

DRAFT

FMFM 1-3A

**A TACTICAL HANDBOOK FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY  
AND POLICE OPERATIONS**



IMPERIAL AND ROYAL  
AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MARINE CORPS

DRAFT

## **PREFACE**

Why another hip-pocket guide for counterinsurgency? What makes this different? This handbook is an offering from a group of Marine officers who feel that current doctrine is rapidly diverging from the intent of maneuver doctrine. Where other manuals aim to put current conflicts into the Maoist/Nationalist mold of the Twentieth century and aim to identify successful techniques, this book seeks to bring about a change in approach and thinking which is timeless. In an age where war is no longer monopolized by armies but is waged by non-governmental entities, ethnic groups, tribes, federal agencies and militias, we find it necessary to look to parallels and successful thought processes in the inter-agency arena. This we may apply to the current and future conflicts of a 4GW nature. Our hope is to compliment the FMFM-1A and provide a useful springboard of thoughts and practices.

Monteccucoli,  
Hofkriegsrath  
Pola, July, 2008

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## Chapter 1

### THE GANGBANGER AND THE INSURGENT

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*“For me the building block of policing in any democracy is that of an individual police officer acting as an individual, exercising his or her individual discretion. For almost 30 years because of the threat posed, not only to the society at large in Northern Ireland, but posed very specifically to my officers, we have been forced to operate from fortified buildings. We have been forced to travel in armoured vehicles and officers when patrolling on foot have been forced to wear body-armour, have been forced to carry fire-arms, have been forced in many circumstances to be accompanied by their military colleagues...Those who are clamouring most loudly for de-escalation or demilitarization are the very people who have forced us into those military defense stances. Let them now shine and stop gusting and they will very quickly see change in the way we go about our business, and very quickly thereafter, significant change in the way we are structured.”*

-Ronnie Flanagan, Chief Constable Royal Ulster Constabulary

#### **Into the Fourth Generation of War**

In the post-Cold War era, the world has seen a dramatic shift in who makes war, why it is made and upon whom it is made. The trend in the last half century has been toward conflict of a more fragmented nature, Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW). War is less the pastime of the state, but rather a tool for the disenfranchised, disaffected and dissatisfied. As the United States enters the seventh year of warfare with various non-state entities it continues to search for a box in which to classify counter-insurgency operations (COIN). Since patterns of violence and structure in organized crime and gangs share characteristics with twenty-first century insurgencies, tactical successes of law enforcement provide insight into useful thought processes for COIN. In order to succeed in COIN environments, the Marine Corps must move beyond force protection, capitalize on similarities between insurgents and transnational gangs and adopt lessons learned by domestic law enforcement.

#### **Force Protection in COIN**

Deaf to the urgings of doctrinal publications, the Marine Corps appears to be focused more on force protection than counterinsurgency. Soldiers and Marines patrol the streets of Baghdad and the mountain passes of the Panshir mounted in the mine resistant ambush protected (MRAP) vehicle,<sup>1</sup> field counter radio controlled improvised explosive devices (CREW),<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> DoD has increased MRAP production to over 20,000 armored cars of which 3,400 will be received by the Marine Corps. The intent of this plan is to eliminate the HMMWV from use in theatre for patrolling purposes. “MRAP,” *Defense Update Online*, 2007, <<http://www.defense-update.com/products/m/mrap.html>> (15 December 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Bob Brewin, “Counter-IED Systems Jam Tactical Comms in Iraq,” *Federal Computer Week Online*, 5 January 2007, <<http://www.fcw.com/online/news/97264-1.html>> (15 December 2007).

wear over 30 lbs of body armor.<sup>3</sup> This up-armorings of man and machine has saved countless troops in the current conflicts. The MRAP is a hard target, and consequently undesirable to attack from the standpoint of the insurgent (a light infantryman operating without the support of heavier formations).<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, the mission at hand is not force protection. The U.S. military has emerged as culturally risk averse, inwardly focused, and clinging to the conventional philosophy that superior firepower and technology will defeat its adversaries. In the eyes of Chief Constable Flanagan of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, this default attitude is detrimental to policing operations: Armored cars and ballistic vests “all represent barriers between us and the people we exist to serve; barriers much unwanted by us, barriers forced upon us by others.”<sup>5</sup> Flanagan brings us to a pivotal point that the DoD may find foreign.

Whereas maneuver warfare focuses on the enemy, the center of gravity (COG) in COIN lies not with the enemy, but with the people<sup>6</sup>. Consider the five objectives of policing as set forth by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, founded in 1822: “the protection of life, protection of property, the preservation of the peace, the prevention and the detection of crime.”<sup>7</sup> Kinetic combat operations are but a small piece of the puzzle.

### **Insurgents and Transnational Gangs**

Current DoD publications suggest the cause of insurgency is economic. While some, if not many within Al Qaeda and its affiliates have taken up arms “...seeking a better life or relief of suffering by overthrowing an oppressive regime...”,<sup>8</sup> insurgency in the twenty-first century no longer follows the Maoist model of the Cold War era. The evolving conflict and patterns of terrorist activity are far more complex, attracting supporters for broad and varied reasons. In fact, the insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan more closely resemble what Haussler refers to as the “third generation gang” (3G2) model: an evolved and perhaps networked organization, no longer focused on local dominance, but expanding into mercenary activities and financial

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<sup>3</sup> Program Executive Office Soldier, Interceptor Body Armor, January 2006, <http://www.peosoldier.army.mil>(15 December 2007)

<sup>4</sup> Insurgents in the current conflict meet Steven Canby’s description of light infantry: “...decentralized, small unit warfare, dependant upon small unit initiative...a force of illusive irregulars...fighting the small war, disrupting lines of communication, denying intelligence, ambushing detachments and foraging parties.” Steven L. Canby, “Classic Light Infantry and New Technology” (Report, C&L Assoc. Defense Consultants, 1983), iii-5.

<sup>5</sup> Ronnie Flanagan, “Maintaining Law and Order in Northern Ireland,” RUSI Journal 143, no. 4 (1998): 3, ProQuest (19 October 2007).

<sup>6</sup> In 4<sup>th</sup> Generation Warfare (4GW), COG is focused on “...collapsing the enemy internally rather than physically destroying him. Targets will include such things as the population’s support for the war and the enemy’s culture.” William S. Lind, et al., “The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation” Marine Corps Gazette (Oct 1989): 23.

<sup>7</sup> Flanagan, 2.

<sup>8</sup> United States Marine Corps, *Countering Irregular Threats: A Comprehensive Approach*, 2006 (Quantico, VA: MCCDC, 2006), 6.

acquisition, mobilization, and warfare all via the net.<sup>9</sup> Like Al Qaeda and similar terrorist client sub-organizations, 3G2 actors seek to create a shadow government or influence targeted states that are unable to provide security within their borders and whose officials are susceptible to recruitment.<sup>10</sup> To be sure, transnational groups such as M-18, MS-13, and the Maras are criminal in nature and owe their origins to local control of racketeering and narcotics.<sup>11</sup> Unlike 3G2 models, insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan seek to undermine the al-Maliki and Karzai governments through 4GW militant groups having political and theological origins. Despite this difference, the insurgencies in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the 3G2 share many similarities: the fragmentation of these states, the urbanized nature of the current conflict, networking, mobilization,<sup>12</sup> and patterns of violence.<sup>13</sup> Claude Arnold, in a Congressional research report, further characterizes the transnational gang threat as “very mobile, highly adaptable to new geographic areas, and [maintaining] connectors to their native countries.”<sup>14</sup> Arnold might as easily have been referring to Al Qaeda.

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<sup>9</sup> Nicholas I. Haussler, “Third Generation Gangs Revisited: The Iraq Insurgency” (Grad.diss., Naval Postgraduate School, 2005), 19.

<sup>10</sup> Max G. Manwaring, “Street Gangs: The New Urban Insurgency,” (Carlisle, PA: SSI March 2005), 13-14

<sup>11</sup> These increasingly networked gangs have been classified as a significant threat to Honduran, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan national security. As such, their actions have garnered an international judicial and military cooperative response between these Central American nations. Federico Breve, Minister of Defense, Honduras, “*The Maras: A Menace to the Americas*,” *Military Review* (2007): 91-92.

<sup>12</sup> Maire-Joelle Zahar, “Proteges, Clientes, Cannon Fodder: Civilians in the Calculus of Militias”, (*Managing Armed Conflicts in the Twenty-First Century, Special Review of International Peacekeeping*, 2001), 7 quoted in Nicholas I. Haussler, “Third Generation Gangs Revisited: The Iraq Insurgency” (Grad.diss., Naval Postgraduate School, 2005), 23.

<sup>13</sup> In 2003 a rash of gang related murders included the decapitation of a female informant found along the Shenandoah River, and the severing of a rival gang member’s fingers by machete wielding gang members. In 2005 a member of MS-13 was arrested in Texas for orchestrating a bus bombing in Honduras that killed 28 people. Arian Campo-Flores et al, “The Most Dangerous Gang in America”, *Newsweek*, 28 March 2005, EBSCOhost (21 November 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Claude Arnold, U.S. ICE, Human Rights Violations and Public Safety Office, “Immigration Authorities and Gang Enforcement,” *United States Attorneys’ Bulletin*, May 2006, 42, quoted in Celinda Franco, *The MS-13 and 18<sup>th</sup> Street Gangs: Emerging Transnational Threats?*, 2007 (Washington, D.C.:CRS, 2007) CRS-6.

**HAUNTING A CRAPS GAME: PSYOPS IN  
THE SOUTHEAST DISTRICT**

- Disruption of Gambling Ring in projects
- Use of skeleton
- Psychological understanding of cultural phobias/vulnerabilities
- Exploitation of non-kinetic operations to disrupt criminal activity
- No arrests made
- Were the ends met?

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## Chapter 2

### ACHIEVING A DECISION

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*“In Britain, police forces now collaborate regularly with local authorities, community groups and other agencies to ‘target’ groups or networks of people involved in such behaviour, where necessary using technical surveillance, informants and exchanges of data from records to build up a comprehensive picture of their activities. Furthermore, local-level operations of this kind are taking forward in new ways another element often found in proactive operations against organized crime: the aim of ‘eliminating the whole network’, rather than being satisfied with simply a few individual arrests.”*

-Mike Maguire, University of Wales

*“There is no doubt that the soundest (and, in the end, the cheapest) investment against...insurgency in any country is a strong, handpicked, and well-paid police intelligence organization, backed up by funds to offer good rewards.”*

-Dr. Richard L. Clutterbuck, BGen, British Army, Ret.

### **Intelligence**

The objective of law enforcement is the security of the populace. Racketeering, gang activity, and narcotics-trafficking, like the existence of the 4GW insurgent, are direct challenges to the security of the populace. Domestic law enforcement has sought to deny the gang member the ability to operate freely through human intelligence (HUMINT), area denial, and mobilization of the populace.

With respect to the disruption and dismantling of gangs, most actionable intelligence in law enforcement comes from the bottom up. Despite a dearth of assets, police officers, ICE agents, and informants move among the populace to gain information on networks, growth, and illicit activities. The FBI National Gang Intelligence Center (NGIC), Gang Targeting Enforcement Coordinating Center (GTECC),<sup>15</sup> and the Esquipalpas Conference<sup>16</sup> in Guatemala have fostered interagency cooperation between and within the U.S. and Central America. U.S. forces would likewise do well to focus theatre level intelligence on dissemination, reapportioning analysts and collections assets to the tactical level.

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<sup>15</sup> Chris Secker, Asst. Dir. CID, FBI, testimony before the House Committee on Int'l Relations, 20 April 2005, EBSCOhost (21 November 2007), CRS-13-15.

<sup>16</sup> In October of 2006, the first trilateral (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador) meetings were held fostering cooperation in border security and countering organized crime and gang-related activity in Central America., Breve, 92.



## **Security**

Law enforcement has also focused on area denial in order to limit freedom of movement for gangs within the population. For example, the LAPD has seen a significant reduction in gang activity<sup>17</sup> in the Rampart district after employing surveillance cameras to facilitate “virtual patrols” and conducting undercover reverse or “sting” operations in the vicinity of MacArthur Park.<sup>18</sup>

### **THE ALVARADO CORRIDOR PROJECT**

Since the 1990s, L.A.’s MacArthur Park and the surrounding Alvarado Corridor was a known area of violent crime, narcotics sales and gang activity. The park belonged to MS-13, despite the best efforts of the police. A new approach was introduced with the “Alvarado Corridor Project”. The LA County Rampart district’s area-denial solution was three-fold: flood the community with officers, monitor 24/7, and snare the drug dealers.

Rampart narcotics, counter-gang, patrolmen, and bicycle units criss-crossed the Alvarado corridor. Not a streetcorner was without a cop. What areas an officer on foot could not see were covered by pan, tilt, and zoom-capable closed circuit television cameras that link to Rampart Station through the Internet. Through these links, desk personnel inside the station could conduct “virtual patrols” throughout Rampart. These patrols essentially amounted to one or two officers manning several

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<sup>17</sup> As a result of these tactics, the Alvarado Corridor, in which MacArthur park is located, has enjoyed significant reductions in crime: Homicides -38%, Shootings -50%, Robberies -14%, Major Assault Crimes -9%. Officer Charlie Beck, Commanding Officer, Rampart District, Press Conference 11 March 2004, EBSCOhost (12 February 2008), 2.

<sup>18</sup> William J. Bratton, Chief, LAPD, “Returning MacArthur Park to the Community”, *Office of the Chief of Police*. April 2004. <<http://www.LAPDonline.org>> (16 December 2007).

observation posts in multiple high crime areas. Finally, narcotics planned and executed numerous “reverse operations”: drug buys to catch dealers in the act. During the operation, narcotics detectives made 117 arrests. Not only did this gain new informants and intelligence, but sent a message: don’t buy or sell in Rampart. In the end, Alvarado was highly successful: Shootings were down by 50%, homicides by 38%, and robberies by 14%. Perhaps the greatest measure of effectiveness (MOE) is that today local community activities are held in MacArthur Park and the surrounding area.<sup>19</sup>

### Mobilizing the Populace

In the same manner, mobilizing the populace and disseminating information are crucial for security. In the early nineties, San Arias, California experimented with citizen-police committees to prioritize law enforcement operations. Committee members influenced areas such as task-organization, measures of effectiveness, readiness, and tactics. By providing conference rooms and office spaces within the police headquarters, San Arias promoted transparency and partnership between police and the communities they served.<sup>20</sup>

#### **COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING IN SAN ARIAS**

In the early nineties, the San Arias, California police department experimented with implementation of the community-oriented policing (COP) concept. The city first established a committee of citizens and police to address the subject and provide guidelines for implementing the philosophy throughout the department and the community it served. Committee members weighed in on areas such as task-organization, measures of effectiveness, training and readiness, and tactics.

The committee was a truly a slice of society within the city of San Arias. Not only did it involve police and civilians, but adjacent agencies as well. It further identified what a police officer should be, how he should think, conduct himself, etc.

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<sup>19</sup> Chief William Bratton, "Returning the Alvarado Corridor/MacArthur Park to the Community", Press Conference, 11 March, 2004

<sup>20</sup> Paul M. Walters, “Community Oriented Policing”, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin; Nov93, Vol. 62 Issue 11, EBSCOhost (12 February 2008), 21.

San Arias invested resources in computer-based systems for deploying officers, intelligence sections focused on the prediction of criminal activity, and training all personnel in COP philosophy.

The design of police headquarters further promoted trust, transparency and partnership with the community. An area on the first floor was reserved as community work-space for citizens assisting in COP. An additional 250 person conference area is designated for police-community dialogue and discussion of areas of concern.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Walters, 22-23.

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## Chapter 3

### ATTITUDE IN THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

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*“A military decision is not merely a mathematical computation. Decisionmaking requires both the situational awareness to recognize the essence of a given problem and the creative ability to devise a practical solution. These abilities are the products of experience, education, and intelligence.”*

-MCDP 1 Warfighting

*“Marine Corps doctrine on warfighting teaches us that the human dimension is central in war. It is the human dimension which infuses war with its intangible moral factors. This idea serves as a foundational requirement for integrating culture into military learning, planning, and execution. It is also the cornerstone of the concept of ‘war amongst the people’, the dominant mode of operations today an[d] in the future”.*

-Operational Culture for the Warfighter

*“Troops strange to an area find it difficult to determine who the enemy is and whether the killed and wounded are friend, foe, or neutral...Based on careful, local intelligence and mounted not for just a few days but for weeks, a small offensive directed by the local commander is much more likely to run the enemy ragged and eventually to track him down.”*

-Dr. G.K. Tanham

#### ONE RIOT ONE RANGER

On August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1823, the Texas Rangers were created by order of Empresario Stephen F. Austin, on the back of a land commission proclamation. Over the next fifty years, men like Captain Jack C. Hays and Captain “Rip” Ford would write the book on counterinsurgency against the Comanche and insurgency against the Mexican and U.S. governments. As Texas became a state, the Civil War ended and the Comanche threat was pacified, the Texas Rangers, erstwhile counterinsurgents, became more of a police force: Troubleshooters for the State of Texas.

In the 1880’s, the call went to Austin to stop illegal prize-fights in Dallas. The situation was volatile and the Rangers sent one man: Captain Bill MacDonald. To the mayor of Dallas’ question as to the whereabouts of the other Rangers, MacDonald replied, “Hell! Ain’t I enough? There’s only one

prize fight.” The fight did not go as scheduled.

In the 1950s inmates of Rusk State Hospital for the criminally insane rioted and took hostages. Armed with a .45 , Captain Bob Crowder entered the prison to have a conversation with the spokes person of the inmates. The riot ended shortly thereafter.

Whether he carried a revolver or ACP, the Texas Ranger brought order to chaos. He carried with him a reputation from the past hundred-odd years. When you faced a ranger the situation had three possible outcomes: 1) a fair deal, 2) a fair trial followed by a hanging, 3) a lead slug in the chest. After over one hundred and eighty years, one ranger is still enough for one riot.<sup>22</sup>

### **Always Surrounded or Always Reinforced?**

From a conventional warfare mindset, a single police officer armed with a service pistol cannot compare with a fire team of Marines. Nonetheless, the police officer walks a beat and maintains a presence in his district. He belongs to the community. He understands the people he protects, and they in turn protect him.<sup>23</sup> However, a police officer’s training differs from that of a Marine with regard to “attitudinal predisposition”.<sup>24</sup>

The traits of ruthlessness and violence which are desired in a Marine are counterproductive to the mission of a police officer. A police officer’s success and survival depend upon his emotional intelligence: “1) emotional self-awareness, 2) independence, 3) interpersonal relationships, 4) empathy, 5) stress tolerance, 6) impulse control, 7) flexibility, [and] 8) problem solving....”<sup>25</sup> In preparation for COIN, the unit leader must focus his subordinate’s attention on the culture in which they will operate, thereby giving the Marine the understanding necessary to develop emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence traits, specifically impulse control and understanding interpersonal relationships, allow the police officer to de-escalate the situation rather than increase force to control a situation. In short, talking to the community is a police officer’s most valuable weapon.<sup>26</sup> When compared with the

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<sup>22</sup> “For the Common Defense”, [http://www.txdps.state.tx.us/director\\_staff/texas\\_rangers](http://www.txdps.state.tx.us/director_staff/texas_rangers), (28 February 2008)

<sup>23</sup> Lieutenant John Draa, Baltimore City Police Dept, Ret., Interview by the author, 28 September 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Barak A. Salmoni and Paula Holmes-Eber, *Operational Culture for the Warfighter: Principles and Applications* (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Training and Education Command, 2007), 231.

<sup>25</sup> Salmoni and Holmes-Eber offer these traits as concurrent with those that Military Transition Teams (MITT) seek in the Iraqi and Afghani security personnel to ensure success in COIN. Salmoni and Holmes-Eber, 231-233.

<sup>26</sup> William S. Lind, Advanced Warfare Seminar, group discussion, 6 December 2007.

Spanish-speaking deputy in LA County, the English-speaking fire team in Anbar Province is at a decided disadvantage.

### **SARA: BOYD'S CYCLE IN PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING**

While a 4GW mindset shies away from processes and formulae, it is worth while understanding police decision-making and its parallels to the Boyd cycle. Police Departments adopting Problem-Oriented Policing (POP) techniques encourage officers to use a community leveraging technique known as SARA: scanning, analysis, response, assessment.

“Scanning identifies a problem through a variety of sources of information, such as calls for service and citizen surveys. Citizens must consider the problem as important for this phase to succeed. Next analysis requires the thoughtful examination of the nature of the problem. Input from police personnel and residents pertaining to the problem is important, as well as the collection of data the department may have about the frequency, location, and other significant characteristics of the problem. Third, response fashions one or more preferred solutions to the problem. This step, as well as the preceding analysis step, benefits from creative deliberation, or “thinking outside the box.” Input clearly should come from police personnel, but also the residents, experts, and other individuals who can address the problem thoughtfully. Finally, assessment evaluates the effectiveness of the expected solution. Agencies must evaluate the solution as objectively as possible because this step speaks to end products, the key theme in POP initiatives.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Terry Eisenbock and Bruce Glasscock, “Looking Inward with Problem-Oriented Policing”, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, July 2001, Vol. 70 Issue 7, EBSCOhost (15 February 2008), p 2.



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## Chapter 4

### NON-KINETIC OPERATIONS

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*“If the insurgent manages to dissociate the population from the counterinsurgent, to control it physically, to get its active support, he will win the war, because, in the final analysis, the exercise of political power depends on the tacit or explicit agreement of the population or, at worst, on its submissiveness.”*

-David Galula

In the nineties, as the weapons of gangs on the streets became more powerful, police armored up, projecting a decidedly more militaristic image. Carbines replaced revolvers, battle-dress and tactical boots replaced the crisp “black and white” officer of the pre-3G2 world. Such measures can isolate the police from the population. In recent years, however, law enforcement has begun to look at information operations as a solution to counter gang recruitment.

#### **Information Operations**

Specifically, law enforcement on Long Island has conducted intensive research into motivation and recruitment of potential gang members, developing gang awareness suppression and prevention programs (GASSP) to inform parents, students, and community members in order to reduce gang recruitment.<sup>28</sup> In a more targeted manner, the Freeport Community Response Unit (CRU) deploys two detectives and community leaders to homes of gang members, confronting parents with evidence of their child’s activities.<sup>29</sup> Parallel programs have been in operation in Honduras and are equally applicable in a COIN environment<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> GASSP participants have contributed information leading to the conviction of 65 MS-13 members in Freeport, NY alone. Michael E. Woodward, Freeport Police Dept, testimony before the House Committee for Education and Labor, 4 June 2007, EBSCOhost (21 November 2007), 2.

<sup>29</sup> Organizations such as Freeport Pride, the Salvation Army, and the Hispanic Counseling Center have accompanied the CRU to immediately enroll at-risk youth in educational, vocational, and law enforcement orientation programs, with the aim of providing a similar sense of sacrifice, power, respect, and unity that teens seek in gangs. Woodward, 5-8.

<sup>30</sup> EREM, *Desafios*, and *Despertad* seek to inform and co-opt parents, students, and community leaders in Honduras as a part of the *Policia Nacional’s Mano Dura* counter-gang program. Further parole programs have involved religious organizations in spiritual guidance in rehabilitation. Breve, 93, 94.

### **MAO DURA AND PROJECT VICTORY: THE HARD AND SOFT HAND OF HONDURAS**

In 2006, 4,000 gang related murders took place in El Salvador.<sup>31</sup> In Honduras, gang members have infiltrated the military to access weapons and tactics training, whereas ex-soldiers of the downsizing Guatemalan armed forces have been co-opted by various drug cartels for service in their para-military units.<sup>32</sup>

#### **Civil-Military Operations**

In the same manner, the counter-insurgency must convince potential insurgents that the insurgency always ends in disgrace, imprisonment, or death, not martyrdom. Further, the counter-insurgency must seek proactively to involve youth in vocational programs or in becoming security force cadets before they can be recruited by insurgents. Upon parole, COIN needs to “repatriate” the would-be insurgent thereby counterbalancing the sense of belonging and unity offered by the insurgency.

#### **Preserving Relationships**

Finally, just as the patrolman must differentiate himself from the faceless SWAT trooper, the military must differentiate between the light infantryman, who protects and lives among the populace, and the heavily armed platoon that knocks down the door in the night.

The counter-insurgent, like the police officer, must never be perceived as the aggressor or he will lose his status with and the support of the populace.<sup>33</sup>

To maintain this privileged relationship, a “faceless” assault element acting on intelligence gathered by patrolling squads, must strike under cover of darkness. This division of labor not only supports community-patrol interpersonal relationship, but has the potential to divorce the patrol (that has names and faces) from blood-feud blowback as a result of direct action.

### **“BLOODY SUNDAY”**

In the spring of 1971 the RUC and Royal Green Jackets (8 Bde), British Army made significant strides in Northern Ireland. In Belfast, the

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<sup>31</sup> “Salvadoreans Step Up Security at Schools Against Gang Recruiters”, *World News Connection*, 14 February 2007, EBSCOhost (15 February 2008), p 2.

<sup>32</sup> Breve-Travieso, 91.

<sup>33</sup> Rod Thornton, “Getting it Wrong; The Crucial Mistakes Made in the Early Stages of the British Army’s Deployment to Northern Ireland,” (*Journal of Strategic Studies* Feb 2007), 100.

Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) was contained to a handful of Catholic neighborhoods where it could organize, train, recruit, and intimidate. In Londonderry, the Army was gaining community support amongst the Catholic neighborhoods.<sup>34</sup> The situation began to deteriorate when on 8 July 1971, the newly-arrived elite 1<sup>st</sup> Paras (39 Bde) drove “on-the-fence” Catholic communities into the arms of the previously unpopular PIRA by the shooting of two alleged bombers.<sup>35</sup> The actions of the Paras were condemned by the Catholic community and the British media, marking the first deaths at the hands of Crown forces since 1969. The second such incident of “rough and indiscriminant behaviour” by the Paras led to “Bloody Sunday”.<sup>36</sup> Unlike 8 Bde who ignored taunts and hurled rocks and bottles, 39 Bde dealt violently with challenges from the Young Derry Hooligans. The Paras, in their characteristic “one tactic fits all” aggressive fashion fired into a crowd in Londonderry on Sunday, 13 January 1972 when firearms were brandished by gang members during a 7,000 man Catholic protest march. As the smoke cleared, 14 protestors lay dead, none having ties to PIRA or the Catholic youth gangs of Londonderry.<sup>37</sup> The Paras failed to appreciate their enemy or the atmosphere of Londonderry. They had come for a fight, gained a reputation for over-reacting, and had sewn the seeds for increased sectional conflict.

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<sup>34</sup> Thornton, 95.

<sup>35</sup> Thornton, 97.

<sup>36</sup> Thornton, 99.

<sup>37</sup> Thornton, 100.

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## Chapter 5

### IMPLEMENTATION

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*“Fundamentally, here in Baghdad we do two things: We’re either fighting for intelligence, or we’re fighting based on that intelligence.”*

-MGen Martin Dempsey, USA

*“As propaganda is much more convincing when it emanates from the population instead of coming from the counterinsurgent personnel, local inhabitants should be persuaded to act as propagandists not only in their own area, but outside. When they do so, the war is virtually won in the selected area.”*

-David Galula

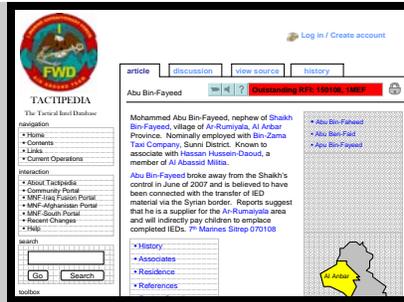
*“Prevention means building soccer fields and basketball courts, coordinating with the National Police and with all organizations dedicated to rescuing young people and stopping the gangs from carrying off these kids.”*

-President Antonio Saca,  
El Salvador

### **Intelligence**

These policing concepts represent a significant departure from current doctrine and will encounter with the same rejection from conventional military leadership that COIN has experienced. The proposed changes with respect to intelligence functions may garner particular resistance as robust intelligence shops are required at the Division or MEF level for conventional operations. However, such changes could easily be effected through task organization and reapportionment in a COIN environment. Thus, conventional T/Os could still remain in place in the event that the U.S. finds itself in a non-4GW conflict in the near future.

### **TACTICAL INTELLIGENCE APPORTIONMENT**



In light of gang data-base successes in the United States and Central America., tactical intelligence collaborative tools (TIC) can pave the way for streamlined intelligence shops at the Brigade and higher level. The consumer and collector is the Marine on the ground. He must have access to a real-time data-base that allows the company-level intel section to cross-reference, submit RFI and information for analysis.

The Wikipedia model is meeting with success for the DoS Intellipedia, allowing near-realtime country-brief information from the country team on the ground via the SIPRnet. This model for a tactical intelligence encyclopedia would be a “who’s who” in theatre. Included could be surveillance footage, aliases, known affiliates, as well as a collaborative tool to query/chat. Maintenance and oversight of this tool would rest at the brigade or higher level. To be sure, intelligence fusion web pages and intra-province BATS databases already exist in theatre.<sup>38</sup> Going further, secure net access to one interactive system, HET, and analytical assets must be reallocated to the company/platoon level to augment adhoc Company Intelligence Cells.

## **Security and Area Denial**

Opponents will argue that tactics of virtual patrols and reverse operations may initially appear as overbearing to the culture of the community in which they are employed. However, the intent of these concepts is to discourage insurgent activity and recruitment rather than to entrap petty criminals.

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<sup>38</sup> Major Greg Thiele, Command and Control Lecture, Expeditionary Warfare School, Quantico VA, 29 February 2008.

### **AREA DENIAL: JLENS AND THE TROJAN HORSE**

In 2006 prior to the Surge, Regimental Combat Team (RCT) 5 faced a recurring problem with IEDs on an MSR between Habaniya and Ramadi, Anbar Province. For all intents and purposes, the insurgents had denied the RCT freedom of movement on this major LOC. Scout Sniper Teams and patrols were immediately reported on by children, warning away any would-be IED planting teams. RCT 5 looked to the JLENS, a digital, color camera, optimal at distances up to 4km. Planted on the roof of a headquarters bunker, the JLENS went unnoticed by insurgents. Within 90 days of installing the JLENS, Marines killed or captured over 150 insurgents along the MSR, recorded TTPs of IED teams in the field, and amassed a veritable library of license plates, faces, and evidence for subsequent trials. In 90 days, the MSR from Habaniya to Ramadi went from a Tier 1 IED threat to no coalition or civilian casualties.<sup>39</sup>

One method utilized on occasion in Iraq are so-called “Trojan Horse” missions. During Trojan Horse missions, Marines were given relaxed grooming standards, local dress and a civilian vehicle (modified with armor and radios) and conducted patrols in areas with insurgent activity. A friendly react force was positioned nearby and was on call to assist the Marines in the civilian vehicle in case they observed any hostile action or needed assistance. Such operations have the ability to be extremely successful in disrupting insurgent activities. Any insurgent operating in battlespace where Trojan Horse missions are occurring must wonder: “Is that a cab driver sitting in that taxi cab over there, or is it..?”

### **Leveraging the Community**

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<sup>39</sup> BGen L. D. Nicholson, USMC, Distributed Operations in the Current Operating Environment, Lecture, Expeditionary Warfare School, Quantico, VA, February 2008.

Mobilizing the populace will certainly be approached with hesitancy by military leadership, and may not be possible in the early stages of counterinsurgency. The populace must feel reasonably secure before it will support the counter-insurgency<sup>40</sup>. In this regard, the development of emotional intelligence traits is vital. Counter-insurgent forces must be able to form a local security alliance tomorrow with the same militia they were fighting yesterday.

Finally, military leadership will be hesitant to weight COIN with Psyop, civil-military operations, and work-study programs due to its risk-averse dependency on firepower and armor for force protection. These programs take time to bear fruit, but have proven much more effective than kinetic operations whether in Northern Ireland<sup>41</sup> or East L.A.<sup>42</sup>. To succeed, U.S counterinsurgency must change its philosophy.

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<sup>40</sup> David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security Int'l, 1964), 76-77.

<sup>41</sup> In 1994 after the PIRA ceasefire in Northern Ireland, the RUC formed community police liaison committees to provide transparency for catholic and protestant citizens. These committees met with gradually increasing success in giving citizens a vested interest in prioritizing police efforts and were a wide departure from the actions of the RUC in the 70's and 80's. Flanagan, 6.

<sup>42</sup> Prosecution of police officers for harsh tactics in the Rampart District led LAPD seek to change directions from a warrior policing model to a community based policing model. According to Chief Bratton, his police officers are required not to be soldiers, but rather "social workers, counselors, [and] housing advisors". William Bratton, "LAPD Chief on Making the City Safer, *NPR News and Notes*, 14 July 2006, EBSCOhost (12 February 2008), 2-3.

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