

# IGA-222M / Session 08

## Counterinsurgency

Erica Chenoweth (they/them)

Dara Cohen (she/her)

Zoe Marks (she/her)

Stephen Walt (he/him)

Robert Wilkinson (he/him)

Yuri Zhukov (he/him)

Harvard Kennedy School

April 11, 2024

## Today's objectives

1. *Define*: insurgency and counterinsurgency
  - a) Actors, goals, tactics
  - b) Recent historical trends
2. *Consider*: why insurgencies are so hard to defeat
  - a) Several common explanations
  - b) U.S. counterinsurgency field manual
3. *Case Study*: Algerian War of Independence
  - a) Brief history
  - b) Galula, Trinquier and the origins of U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine

# What is (Counter)Insurgency?

## Insurgency:

organized political violence by *sub-state or non-state groups*, directed against the agents of an incumbent government

includes:

1. anti-occupational uprisings
2. secessionist and revolutionary movements
3. terrorist groups

excludes:

1. unorganized political violence ("lone wolves")
2. organized crime
3. riots and protests

objective:

- change political status quo



Figure 1: Insurgents



## Counterinsurgency:

efforts by *agents of an incumbent government* to contain or defeat an insurgency

includes:

1. army
2. police
3. foreign military forces
4. pro-government militia
5. contractors
6. non-military agencies

excludes:

1. deposed regime
2. mutinies and coups

objective:

- maintain political status quo



Figure 2: Counterinsurgents

## Definitions of success

### 1. *Insurgent success*

- a) minimum: extraction of political concessions from government
- b) maximum: full attainment of political aims (e.g. independence, revolution)

### 2. *Counterinsurgent success*

- a) minimum: denial of political concessions to insurgents
- b) maximum: neutralization of insurgent political and military organization

Remember: **(Counter)insurgency is bargaining by other means**

- ultimate purpose of violence is to coerce, not to destroy the enemy

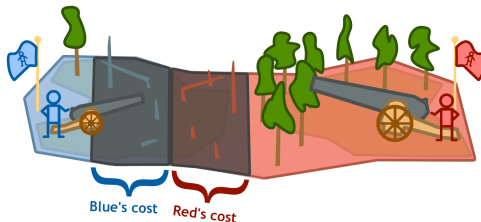


Figure 3: Like this, but more lopsided

How to gain bargaining leverage: *popular support* (or at least acquiescence)

- information
- taxes
- labor
- food & shelter
- non-interference



Figure 4: Making rebellion costly

## **Popular support is a collective action problem for (counter)insurgents**

1. Insurgents need cooperation from a supportive public
2. ... but cooperation is individually costly for civilians
  - a) cooperate with government → retaliation by rebels
  - b) cooperate with rebels → retaliation by government
3. Combatants secure cooperation with selective incentives (punish/reward)
4. But it's not easy to know who should be punished/rewarded
  - a) indistinguishability of combatants from civilians
  - b) reluctance of population to reveal combatants' identities

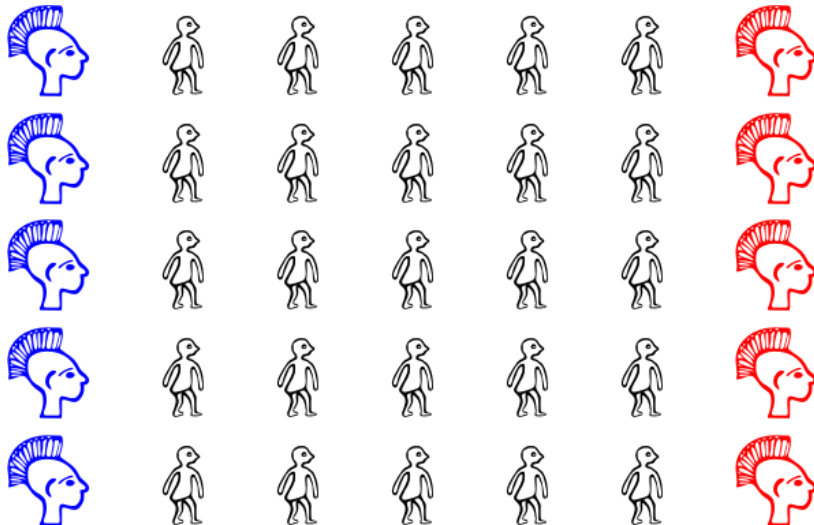


Figure 5: Conventional war. Clear front lines, combatants easy to identify.



Figure 6: Irregular war. Combatants hide among civilians, hard to identify.

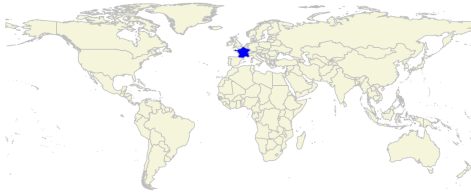


Figure 7: Asymmetric irregular war. One side easier to identify than other.

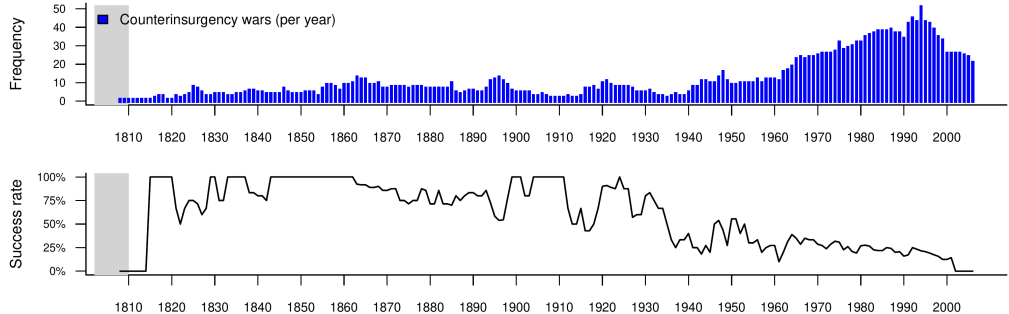
## Historical trends since 1800



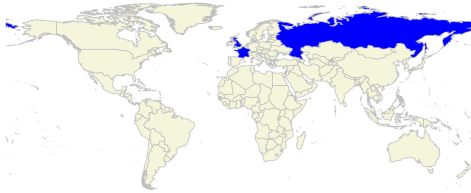
## 1800's



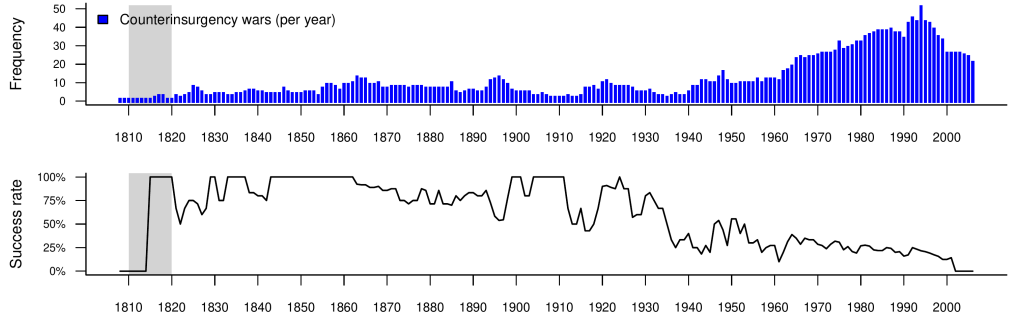
France v. Spain



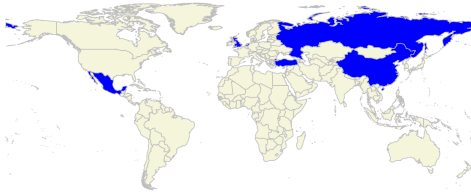
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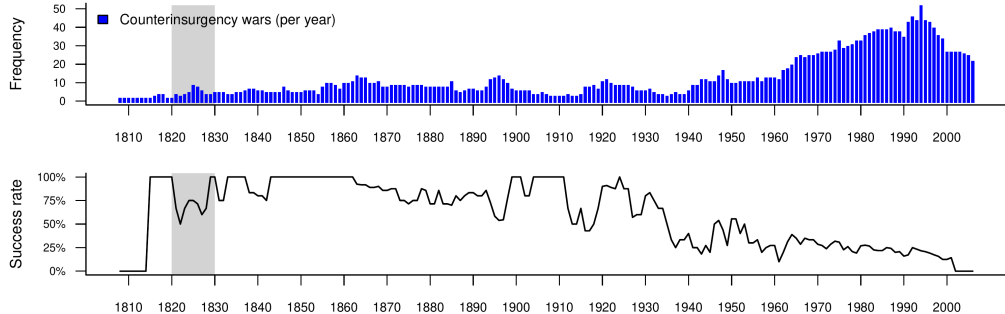
Russia v. Chechens  
UK v. Kandhians  
UK v. Pindarjans  
France v. Spain



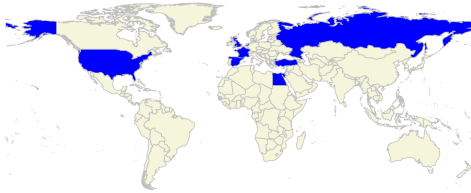
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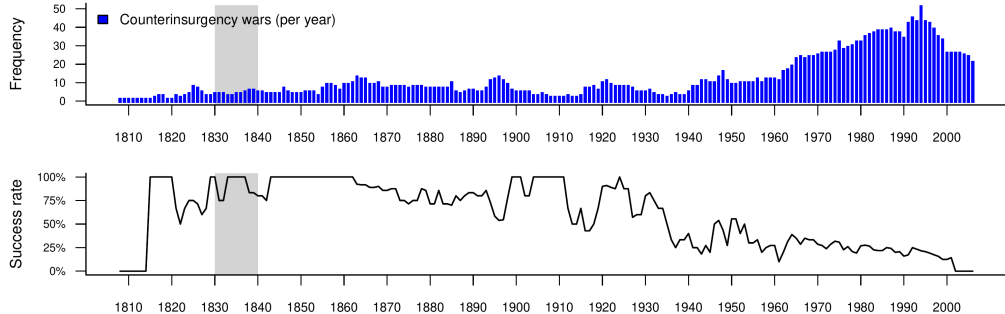
Russia v. Circassians  
Mexico v. Yaqui toro  
Netherlands v. Javanese  
UK v. Burma  
Turkey v. Greeks  
Russia v. Chechens  
China v. Turkmens  
Turkey v. Panduris  
UK v. Ashanti  
UK v. Bharatpur  
Russia v. Murids



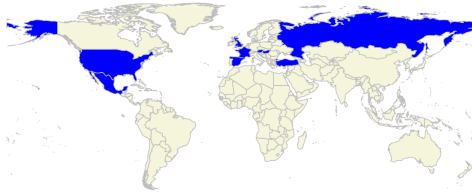
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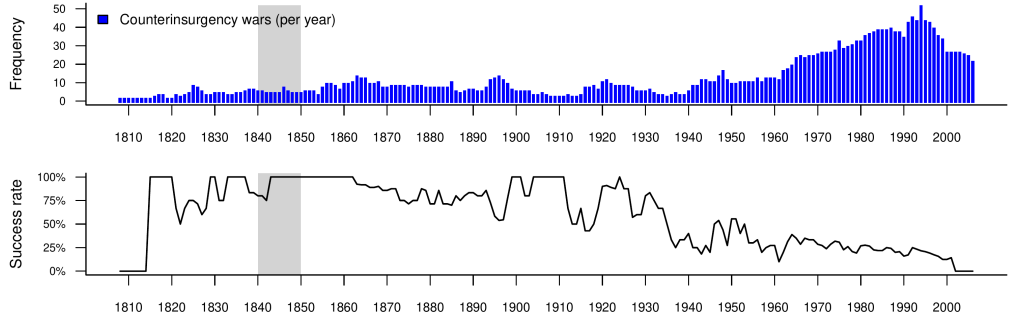
USA v. Sauk/Fox  
Egypt v. Druze  
Russia v. Circassians  
Netherlands v. Javanese  
Spain v. Carlists  
Turkey v. Syrians  
USA v. Seminoles  
France v. el-Kader  
Russia v. Murids  
UK v. Ashanti  
UK v. Afghans



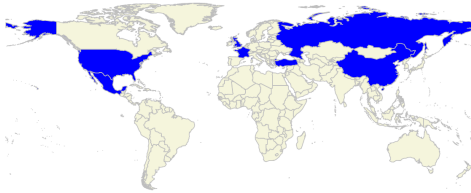
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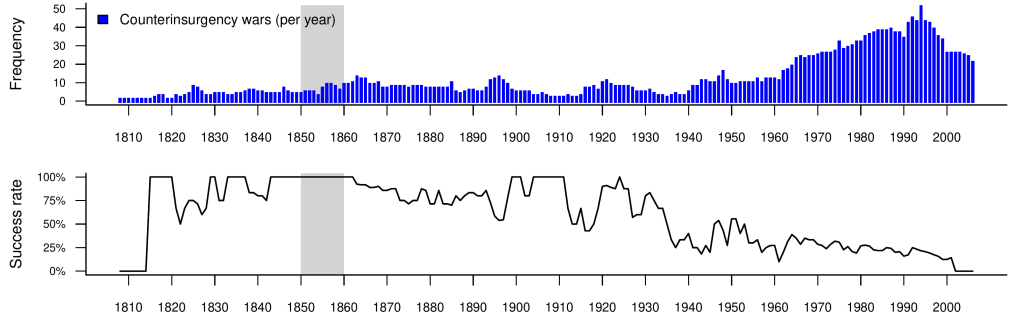
Turkey v. Wallachians  
UK v. Afghans  
Mexico v. Cruzobts  
Russia v. Murids  
UK v. Baluchi  
AUH v. Cracow  
Turkey v. Bosnian  
UK v. Maoris  
France v. el-Kader  
UK v. Sikh UK v. Xhosa  
Spain v. Carlists  
Russia v. Circassians  
France v. Moroccan  
USA v. Seminoles  
UK v. Xhosa



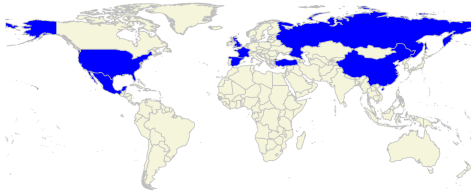
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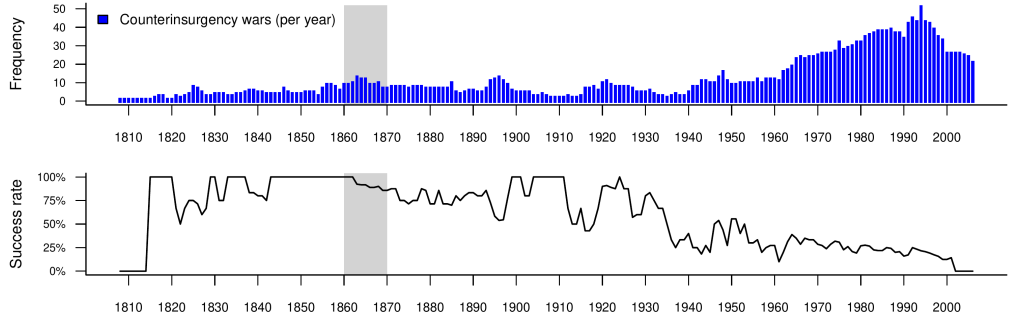
USA v. Apaches  
China v. Miao  
Russia v. Murids  
France v. Kabyles  
China v. Nien UK v. Xhosa  
France v. Vietnam  
USA v. Navajo  
China v. Yunnan  
UK v. Santals  
Mexico v. Cruzobcs  
UK v. Maoris  
USA v. Semipoles  
China v. Taiping  
Turkey v. Wallachians  
France v. Tukulor  
USA v. Yakima



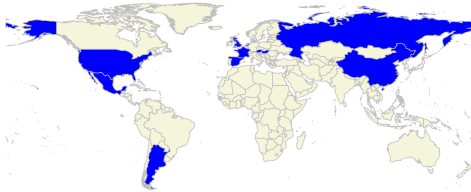
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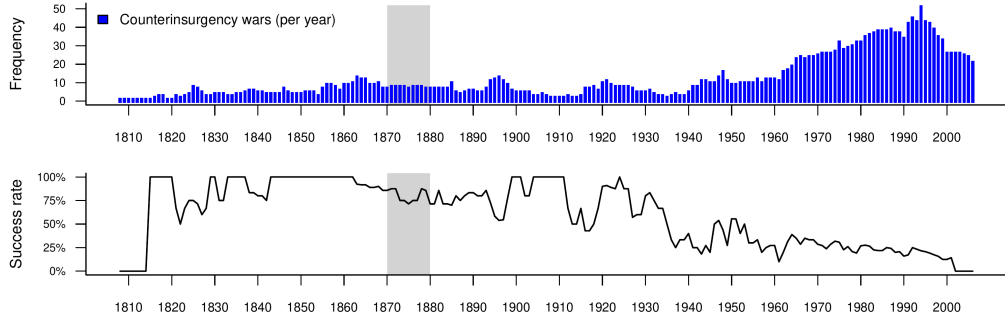
USA v. Sioux  
Spain v. Cubans  
China v. Taiping  
Turkey v. Crete  
USA v. Navajo  
UK v. Bhutan  
China v. Sinkiang  
France v. Vietnam  
Russia v. Poland  
USA v. Apaches  
Mexico v. Cruzob  
China v. Yunnan  
USA v. Sioux, UK v. Maoris  
China v. Nien  
China v. Miao  
Spain v. DR rebels



## 1870's

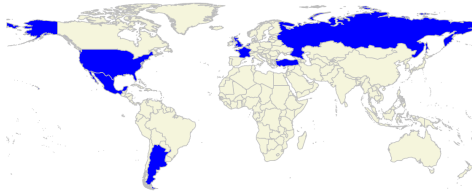


Argentina v. Ranqueles  
France v. Vietnam  
France v. Kabyle  
China v. Taiping  
USA v. Apaches  
Spain v. Carlists  
UK v. Ashanti  
China v. Miao  
UK v. Boers  
Russia v. Alganov  
UK v. Zulu  
UK v. Maoris  
China v. Sinkiang  
Netherlands v. Achinese  
USA v. Sioux  
Mexico v. Cruzobos  
USA v. Comanche

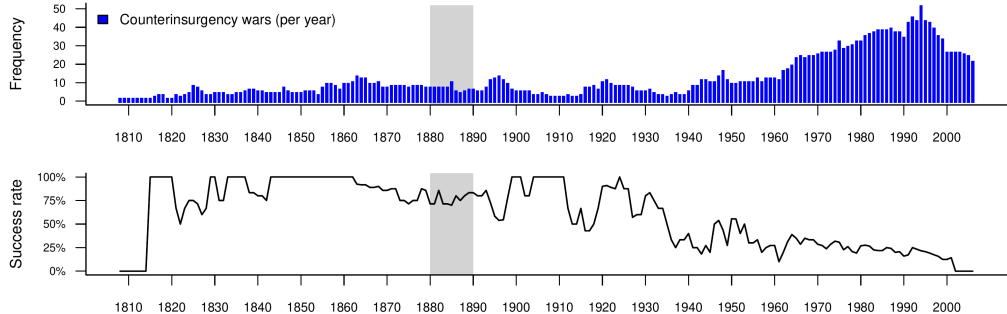




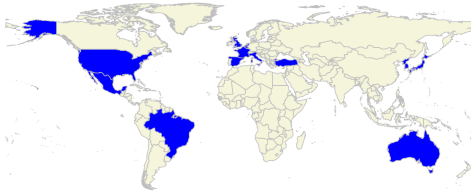
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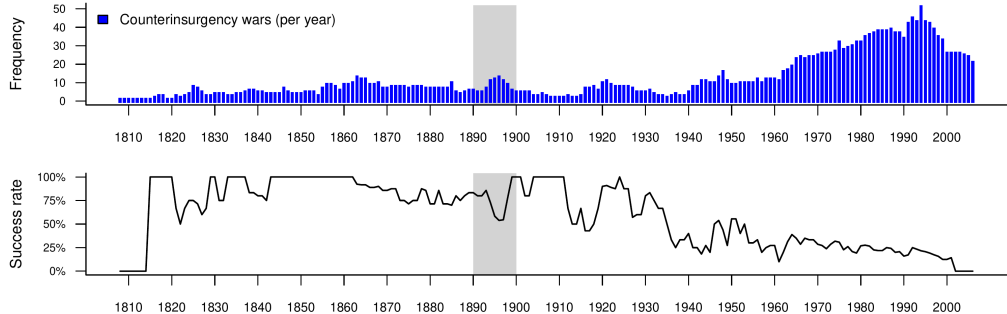
France v. Tunisia  
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France v. Dahomey  
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Turkey v. Crete  
Netherlands v. Achinese  
USA v. Apaches  
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France v. Merina  
Russia v. Afghans  
France v. Senagalese  
UK v. Boers  
Argentina v. Ranqueles



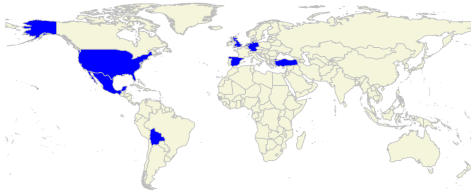
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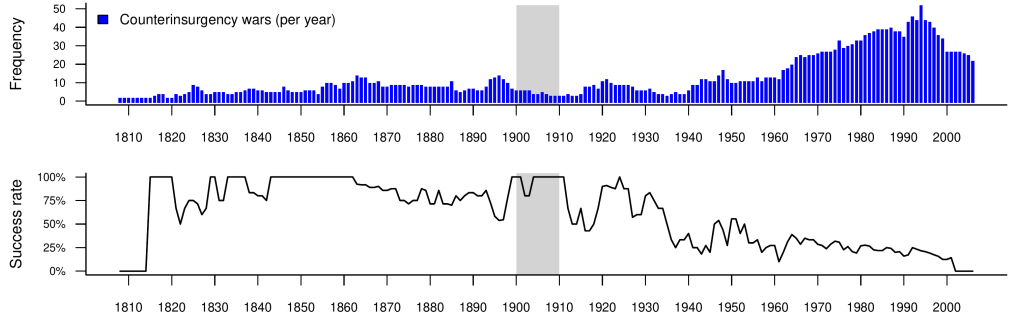
Australia v. Jandamarr  
Turkey v. Druze  
France v. Dahomey France v. Mandingo  
Italy v. Ethiopians  
Spain v. Cubans  
UK v. Mad Mullah  
Netherlands v. Achinese  
France v. Phan UK v. Sierra Leone  
USA v. Filipino France v. Madagascans  
UK v. Ashanti Korea v. Tonghak  
Mexico v. Cruzobs UK v. Nupe Japan v. Black Flags  
UK v. Ashanti Spain v. Filipino  
UK v. Aindis  
France v. Senagalese  
Turkey v. Gretans France v. Thai  
UK v. Burma UK v. Sudanese  
Italy v. Madhists Belgium v. Congo Arabs  
UK v. Boers  
Netherlands v. Balianese  
UK v. Mad Mullah  
Brazil v. Jacundos



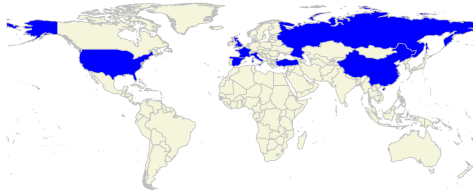
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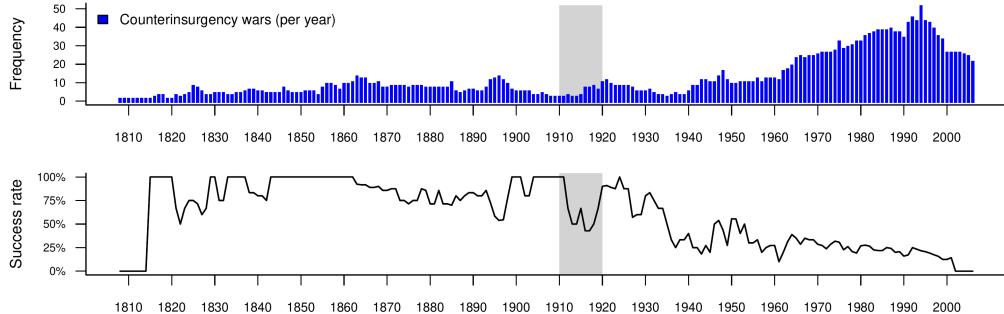
UK v. Mad Mullah  
Bolivia v. Acre  
UK v. Boers  
Germany v. Maji Maji  
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USA v. Filipino  
Germany v. Herero  
Turkey v. Macedonians  
Spain v. Moroccan  
Mexico v. Cruzobos  
UK v. Zulu



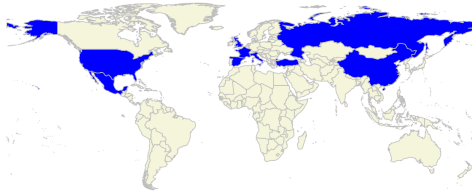
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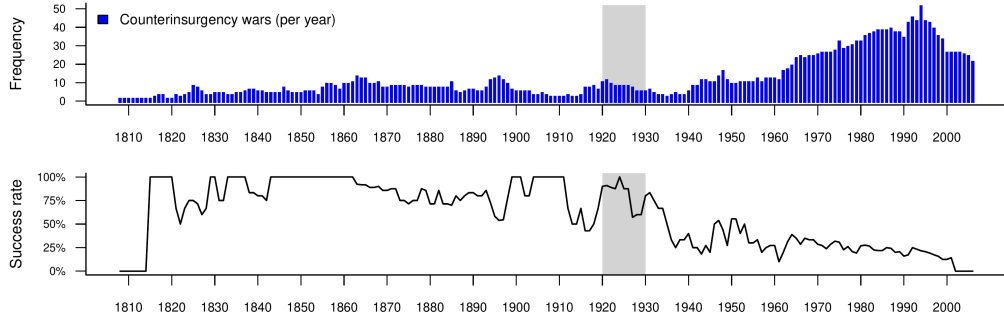
Spain v. Moroccan  
Turkey v. KTC  
Turkey v. Arabs  
China v. Tibet  
France v. Foz Tribesmen  
USA v. Cacos  
France v. Syrians  
Italy v. Somalia  
USA v. DR rebels  
UK v. Iraqi  
UK v. Irish  
France v. Foz Tribesmen  
UK v. Afghans  
USSR v. Zikrists  
USSR v. Greens  
China v. Tibet  
UK v. Mad Mullah



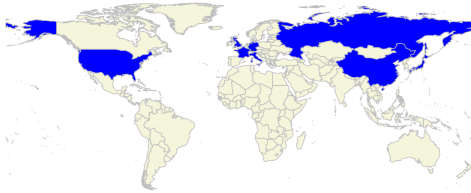
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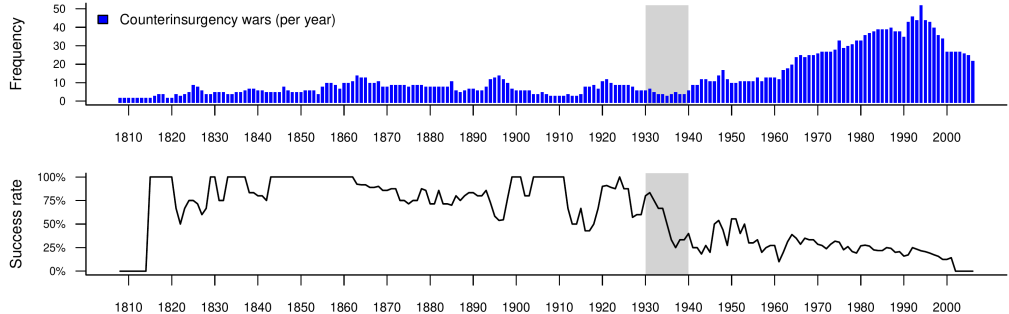
UK v. Mad Mullah  
Mexico v. Cristero  
France v. Rif tribes  
Turkey v. Azad  
USSR v. Basmachi  
UK v. Irish  
USA v. Cacos  
USA v. DH rebels  
Turkey v. KTC  
Spain v. Rif tribes  
UK v. Iraqi  
France v. Syrians  
France v. Rif tribes  
UK v. Galen Army  
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China v. CCP  
USSR v. Greens  
USSR v. Zikrists  
France v. Druze



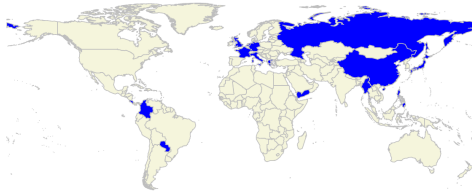
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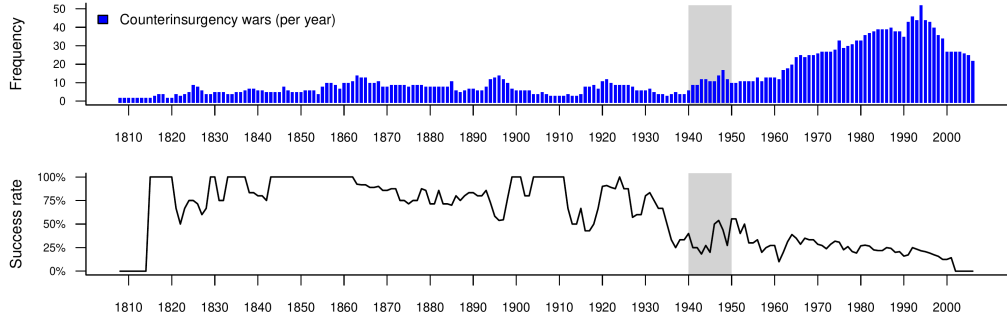
USSR v. Basmachi  
Germany v. CNR  
UK v. Galen Army  
Italy v. Sanusi  
Japan v. Chinese  
USA v. Cacos  
France v. Thai rebels  
Japan v. Manchurians  
USSR v. Chechens  
UK v. Arab rebels  
China v. CCP



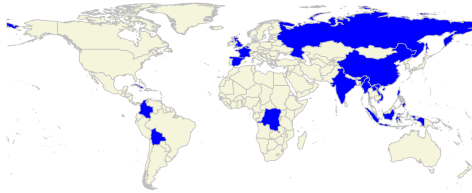
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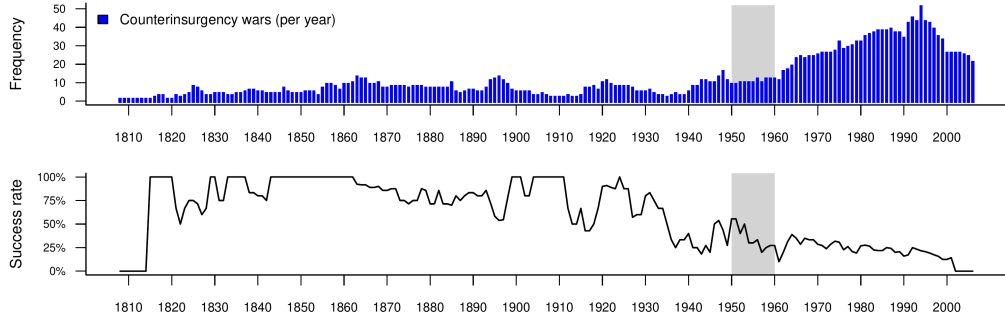
France v. Vietnam  
Germany v. Greece  
Germany v. Poles/Jews  
France v. Thai rebels  
Netherlands v. IPA Japan v. Malay  
China v. Taiwanese Colombia v. Various  
UK v. Irgun China v. Tibet Germany v. Yugoslav  
Germany v. CNR Philippines v. Huk  
Germany v. NLA Japan v. Chinese  
USSR v. Chechens France v. MDMR  
Costa Rica v. NLA  
France v. Malagasy USSR v. UPA  
Germany v. Resistenza China v. PLA  
UK v. Shifra Italy v. NLA USSR v. LLKS  
Greece v. DSE Japan v. Filipino UK v. Communists  
Burma v. Kachin/Karen  
Paraguay v. Febreristas  
Yemen v. Internal opp  
Japan v. Manchurians  
Germany v. Belorussians



## 1950's

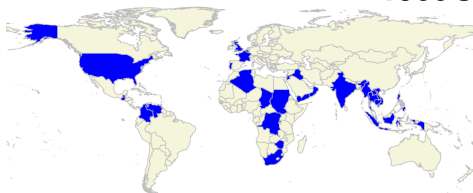


Bolivia v. MNR  
 Indonesia v. Assorted  
 France v. Moroccan  
 France v. Rebels  
 UK v. Shifita India v. Nagas  
 UK v. EOKA UK v. Communists  
 France v. Tunisians  
 USSR v. LKS  
 Cuba v. Communists  
 Laos v. Pathet Lau  
 Philippines v. Huk  
 Indonesia v. Darul Islam  
 UK v. UPA  
 France v. Vietnam  
 China v. Tibet  
 France v. Algerians  
 China v. Tibet  
 Colombia v. Various  
 UK v. Mau Mau  
 Belgium v. PARMEHUTU  
 Spain v. Sahrawi  
 Burma v. Kachin/Karen  
 South Vietnam v. Vietcong

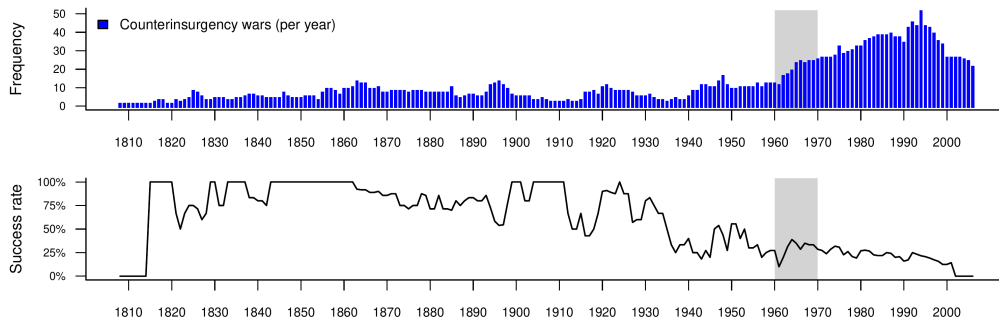




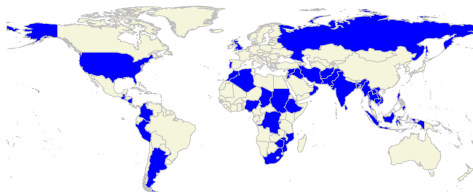
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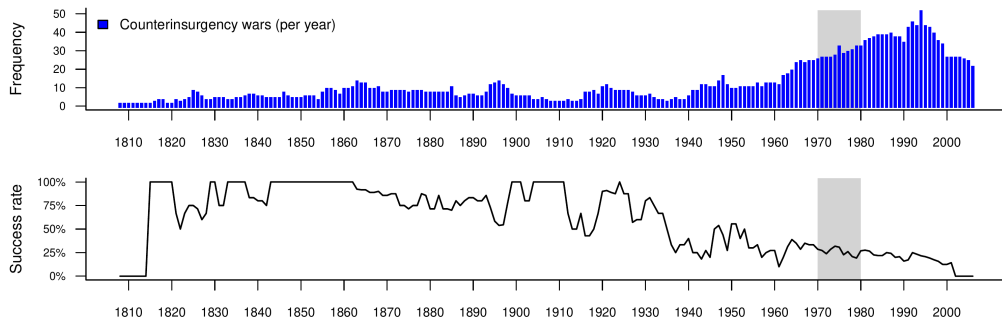
Belgium v. PARMEHUTU  
Yemen v. Republicans  
Burma v. Kachin/Karen  
South Africa v. SWAPO  
India v. Nagas  
France v. DRC v. Simbas/CNL  
France v. Rebels Iraq v. PUK  
Portugal v. Angola  
Guatemala v. URNG  
Rwanda v. Rebels  
France v. Algerians  
Venezuela v. FALN  
Philippines v. MNLF  
Colombia v. Various  
USA v. Vietcong  
UK v. FLOSY India v. NDFB  
Cambodia v. FUNK  
Chad v. POLINAT  
Indonesia v. OPM  
Zimbabwe v. ZANU  
Philippines v. MILF  
South Vietnam v. Vietcong  
URC v. Katanga  
Oman v. DUF  
Burma v. SSA  
India v. Naxalite  
Colombia v. FARC  
Jordan v. Fedeyeen  
Uk v. IRA  
Indonesia v. Assorted  
Portugal v. PAIGC  
Algeria v. CNDJR  
Sudan v. Anya Nya  
Portugal v. Frelimouk  
v. Communists  
South Vietnam v. Vietcong  
Thailand v. Communists  
Kenya v. NFDLM



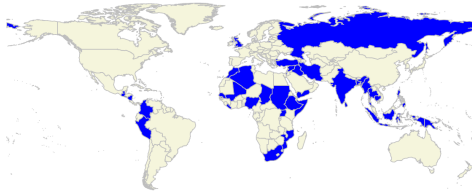
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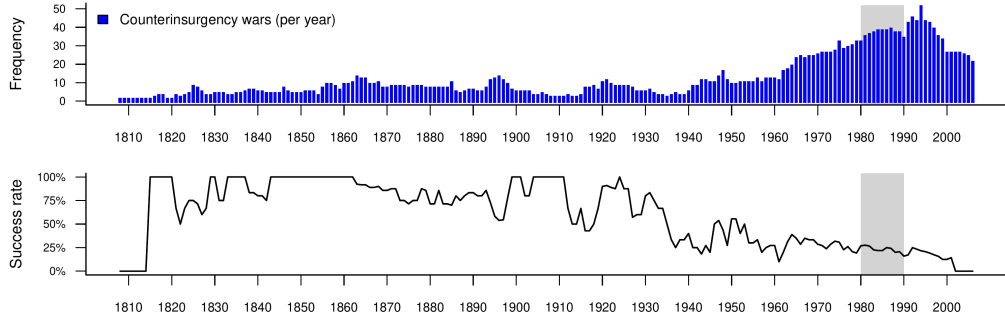
Cambodia v. Khmer Rouge  
Ethiopia v. Eritrea  
Chad v. FROLINAT  
Thailand v. Communists  
Argentina v. ERP  
Bangladesh v. Shanti Bahini  
Guatemala v. URNG  
Indonesia v. OPM  
Iran v. MEK  
Iraq v. Kurds  
Philippines v. CPF  
Syria v. MB  
Philippines v. MNLF  
India v. MCC/CPJ  
El Salvador v. FMLN  
Portugal v. Angola  
Afghanistan v. Afghans  
Indonesia v. Fretilin  
South Africa v. SWAPO  
Sudan v. Anya Nya  
Burma v. SSA  
Burundi v. Hutu  
Oman v. DLF  
India v. Naxalite  
Zimbabwe v. ZANU  
Nicaragua v. FSLN  
Nigeria v. Maitatsine  
Pakistan v. Baluchi  
Philippines v. MILF  
Mozambique v. RENAMO  
Lebanon v. Various  
Peru v. SL  
Pakistan v. Chittagong  
Iran v. KDFI  
Angola v. UNITA  
Zimbabwe v. ZANU  
India v. NDFB  
UK v. IRA  
Sri Lanka v. JVP  
DRC v. FLNC  
Morocco v. Polisario  
Cambodia v. FUNK  
Iraq v. Kurds  
USSR v. Afghanistan  
Portugal v. PAIGC  
Laos v. Pathet Lau  
Indonesia v. GAM  
USA v. Vietcong  
Portugal v. Frelimo  
Chad v. FROLINAT  
Burma v. Kachin/Karen  
Jordan v. Fedeyeen  
Colombia v. M-19



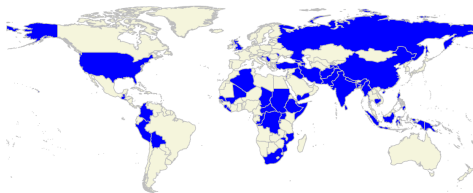
## 1980's



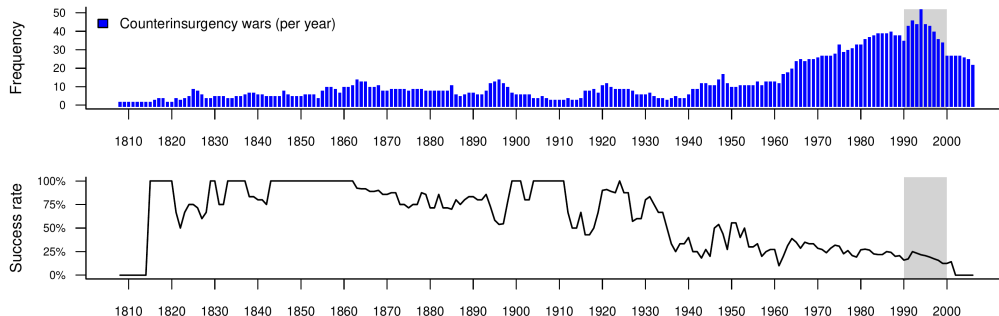
Angola v. UNITA  
Colombia v. FARC  
Burma v. Kachin/Karen  
USSR v. Afghanistan  
South Africa v. SWAPO  
Senegal v. MFDC  
Indonesia v. Fretilin  
Liberia v. NPFL  
Somalia v. SSDF  
Sri Lanka v. LTTE  
India v. Sikhs  
Guatemala v. URNG  
Sri Lanka v. LTTE  
Israel v. Syria  
Sudan v. SPLM  
Turkey v. Kurds  
Cambodia v. Khmer Rouge  
Iraq v. Kurds  
Syria v. MB  
South Africa v. ANC  
India v. NDFB  
Mozambique v. RENAMO  
Indonesia v. GAM  
Yemen v. Socialists  
Lebanon v. Various  
Uganda v. NRA  
Iran v. KDP  
Iran v. MEK  
Morocco v. UK v. IRA  
India v. Kashmir  
Chad v. FROLINAT  
Peru v. SL  
Nigeria v. Maitaisine  
Ethiopia v. Eritrea  
Papua New v. BRA  
Philippines v. CPF  
Israel v. Palestinian  
Sri Lanka v. LTTE  
Nicaragua v. Contras  
Colombia v. M-19  
Burma v. SSA  
Philippines v. MILF  
Indonesia v. OPM  
El Salvador v. FMLN  
Mali v. Tuaregs  
India v. MCC/CPI  
Philippines v. MNLF  
Bangladesh v. Shanti Bahini



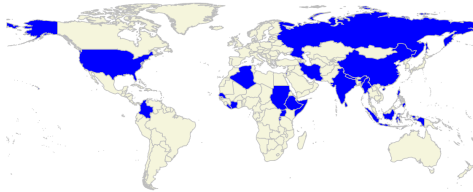
## 1990's



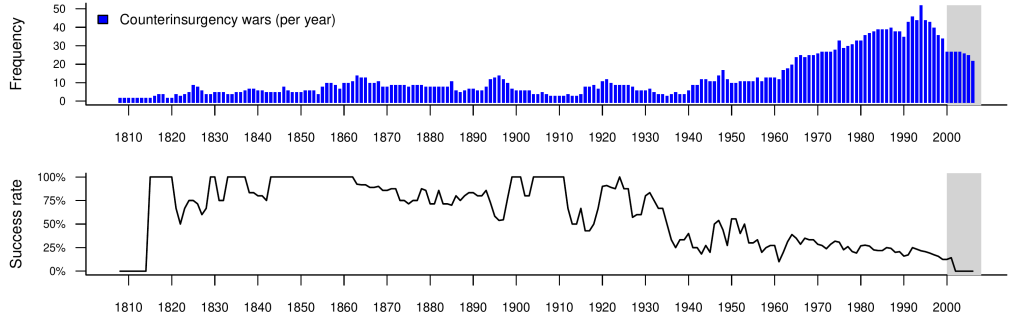
Guatemala v. URNG  
Israel v. Palestinian  
Bosnia v. Croats  
Papua New v. BRA  
Congo v. Cobras  
Sudan v. SPLM  
Pakistan v. Mohajirs  
Afghanistan v. Taliban  
Indonesia v. OPM  
Croatia v. Krajina  
Turkey v. Kurds  
Mozambique v. RENAMO  
Rwanda v. ALIR  
Ethiopia v. Eritrea  
Liberia v. LURD  
Moldova v. Dniester  
Indonesia v. Fretilin  
Sierra Leone v. RUF  
Angola v. UNITA  
DRC v. AFDL  
DRC v. RCD  
Guinea Bissau v. Mil factions  
Burundi v. Palipehutu  
Somalia v. SSDF  
Ethiopia v. ONLF  
Indonesia v. GAM  
Liberia v. NPFL  
Colombia v. M-19  
Somalia v. Various  
USA v. Adee  
Tajikistan v. UTO  
PAR v. Euzions  
Rwanda v. RPF  
Burundi v. FDD  
Mali v. Tuaregs  
Peru v. SL  
Senegal v. MFDC  
India v. MCC/CPJ  
India v. Kashmir  
Colombia v. FARC  
Nepal v. CPN  
Iran v. MEK  
Iran v. MEK  
Serbia v. KLA  
Burma v. SSA  
China v. ETIM  
Iraq v. MEK  
Djibouti v. FRUD  
Algeria v. GIA  
UK v. IRA  
Iraq v. Kurds  
Iraq v. Shia  
El Salvador v. FMLN  
Yugoslavia v. Croatia  
Russia v. Chechens  
South Africa v. ANC  
Lebanon v. Various  
Bangladesh v. Shanti Bahini  
Yemen v. South Yemen  
Georgia v. Abkhazia  
Philippines v. CPF  
Sri Lanka v. LTTE  
Uganda v. LRA  
Ecuador v. FICP



## 2000's



Ivory Coast v. PMIC  
Angola v. UNITA  
USA v. Iraq  
Russia v. Chechens  
Philippines v. MILF  
Colombia v. FARC  
Angola v. FLEC  
Rwanda v. ALiR  
Somalia v. Various  
Uganda v. LRA  
Liberia v. LURD  
China v. ETIM  
Indonesia v. GAM  
India v. Kashmir  
Senegal v. MFDC  
Algeria v. GIA  
Israel v. Palestinian  
Indonesia v. OPM  
Philippines v. CPF  
Sudan v. SPLM  
Sudan v. SLM/A  
Iran v. MEK  
Burundi v. FDD  
Burma v. SSA  
Ethiopia v. ONLF  
Nepal v. CPN  
Burundi v. Palipehutu  
Sri Lanka v. LTTE  
India v. MCC/CPI  
USA v. Afghanistan



## Explaining counterinsurgency success and failure

## Puzzle of insurgency

1. Power disparities should make war *less* likely
2. Insurgents are (much) weaker than states
  - a) Taliban: 25,000-50,000 troops
  - b) Coalition: 500,000 troops (peak strength)  
+ 50% world GDP
3. Insurgencies are unfair fights
4. So why are they becoming more frequent?
5. And why are they becoming so much harder to defeat over time?



Figure 8: An unfair fight?

## Why have (counter)insurgents become (less)more successful over time?

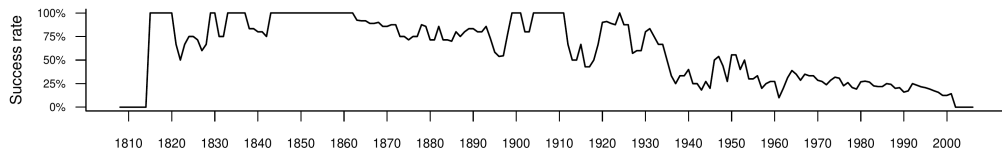


Figure 9: Success = conflict ends without major concessions by government

### International level

- ☐ Cold War
- ☐ Decolonization
- ☐ Interdependence
- ☐ Globalization
- ☐ Power vacuums

### Domestic level

- ☐ Democratization
- ☐ Media
- ☐ State failure
- ☐ Normative changes
- ☐ Social movements

### Other?

☐ \_\_\_\_\_

### Battlefield level

- ☐ Rules of engagement
- ☐ Technology
- ☐ Tactical innovation
- ☐ Doctrine & strategy
- ☐ Information
- ☐ Mechanization

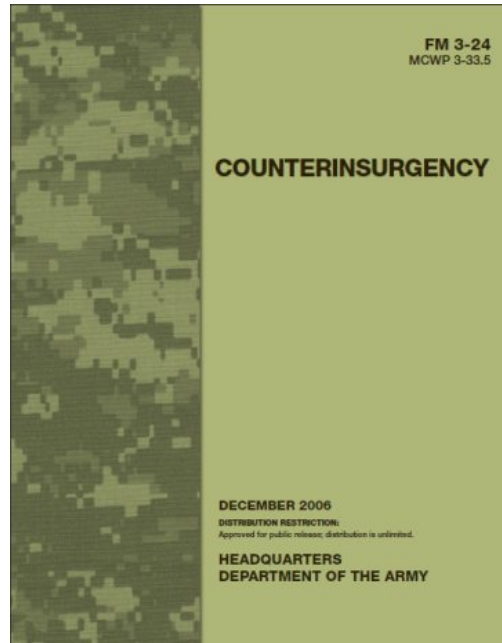


## Field Manual 3-24

1. Developed under GEN David Petraeus, USA
2. Finalized Dec 2006
3. Doctrinal basis for 2007 Iraq Surge

“Popular support allows counterinsurgents to develop the intelligence necessary to identify and defeat insurgents.”

– FM 3-24 (1:29)



## How to earn a population's support?

Alternative approach		FM 3-24
coercive violence	vs.	"hearts and minds" ✓
attack enemy forces	vs.	defense of civilian population ✓
small commando units	vs.	large conventional forces ✓
military avoids civilian duties	vs.	military performs civilian duties ✓
short-term, limited	vs.	long-term, costly ✓

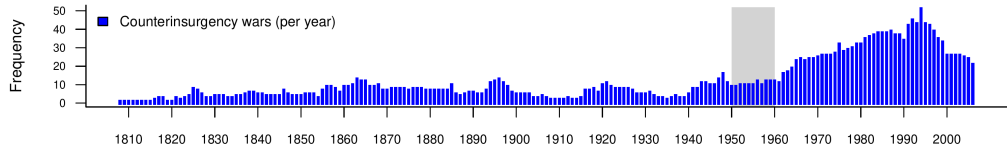
### Theoretical basis for FM-3-24:

counterinsurgency "classics" of 1960's (not contemporary civil war literature)

### Empirical basis for FM-3-24:

Algerian War of Independence (not Vietnam)

## Case Study: Algerian War of Independence



## Historical context of the Algerian war

1. Global wave of insurgencies in 1950-60s
2. Mao's "Protracted Popular War" strategy goes viral
  - a) phase 1: prerevolutionary (underground organization)
  - b) phase 2: strategic stalemate (guerrilla warfare)
  - c) phase 3: strategic offensive (conventional warfare)
3. Military leaders scrambling to develop response
4. Two opposing views emerge:
  - a) David Galula
  - b) Roger Trinquier

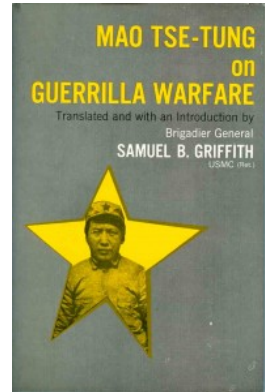


Figure 11: FM-Mao

## Background

## Prewar history

1. French conquer Algiers in 1830
2. Algeria becomes part of metropolitan France (not a colony... technically)
3. Large European settler population (Pied-Noir)
4. Political, economic discrimination against native Arabs & Berbers
5. French empire in collapse post-WWII



Figure 12: Pied-Noir

## Front de Liberation National (FLN)

1. FLN begins massive rebellion for independence
2. Follows Mao's PPW strategy in rural areas
3. Urban guerrilla warfare in cities
4. Campaign of terrorism & targeted killings vs. European settlers
5. France sends 400,000 troops



Figure 13: Aftermath of FLN attack

## France's "counter-revolutionary struggle"

1. Population control
2. Forcible resettlement
3. Psychological warfare
4. Offensive operations
5. Summary executions
6. Collective reprisals
7. Torture

### Pied-Noirs also declare war

1. Reprisals vs. native Algerians
2. Terrorism against "soft" elements in French army & government



Figure 14: Paratroopers arrive



## de Gaulle makes a deal

1. By 1959, military campaign a success
2. But no political breakthrough
3. Growing domestic opposition to war
4. President de Gaulle makes calls for “self-determination”, reaches out to FLN
5. Algeria independent in 1962



Figure 15: Charles de Gaulle

## Galula vs. Triquier

## David Galula

1. Born in French Algeria
2. Served in China, Philippines, Hong Kong, Balkans
3. Company commander in rural Kabylie region during war

Book: *Pacification in Algeria* (1963)

1. Counterinsurgency means “building a political organization from the population upward”
2. Population-centric war
3. Insurgents start in weakness
4. Counterinsurgents need local allies



Figure 16: David Galula

## Galula in FM 3-24:

### Clear-Hold-Build

1. Eliminate insurgents
2. Protect population
3. Build government institutions
4. Repeat

Goal: keep insurgents in “phase 1”

1. Dismantle rebel institutions
2. Deny rebels future material support from population
3. Keep rebels incapable of major operations



Figure 17: Clearing is the easy part

## Limitations of Galula's approach

1. Requires massive, long-term commitment
2. Requires population control
3. Asks army to take role of civilian government
4. Focus on rural counterinsurgency

Some of Galula's ideas are not in FM 3-24

1. Immediate and *public* punishment of rebels
2. Forcible resettlement of civilians



Figure 18: Mission creep?

## Roger Trinquier

1. Decade older than Galula
2. Served in China, Indochina
3. Intel chief of 10th Parachute Division in Algiers

Book: *Modern Warfare* (1961)

1. Counterinsurgency means destroying the insurgents' military organization
2. Insurgents exploit "fiction of peace"
3. Local police not up to task
4. Civilian law too constraining
5. Martial law is necessary



Figure 19: In real life



Figure 20: In *Battle of Algiers*

## **Trinquier in FM 3-24:**

### Human intelligence

1. Mapping the “human terrain”
2. Census, ID cards, checkpoints
3. Intelligence collection on insurgent leadership, organization



Figure 21: Taking a census

## Some of Trinquier's ideas not in FM 3-24

1. Torture
  - a) once insurgent captured, his info only good for short time
  - b) each piece of intel leads to more sweeps, more intel
  - c) psychological impact on rebels
  - d) civilians spontaneously cooperate during sweeps
2. Coercion
  - a) aggressive sweeps
  - b) summary executions



Figure 22: The dark side