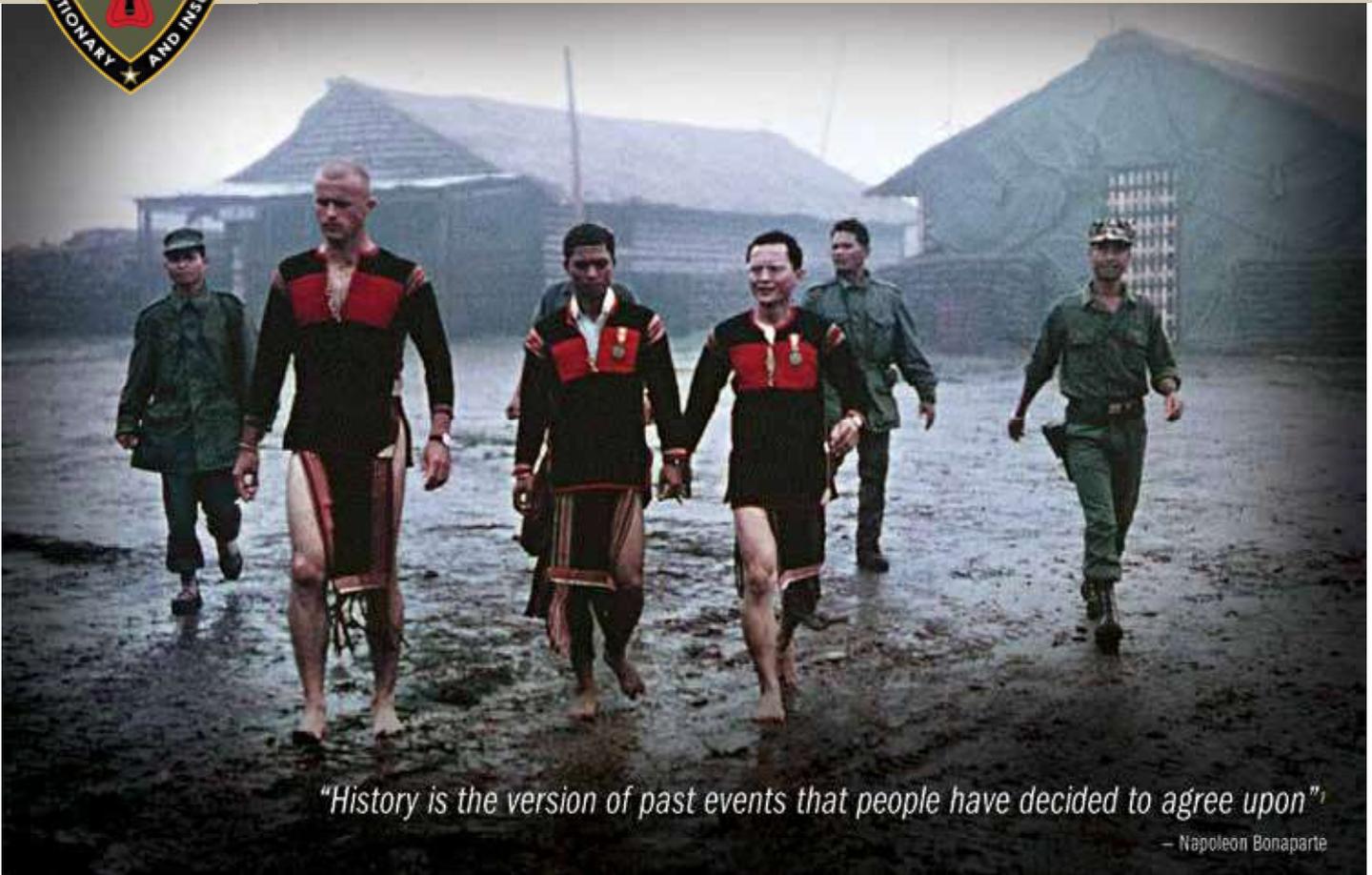




ARIS: Assessing Revolutionary and



"History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon"

– Napoleon Bonaparte

MONTANGNARDS Bracelet ceremony - Vietnam, 1973. U.S. Army photo.

While Napoleon Bonaparte likely referred to his own accounting of events, there is truth to his statement; without a baseline consensus of history, it becomes impossible to frame arguments, develop doctrine, identify trends, learn lessons or draw conclusions. Today, the students, planners and Soldiers who study examples of insurgencies, counterinsurgencies, unconventional warfare and foreign internal defense often face varying and scattered interpretations of critical historic events. Essentially, the Army special operations forces inventory lacks a thorough historic compendium, a multi-disciplined and neutral body of work, from which to draw lessons, build doctrine and develop training.

In medicine, practitioners develop treatment plans that are based on a foundational

body of knowledge and an assessment of the anatomy of their patient. They depend upon professional experience, a patient's symptoms and a commonly accepted standard of care gained by intense scholarship and applied research. Likewise, SOF planners and writers develop techniques, tactics and procedures, force-structure modifications and doctrinal guidelines based on professional experiences, political sensitivities and operational realities. While such components contribute to an understanding of how insurgencies and resistances are established, grow and operate, SOF's foundational body of knowledge must also be accompanied by serious analysis and operational research.

The original rationale for conducting operations research came about after World War II as a method of "...making scientific

cally sound improvements in the design and performance of weapons and equipment. Operations research techniques were soon extended to address questions of tactics and strategy during the war and, after the war, to matters of high-level political and economic policy"² Experience demonstrated that combat development, equipment procurement and doctrine proved more costly without detailed research, development and analysis. In essence; research provided the bedrock upon which all other functions were anchored, saving time, money and people. Specifically, research and study allowed U.S. forces to maintain a technological and analytical edge over its opponents.³

With respect to the special operations community specifically, The Special Operations Research Office completed the last

Insurgent Strategies

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detailed insurgency analysis, publishing the *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare, Vol. 1: 1933-1962, in 1962*. In 2011, in an effort to address the nearly 50 year gap of directed analysis, the United States Army Special Operations Command, G3 Special Programs Division, in partnership with The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, developed the Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgency Strategies project. This work provides planners and practitioners with foundational resources for the study of insurgencies. In this way, the ARIS products and analyses are to insurgencies as Grey's Anatomy is to medicine.

The ARIS project provides irregular warfare practitioners a value neutral, academically rigorous, standardized and fundamental framework for analysis and an impartial view of evidence and key topics relating to resistances and insurgencies. The body of work encompasses detailed case books, texts and studies, as well as professional websites that provide direct support to IW instructors through instructional materials, libraries and guided discussion lessons.⁴ All ARIS products are peer reviewed by recognized military strategists, social scientists and IW experts. Such unbiased information is necessary for those planning and conducting foreign internal defense, counterinsurgency and unconventional warfare. It provides a foundation for the emerging doctrine that guides IW plans and operations.

The first academic text in the new ARIS series essentially centers on two objectives. First, it provides a common frame of reference from which to discuss, contrast and compare how SOF students and Soldiers might support or oppose a broad range of political struggles. Second, it updates the 1962 Special Operations Research Office study, moving beyond a template focused on politically-based struggles to include resistances centered on ethnic cleavages, identity discrepancies, modernization, reform and other factors. Across 23 cases, the text as-

sesses a spectrum of insurgents, government forces, and external actors.

The 2012 casebook serves as a companion compilation to the original 1962 edition. It utilizes a standardized framework to "introduce the reader to modern-style insurgencies and revolutionary strategies, as well as to act as an information resource on these particular cases."⁵ Each chapter approaches a unique case which can be classified into one of five categories:

- **Revolution to Modify the Type of Government;** New People's Army (NPA), Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), 1979 Iranian Revolution, Frente Farabundo Martí Para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) and Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA).
- **Revolution Based on Identity or Ethnic Issues;** Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO): 1964–2009, Hutu–Tutsi Genocides, Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA): 1996–1999 and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA): 1969–2001.
- **Revolution to Drive out a Foreign Power;** Afghan Mujahidin: 1979–1989, Viet Cong: 1954–1976, Chechen Revolution: 1991–2002, Hizbollah: 1982–2009 and Hizbul Mujahideen.
- **Revolution Based on Religious Fundamentalism;** Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), Taliban: 1994–2009 and al-Qaeda: 1988–2001.
- **Revolution for Modernization or Reform;** Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Revolutionary United Front (RUF)—Sierra Leone, Orange Revolution of Ukraine: 2004–2005 and Solidarity.

Each case incorporates a synopsis, general timeline, maps and background on the relevant physical, cultural, social, economic and political factors for each movement.

The form and characteristics of each study is assessed through an examination of the insurgency's objectives or goals, the leadership and organizational structure, methods of action, recruitment, sustainment, methods of obtaining legitimacy and external support. The report incorporates a scrutiny of government countermeasures, short- and long-term effects and how these decisions affect the population and the insurgency itself. Each case concludes with an analysis of the changes to the environment, policy and to the revolutionary movement itself. The end result is a comprehensive study that gives students, instructors and scholars the ability to contrast and compare individual revolutions. This approach also provides the readers the ability to design strategies to support the resistance (UW) or oppose the insurgency (FID); skills needed by every SOF student, instructor and planner.

In addition to the *Casebook on Insurgencies and Revolutionary Warfare*, the ARIS project digitized and reprinted the original SORO *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare, Vol. 1: 1933-1962* and published an updated edition of *Human Factors Considerations of Undergrounds and Insurgencies and Undergrounds in Insurgent, Revolutionary and Resistance Warfare*, and an updated *Irregular Warfare Annotated Bibliography*. The *Human Factors Considerations of Undergrounds and Insurgencies and Undergrounds in Insurgent, Revolutionary and Resistance Warfare* were designed as a modernization to the SORO studies of the same name. While the basic nature of an insurgency or revolution did not change, the tactics, techniques and procedures required significant updates due to the impact of modern technology. Additionally, the components of a modern insurgency must be expanded to include four aspects, the underground, auxiliary, guerrilla force or armed component and the public component. The public component is often represented by a political entity as exemplified by Lebanese Hezbollah.

ARIS Available and Upcoming Products

- Casebooks on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare, Vol. 1: 1927-1962 and Vol. II: 1962-2009
- Irregular Warfare Annotated Bibliography
- Human Factors Considerations of Underground in Insurgencies
- Undergrounds in Insurgent, Revolutionary and Resistance Warfare
- The Legal Status of Personnel in Resistance
- Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare – Colombia (1964-2009) and Sri Lanka (1976-2009)



Visit the ARIS page on the USASOC website for products and more information:
<http://www.soc.mil/ARIS/ARIS.html>

In order to support the Department of Defense IW instructor and facilitate the use of the ARIS products in the IW classroom the ARIS project recently unveiled the Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgencies Guide web portal (<https://dnnpro.outher.jhuapl.edu/aris/Login.aspx>). This professionally hosted site is designed to provide IW instructors with a bibliography of IW related published articles, books and videos, access to a forum where instructors can share ideas for the classroom and features guided discussion lessons on key topics related to IW. In order to maintain academic rigor, the lessons are reviewed by both master educators and IW experts. The portal is designed to be a living support system for instructors, and the project is currently working with centers of influence to identify topics for additional lessons.

Current ARIS Study projects, expected to be available in the coming months, include *Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare*, *Proxy Support to Resistances and Insurgency*, and *Legal Status of Personnel in Resistance*. The two *Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare* examine Sri Lanka (1976-2009) and Columbia. These highly detailed analyses provide a holistic deep dive into multiple insurgencies and revolutions occurring within state boundaries. Both studies employ modern social science theories and follow a stan-

dardized framework, examining the historical, political and socio-economic context within which these insurgencies developed. *Proxy Support to Resistances and Insurgency* examines the use of proxy forces by foreign governments to achieve strategic ends. The groundbreaking *Legal Status of Personnel in*

Resistance scrutinizes and develops an understanding of how and to what extent laws might apply to an insurgent, host-nation personnel and U.S. forces as they support or defeat a resistance. The study also developed a legal continuum, demonstrating how a resistance can grow in intensity or be defeated by lawful or political means.

Projected product are:

- *Case Study on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare* — Palestine and Israel, 2 volumes (1870-1948/ 1949-2010).
- Unconventional Warfare Case Studies — topics to be determined
- Case Study on Narratives and Competing Messages in Revolutions, Insurgencies and Rebellions.
- Special Studies Collections — short studies in specific topics such as: insurgency phases of development, process of mobilization, thresholds of violence, economic effects of external support, etc.

ARIS reaches a broad audience, both internal and external to USASOC. Specifically, ARIS materials are used to support the Special Forces Qualification Course, the Advanced Special Operations Techniques Managers Course, the Network Development Course, the Warrant Officer Basic, Advanced and Staff courses and the Special Forces Intelligence Course. External to USASOC, ARIS materials are used in Pro-

fessional Military Education at the Center for Army Lessons Learned, The School of Advance Military Studies, the Command and General Staff School, the Naval Postgraduate School and each of the service academies. Finally the products are provided to the ARSOF student, planner and instructor in a variety of formats, ranging from traditional print and hardbound materials, to electronic bulletin boards, to “soft copy” versions appropriate for e-readers.

These professional materials provide multiple commands and institutions with baseline, peer-reviewed documents and the basis for discussions at the strategic-, operational- and tactical-level of influence. ARIS provides foundational materials that are incorporated in virtually every course from the Special Forces Qualification Course, to Advanced Professional Military Education, to material taught by interagency partners. These documents and lessons provide a synchronized, coordinated and exhaustive analysis that can be utilized to either support or defeat a resistance. Finally, ARIS provides the USASOC command a platform from which to develop doctrine, devise new TTPs and train and equip the force, for years to come. **SW**

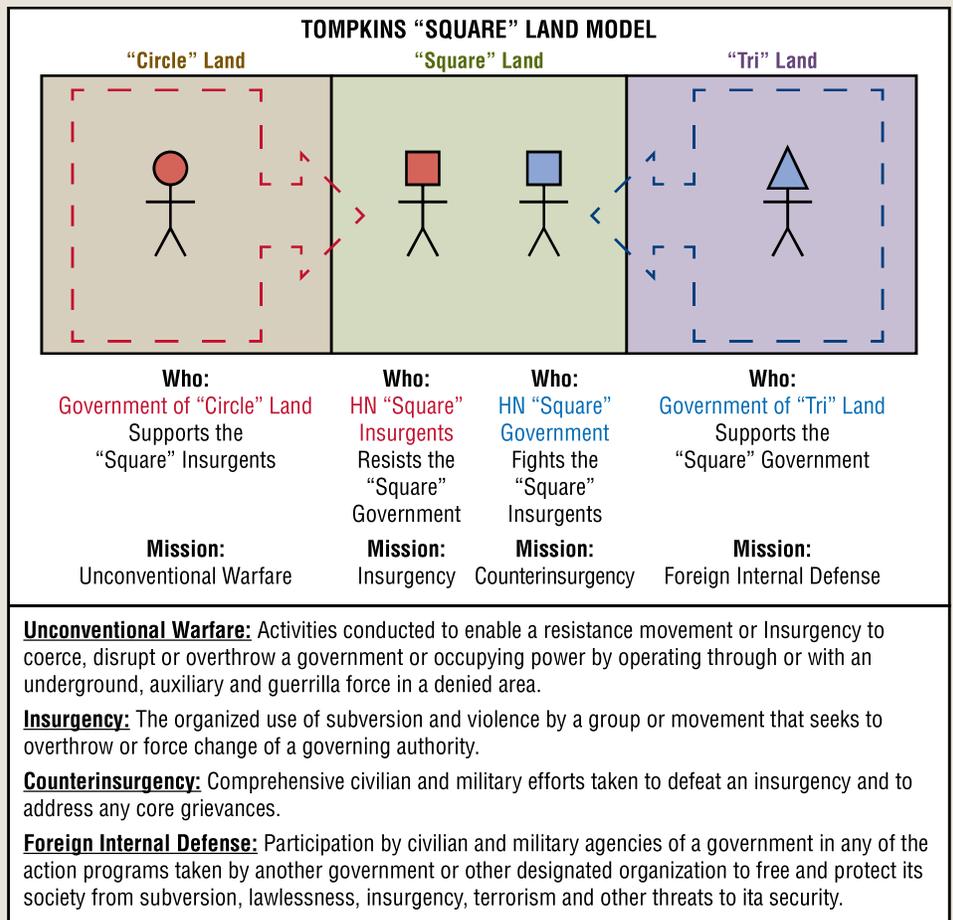
Notes

1. Bonaparte, Napoleon. *The Quotation Page History Quotes*. <http://www.quotationpage.com/subjects/history/> (accessed December 5, 2011).
2. *Joint Publication 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated*. Pentagon, 2010.
3. Schrader, Charles R. *History of Operations Research in the United States Army*. Historical Reference, Washington DC: Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of the Army for Operations Research, 2006.
4. *Statement of Work Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgent Strategies*. Fort Bragg, North Carolina: USASOC, 2011.
5. Unites States Army Special Operations Command. *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare Volume II: 1962-2009*. Washington DC: John Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory / National Security Analysis Department, 2011.
6. *Joint Publication 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated* 2010.
7. *Joint Publication 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated* 2010.

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The definitions of UW, FID, COIN and an insurgency are easily defined and found in numerous ARIS publications. However, too often, even educated Soldiers misuse these terms, such as suggesting that U.S. forces are conducting COIN or UW in Afghanistan today; to be clear, the U.S. military is conducting FID. The model below, conceptualized by Mr. Paul Tompkins, USASOC G3X division chief, provides a pictorial model clearly identifying the roles and missions of forces involved in any conflict.



In this fictitious model, the country of "Square" Land, shaded green, finds itself embroiled in a political struggle turning violent. The square-headed people, colored red, are the insurgents, hence they conduct an insurgency. The blue colored square-headed people, represent the government forces fighting the insurgency, consequently conducting counterinsurgency.

In this scenario, the neighboring country to the east, "Tri" Land, shaded purple, enters the conflict by supporting the government of "Square" Land. By definition that support is defined as foreign internal defense because "Tri" Land is trying to protect "Square" Land's "...society from subversion, lawlessness, insurgency...and other threats to its security." On the other hand, and to the west, "Circle" Land, shaded tan, enters the conflict on the insurgent's side in order to enable the insurgency the ability "...to coerce, resist or overthrow..." the government of "Square" Land.

This model is particularly useful because it accurately and graphically depicts actors, roles and missions in simplistic manner by defining the party's relation to the insurgency. It is understood that at the operational or tactical level, particularly in long-running disputes, the insurgents might well constitute the "de facto" government in limited areas, consequently torturing a strictly nuanced definition. However, the Tompkins model provides a clear understanding that at the strategic level, allowing multiple organizations, agencies, and more importantly, the Special Forces Soldier to understand their roles, missions and authorities in the ensuing conflict.