, timber, and diamonds).
 - Criminal trafficking in narcotics, humans, and arms.
 - Legal business enterprises (such as oil, shipping, motor transport, and hotels).
 - Banking and finance operations.

Underground - Underground cells conduct clandestine combatant and logistics operations in areas controlled by government forces. Combat operations can include sabotage, assassinations, and small arms attacks. Logistic operations can include maintaining safe houses, controlling hostages, moving weapons, and providing communications. Underground cells include intelligence cells, logistic cells, and combatant cells.



Insurgency (Continued)

Dynamics of an Insurgency

Eight dynamics or some combinations of these dynamics are common to most successful insurgencies. The eight dynamics are—

- Leadership.
- Objectives.
- Ideology and Narrative.
- Environment and Geography.
- External support.
- Internal support.
- Phasing and Timing
- Organizational and Operational patterns

Leadership - An insurgency is not simply random violence; it is directed and focused violence aimed at achieving a political objective. It requires leadership to provide vision, direction, guidance, coordination, and organizational coherence. Their key tasks are to break the ties between the people and the government and to establish credibility for their movement.

Objectives - The strategic objective is the insurgents' desired end state. Operational objectives are objectives that insurgents pursue to destroy government legitimacy and progressively establish their desired end state. Tactical objectives are the immediate aims of insurgent acts. Objectives can be psychological or physical.

Ideology and Narrative - The movement's ideology explains its followers' difficulties and provides a means to remedy those ills. The most powerful ideologies tap latent, emotional concerns of the populace. Examples of these concerns include religiously based objectives, a desire for justice, ethnic aspirations, and a goal of liberation from foreign occupation. The central mechanism through which ideologies are expressed and absorbed is the narrative. A narrative is an organization scheme expressed in story form. Narratives are central to representing identity, particularly the collective identity of religious sects, ethnic groupings, and tribal elements.

Environment and Geography - (including cultural and demographic factors) affect all participants in a conflict; most noticeably at the tactical level where they influence all tactics, techniques and procedures. Insurgencies in urban environments present different planning considerations from insurgencies in rural environments.

Insurgency (Continued)

Dynamics of an Insurgency (Continued)

External Support and Sanctuaries - External support can provide political, psychological, and material resources that might otherwise be limited or unavailable. Insurgencies may turn to transnational criminal elements for funding or use the Internet to create a support network. Sanctuaries traditionally were physical safe havens, such as training bases, but insurgents today can also draw on “virtual” sanctuaries in the Internet, global financial systems, and in the international media.

Internal Support- Internal support is any support provided from within the borders of the state where the insurgency is active. An insurgency must have some internal support, even if it is limited. The level and type of support varies by insurgency and area. Counterinsurgents must understand the specific nature of the support to address and counter the relationship between the population and insurgents. This support may be either willing or based on coercion.

A large populated area or region where insurgents can operate represents many different communities that provide varying levels of support for different reasons. There are two types of internal support: active and passive. Passive support is critical for successful insurgent operations. It provides freedom of movement for members of the insurgency to reside, train, plan, and conduct operations in an area without resistance from the local community.

Active supporters provide open sympathy to the insurgency, participate in insurgent operations, and find new recruits. Active supporters are usually central to the insurgency’s propaganda efforts. They may provide material, intelligence, or assistance as requested or demanded by insurgents. Active support, like passive support, may be volunteered or coerced.

Phasing and Timing - Successful insurgencies often progress through three phases (latent and incipient, guerrilla warfare, and war of movement). Not all insurgencies progress through all three phases, and progression through all three phases is not a requirement for success. Insurgent success can occur in any phase. In addition, insurgencies can revert to an earlier phase and resume development when favorable conditions return.

Insurgency (Continued)

Dynamics of an Insurgency (Continued)

Movement from one phase to another phase does not end the operational and tactical activities of earlier phases; it incorporates them. Therefore, it is difficult to determine when an insurgency moves from one phase to another. In addition, a single insurgency may be in different phases in different parts of the country. Advanced insurgencies can rapidly shift, split, combine, or reorganize; they are dynamic and adaptive.

Organizational and Operational Patterns - Each insurgency's organization is unique. The specific type and level of organization is an indicator of the insurgents' strategy and capabilities. Understanding an insurgency's organizational and operational patterns helps counterinsurgents predict the enemy's tactics, techniques, and procedures, understand their capabilities, and identify potential targets.

Three phases of an Insurgency

Mao defined three different Developmental Phases, which we use in our own doctrine. For an insurgency to be successful, all three phases are not a requirement, nor are the necessarily required to be met sequentially. They are:

- Phase I: Latent and Incipient
- Phase II: Guerilla Warfare
- Phase III: War of Movement

Latent and Incipient: The first phase is latent and incipient. During this phase, activities include the emergence of insurgent leadership, creation of initial organizational infrastructure, training, acquisition of resources, and political actions, such as organizing protests. A group that eventually becomes members of an insurgency may simply be a legitimate political group at this stage. Governmental actions and changes in society can transform political groups into insurgencies.

Guerilla Warfare: The second phase is guerrilla warfare. In this phase, successful insurgents use small-unit tactics to attack security forces while continuing ongoing political efforts. Their goal is to undermine the government's legitimacy and replace the government's legitimacy with the population seeing the insurgency as legitimate. In this stage, insurgencies may begin performing limited governmental functions for the population in areas they control.

Insurgency (Continued)

Three phases of an Insurgency (Continued)

War of Movement: The third phase is war of movement. During this phase, an insurgency may be trying to overthrow a government or trying to force the withdrawal of an occupying power. For success, an insurgency does not necessarily need to transform into a conventional military, but it must position itself to defeat the government or occupying power. However, this phase may not be needed. In some cases, all an insurgency must do is create a continual problem that cannot be solved and wear down the patience of the counterinsurgents. This is especially true when the counterinsurgents are directed by an outside power. This phase is characterized by increased military capability, popular support, logistics capacity, and territorial control.

Counterinsurgency

The Rule of Law

The endstate of the counterinsurgency campaign plan is the establishment or sustainment of the rule of law, which is defined as (MCWP 3-33.5):

Rule of law is a principle under which all persons, institutions, and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced, and independently adjudicated, and that are consistent with international human rights principles.

- The state monopolizes the use of force in the resolution of disputes.
- Individuals are secure in their persons and property.
- The state is itself bound by law and does not act arbitrarily.
- The law can be readily determined and is stable enough to allow individuals to plan their affairs.
- Individuals have meaningful access to an effective and impartial legal system.
- The state protects basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- Individuals rely on the existence of justice institutions and the content of law in the conduct of their daily lives.

Counterinsurgency (Continued)

Legitimacy

The primary objective of any COIN operation is to foster the development of effective governance by a legitimate government.

All governments rule through a combination of consent and coercion. Governments described as “legitimate” rule primarily with the consent of the governed.

In *Western liberal tradition*, a government that derives its just powers from the people and responds to their desires while looking out for their welfare is accepted as legitimate.

Theocratic societies fuse political and religious authority; political figures are accepted as legitimate because the populace views them as implementing the will of God.

Medieval monarchies claimed “the divine right of kings.”

Imperial China governed with “the mandate of heaven.”

Iran, since the 1979 revolution, has operated under the “rule of the jurists (theocratic judges).”

It is imperative that commanders determine and understand what the Host Nation (HN) population defines as effective and legitimate governance. The population’s expectations will influence all ensuing operations.

Indicators of legitimacy:

- The ability to provide security for the populace;
- Selection of leaders at a frequency and in a manner considered just and fair by a substantial majority of the populace (Western vs. Non-western views);
- A high level of popular participation in or support for political processes;
- A culturally acceptable level of corruption;
- A culturally acceptable level and rate of political, economic, and social development;

A high level of regime acceptance by major social institutions.

Counterinsurgency (Continued)

Legitimacy (Continued) The primary objective of any COIN operation is to foster the Governments scoring high in these categories probably have the support of a sufficient majority of the population. Different cultures, however, may see acceptable levels of development, corruption, and participation differently. For some societies, providing security and some basic services may be enough for citizens to grant the government legitimacy.

The presence of the rule of law is a major factor in assuring voluntary acceptance of a government's authority and therefore its legitimacy. A government's respect for preexisting and impersonal legal rules can provide the key to gaining it widespread, enduring societal support.

Security under the Rule of Law

The cornerstone of any COIN effort is establishing security for the civilian populace; one that allows for follow-on political and social progress/reforms. Using a legal system established in line with local culture and practices to deal with such criminals enhances the HN government's legitimacy.

Illegitimate actions are those involving the use of power without authority – whether committed by government officials, security forces, or counterinsurgents. Such actions include unjustified or excessive use of force, unlawful detention, torture, and punishment without trial.

Counterinsurgent aims

Understanding the population within the Area of Operations

- Organization of key groups in society
- Relationships and tensions among groups
- Ideologies and narratives that resonate with groups
- Values of groups, interests, and motivations
- The society's leadership system

Counterinsurgency (Continued)

Unity of Effort	Unity of effort must be present at every echelon of a COIN operation; otherwise, well-intentioned but uncoordinated actions can cancel each other or provide vulnerabilities for insurgents to exploit. This is true among tactical adjacent units and between different agents on the levels of war (tactical, operational, and strategic).
Intelligence Drives Operations	Effective operations are shaped by timely, specific, and reliable intelligence, gathered and analyzed at the lowest possible level. A cycle develops where operations produce intelligence that drives subsequent operations.
Isolation	Dynamic insurgencies can replace losses quickly. Skillful counterinsurgents must thus cut off and isolated from the sources of that recuperative power. This can be done by readdressing the social dynamics under which the insurgents gain support from the populace or by limiting financial and physical support, via legal actions and border security.
Direct Counterinsurgency Strategy: Shape-Clear-Hold-Build-(Transition)	The Shape-Clear-Hold-Build-Transition framework describes an operational approach that moves through each of its phases to destroy insurgent capacity and empower host-nation capacity. The phases of this method are not mutually exclusive, but the phases represent a general progression of operations. The Shape phase refers to making changes to the environment, through information operations or other methods, that create the conditions for success of the other phases. The population needs to understand that there will be an increase in security and initially local leaders should be contacted. The Clear phase is an effort to remove the open insurgent presence in an area. The Hold phase is defined by providing security for the population in an area so an open insurgent presence cannot return. The Build phase entails efforts to increase security and governmental capacity so that government and local forces can control the area and prevent the return of insurgents. The transition phase is the transition of security to local and government forces.

Counterinsurgency (Continued)

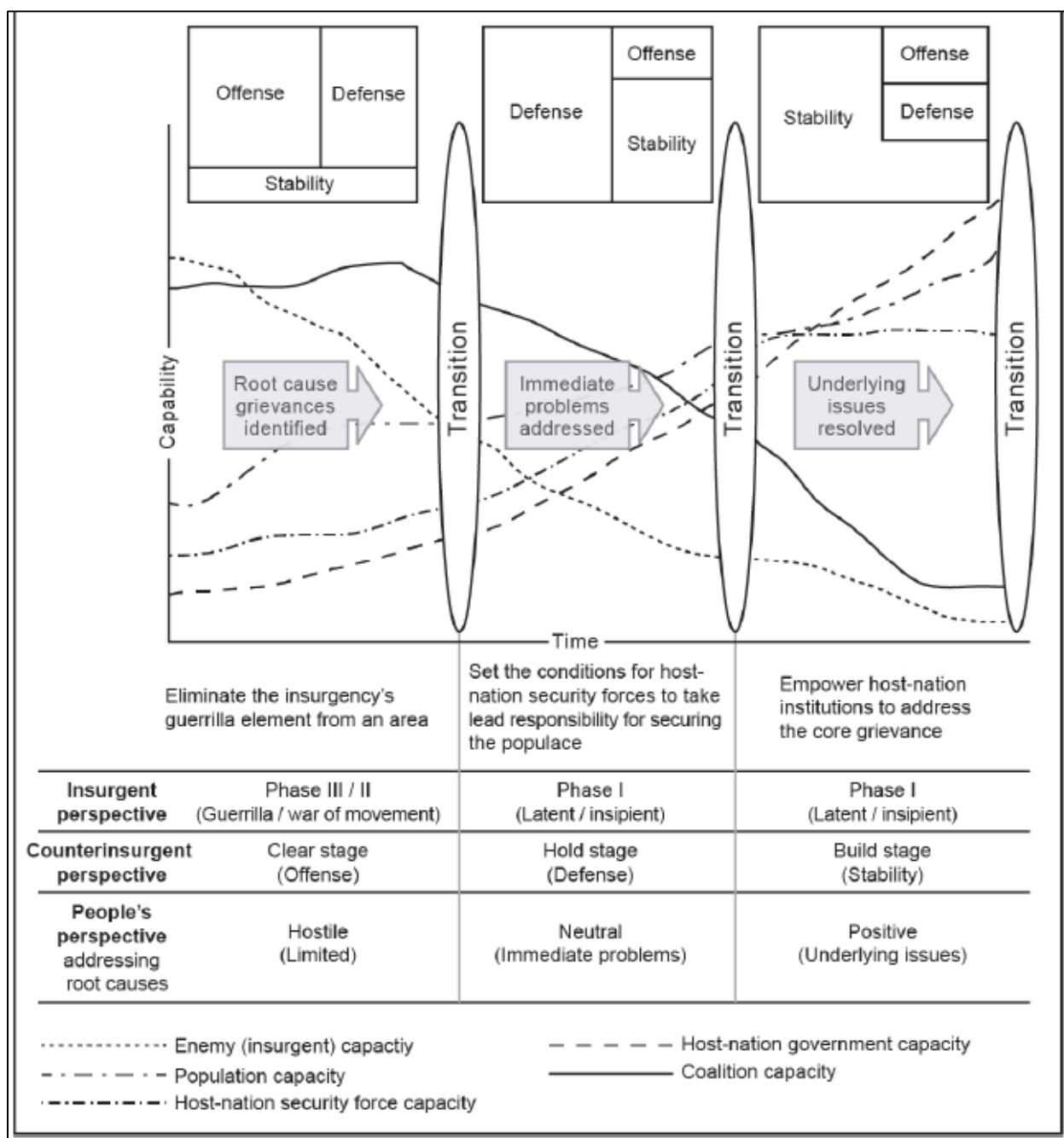
Direct Counterinsurgency Strategy:

Shape-Clear-Hold-Build-(Transition)

(Continued)

The **Transition** phase Transition allows the counterinsurgent to delineate tasks associated with development of host-nation institutions (governance, rule of law, security, and economic) with those tasks associated with transitioning to host-nation lead of operations. To make transition effective, U.S. commanders incorporate planning and execution of transition as part of the shape-clear-hold-build-transition framework.

Example of a possible Shape-Clear-Hold-Build-Transition model



Counterinsurgency (Continued)

**Indirect
Counterinsurgency
Strategy:
Working With Host-
Nation Forces
(Advising)**

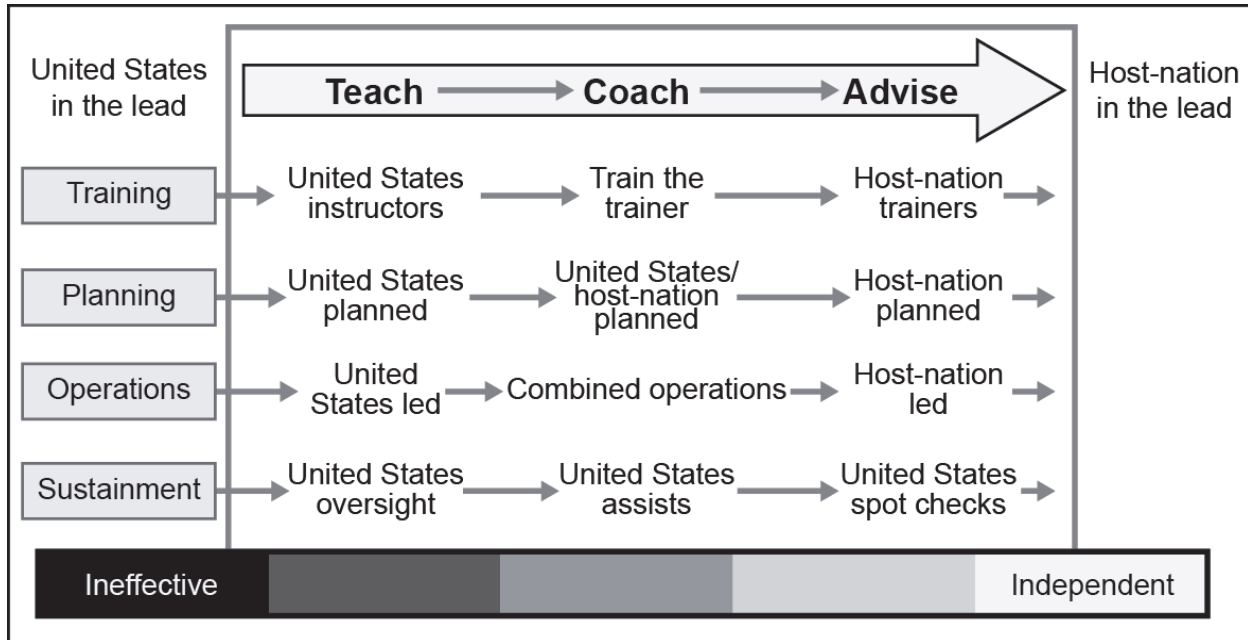
The use of security cooperation tools to build governmental capability, including building a host nation's forces, may be essential. In the eyes of a local population, the credibility of the host-nation government is vital in counterinsurgency efforts to address the threat and conditions of instability.

The host nation's military, police, and paramilitary forces are often the most visible elements of a host-nation government's power and authority. Therefore, building the capacity of a host nation's security forces should work toward improving the security force's competence, capability, commitment, and confidence.

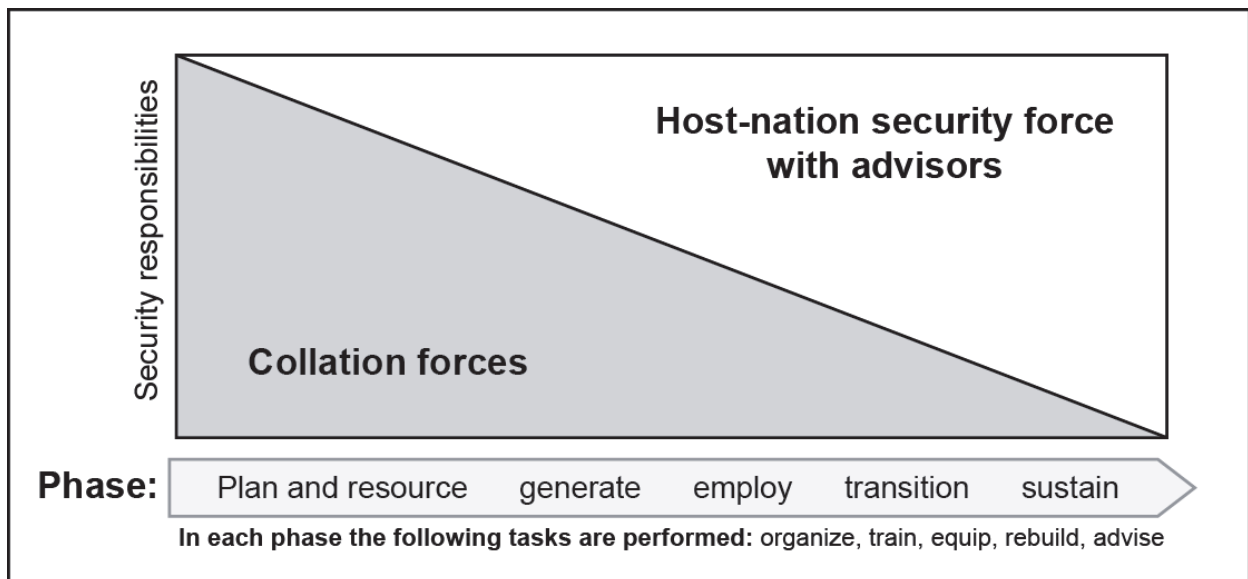
To enable a host-nation security force to conduct counterinsurgency operations, United States (U.S.) or multinational forces conduct various security cooperation activities. Commanders often view host-nation security force development as an essential task and one of their primary lines of effort. The resulting increase in a host nation's ability to secure its own population yields significant benefits because host-nation troops are normally more effective in conducting operations among the local population than U.S. or multinational forces. Transitioning responsibility for operations to the host-nation security force reduces the visible presence of U.S. or multinational troops, further enhancing the legitimacy of the host-nation government.

In many counterinsurgencies, the U.S. will only provide equipment, training, and advice. The host nation has a better understanding of the operational environment and is able to better maintain its legitimacy if it does not employ foreign forces directly. Advisors must keep in mind that they are also students and they probably have a great deal to learn from their host-nation counterparts.

Counterinsurgency (Continued)



In a counterinsurgency, the host-nation security force's executive and ministerial leadership, its force generation capacity, and its operating forces' capabilities must develop and mature quickly, while U.S. or multinational forces initially provide time in the form of security to allow this process to succeed. U.S. or multinational forces gradually reduce and eventually relinquish control of the counterinsurgency to a host-nation security force.



Summary

There is a spectrum of involvement in countering an insurgency. The U.S. could enable a host nation by not providing forces that are directly involved in securing the population or attacking the insurgents. For example, the U.S. could provide training or intelligence support to a host nation. Moreover, even if the U.S. is directly involved in defeating the insurgency, its primary role can be only to enable a host nation.

A host nation may be capable of providing civil control and security. The U.S. commander can integrate a force into the host-nation's efforts that provides a force to perform direct action or fires provided by airpower or field artillery. U.S. involvement can range from a modest and supporting commitment to a major ground force commitment that may, for a time, take the role of primary counterinsurgent force while host-nation forces become better able to take on that role themselves.

Ideally, the host nation is the primary actor in defeating an insurgency. Even in an insurgency that occurs in a country with a nonfunctioning central government or after a major conflict, the host nation must eventually provide a solution that is culturally acceptable to its society and meets U.S. policy goals. The conclusion of any counterinsurgency effort is primarily dependent on the host nation and the people who reside in that nation. Ultimately, every society has to provide solutions to its own problems. As such, one of the Army and Marine Corps' primary roles in counterinsurgency is to enable the host nation.

A counterinsurgency can occur as part of a major combat operation, but it often occurs without a major conflict. For example, an external threat may sponsor an insurgency, and this could be part of an effort to attain other strategic objectives. As such, the objectives of a counterinsurgency must be contextual to that insurgency. Creating objectives that are relevant to a particular insurgency is essential to defeating that insurgency. Effective counterinsurgency requires clearly defined and obtainable objectives that result in an end state acceptable to the host-nation government, the populace, and the governments providing forces. When the U.S. directly involves itself in a counterinsurgency, stability may be essential. Although all tasks executed to establish the conditions to reach a desired end state are significant, stability operations may be critical in a counterinsurgency.

Reference Number or Author	Reference Title
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Killcullen, David	<u>Twenty-eight Articles: Fundamentals of Company Level Counterinsurgency</u> available at: http://www.d-n-i.net/fcs/pdf/kilcullen_28_articles.pdf

Term or Acronym	Definition or Identification
COIN	Counterinsurgency
DIME	Diplomatic, Information, Military, & Economic

[illegible]