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AMSP 9 – PSEM 9

THE DIFFICULTIES IN COUNTERING GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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The difficulties in countering guerrilla warfare in the 21st century.

INTRODUCTION.

Guerrilla war as Vo Nguyen described it in his book “People’s War People’s Army” is the war of the masses of an economically backward country standing up against a powerfully equipped and well trained army of aggression. Guerrilla warfare as described by Mao Tse-tung as "*a weapon that nation inferior in arms and military equipment may employ against a more powerful aggressor nation*”[1] Historically the war fought in the form of guerrilla warfare achieved certain successes. The United States of America fought in Vietnam between 1958 to 1975 and former Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and fought guerrilla warfare against the Mujahideen for 10-years from the period 1979 to 1989. Both super powers at that time the USA and USSR reached maturity in weapon systems, fighter aircraft, bombers, guided air to ground guided by laser & TV missiles, cluster bombs, air fuel explosion bombs, submarines, armada of ships, tanks, vehicle/self-propelled artillery, special forces using digital maps & updated real time satellite images with great communications and sensors, yet the results were indecisive.

With the advanced technology that both super powers had at that time, the idea that technology is decisive, the way the militaries were organized to optimize the use of mass technology and the neatly structured echelons not only to manage and

[1] Htt://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/ch01.htm

maintain equipment but to orderly deploy them in the battlefield[2], with all of this the overall result for both super powers was not positive.

Technological sophistication and capabilities have played an important role , but was not the main factor to assure victory or to help both super powers to achieve their objectives, technological superiority by itself has never guaranteed success.[3]

The American and the Soviet union fought the wars in Vietnam and Afghanistan respectively in the 20th century relying upon advanced technology. There is no doubt that the 21st century is more technologically advanced for the militaries, many theories on how to fight guerrilla war emerged and the lessons of the past have been analyzed and disseminated among the war planners to consider the best way to defeat the enemy. The theater where the militaries might fight a guerrilla war has been identified and analyzed, the militaries have been equipped with the right weapons are

dedicated to fight against a guerrilla insurgents and warriors are well trained. The technology which was not available to the guerrilla warrior in the last century is available today with minimum cost available at the tip of the finger and the people who are fighting the guerrilla war have became smarter, more capable, with the advanced technology of the 21st century ranging from the internet to the satellite communication and more educated in building small but effective weapons . Will the militaries still depend on the technology to fight a guerrilla war without the consideration of defining the center of gravity of the guerrilla? Do we expect the result to be more positive or will the

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[2] George Friedman: Military Doctrine, Guerrilla Warfare and counter-Insurgency: http://www.paginedidifesa.it/2003/friedman_030814.html

[3] "Implication of the Future Military Environment" presented by: Williamson Murray the Ohio State University at the Principles of War Culminating Seminar, 13 April 2005:http://www.jhuapl.edu

guerrilla fighter use tactics, methods, and means to attack the center of gravity of the professional militaries and repeat the lessons of deaf ting the professional militaries in the past.

This paper will examine if guerrilla warfare is able to deter the professional militaries from not achieving their objectives, and cause trouble to them by using certain tactics and means and taking advantage of the mistakes committed by the planner of the professional militaries regarding the center of gravity of the guerrilla. The war in Iraq and Afghanistan will be used as examples to support this examination..

What is guerrilla warfare?

A guerrilla fighter is defined in the Canadian Oxford Dictionary as "*a person taking part in an irregular war waged by small bands operating independently, often against a stronger, more organized force, with surprise attack*".[4]

According Encyclopedia Britannica" *the word guerrilla (the diminutive of Spanish Guerra, "war") was first used to describe the Spanish-Portuguese irregulars, or guerrilleros also(called partisans and insurgents) who helped the Duke of Wellington drive the French from the Iberian peninsula during the campaign of 1809-13* .[5]

Guerrilla warfare is the oldest form of the asymmetric warfare, carried out by small, mobile and flexible combat groups. Guerrilla warfare has been employed throughout the history by many nations in different circumstances, to achieve their

[4] http://www.ornery.org/essays/2004-03-10-1htlm
[5] Encyclopedia Britannica, http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9038380/guerrilla

aims.

Guerrilla warfare depends heavily on the friendly population to provide supplies and intelligence. The foreign support for the guerrilla warfare, in terms weapons, sanctuary, sympathy and political support, may increase the chance of victory.

Guerrilla warfare can be categorized as urban guerrilla and rural guerrilla. Urban guerrilla operates among the civilian population. They are melting in the cities, towns and villages where it is difficult to distinguish between the guerrilla fighter and ordinary civilian. The rural guerrilla prefers to carry out their operations in the areas where they can get cover, hide and concealment, like the mountains, forests and desert. A third type of guerrilla is the one who is operating in the mountains, forests or desert and also in the urban areas. In all the cases the population is main supporter for food, logistic, financial support and most importantly, intelligence.

According to Mao Tse-tung guerrilla warfare is divided into three phases. The first phase is the phase where the guerrilla gets support of the population through the attacks on government's machinery and the distribution of their propaganda. The second phase is escalating attacks on government's military, vital installations and institutions. The third phase is the seizure of cities and overthrowning of the government.[6]

Guerrilla warfare in history.

The history of the guerrilla warfare as an effective tactics for defeating larger

[6] Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerrilla

enemies dates back most prominently to the Roman Empire, as pillaging and banditry by barbarians ate away at frontier resources[7]. One reason for the decline of the Roman Empire is the guerrilla attrition.

The Romans applied guerrilla warfare against Hannibal in the second Punic war. After witnessing several disastrous defeats at the hands of Hannibal, the Roman dictator Fabius Maximus decided to modify traditional warfare methods. They employed a new type and unpopular war of attrition for almost 14 years.

Guerrilla warfare took place during the Napoleonic wars. One good example of the guerrilla warfare was during the invasion of Russia. During the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in 1812, two actions were carried out by Tsar Alexander which could be seen as guerrilla tactics. The fist one was the burning of Moscow after it was occupied by Napoleon army, to deprive the French army from shelter. The second one was his order that the Russian serfs should attack the French.

Leo Tolstoy, in his tour de force "War and Peace", discussed guerrilla tactics from his experience in Chechnya and the accounts of 1812. "*one of the most tangible and advantageous departures from the so-called riles of warfare is the action of scattered groups against a body of men obliged to operate in a dense mass*," he wrote. "*This sort of independent action is always seen in wars that assume a national character*."[8]

The American revolutionary war in the period 1775-1783, which was also known as the "American war of independence", between Great Britain and the thirteen British

[7] The Ornery American. http:www.ornery.org/essays/2004-10-1.html
[8] The Ornery American. http:www.ornery.org/essays/2004-10-1.html

colonies, who declared their independence, has been fought in the guerrilla warfare style. George Washington and National Green used uncommon tactics of harassment and grinding down British forces without seeking a decisive battle. In the south the guerrilla warfare was more obvious. The militia forces that fought the enemy troops and their loyalist supporters, used concealment, surprise, and other guerrilla tactics.

During the American civil war (1861-1865), irregular warfare similar to the irregular warfare in the 19th century Europe took place in different states. The concept of 'people's war' described by Clausewitz in "*On War"* was the closest example of a mass guerrilla movement in the era. This type of guerrilla warfare took place on the border of states (Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and northwestern Virginia).[9]

Guerrilla tactics were used in the second Boer war in South Africa between Afrikaner republics and British Empire (1899-1902). The Boer prolonged the war by adopting guerrilla warfare.[10]

During the Chinese civil war (1928-1937) between the nationalists and communists, the communists used a mix of guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare. The guerrilla harassing and the regular armies striking unexpectedly.

The second Sino-Japanese war has witnessed guerrilla warfare operations. After the

[9] Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerrilla
[10] Madsen, Doctor Chris. "Canadian Troops and Farm Burning in the South African War". Canadian Military Journal, Vol , 6 No 2 (summer 2005)

initial phases of the war, a big area of North China plain rapidly fell to the Japanese, resistance emerged as underground resistance , supported by either Communist sympathizers or composed of disguised Nationalist soldiers, would soon rise up to combat the garrison forces. They were quite successful, able to sabotage railroad routes and ambush reinforcements following guerrilla warfare style.

During the Second World War, many guerrilla warfare styles took place in Europe against the Nazi Germany. These include the Polish Home Army, Slovak National Uprising, Soviet partisans, Yugoslav Partisans, Bulgarian NOVA, French resistance or Maquis, Italian partisans, ELAS and royalist forces in Greece. There was guerrilla fighting in Pacific and East Asian theater of WWII. In China against Japanese, Filipinas and other parts of Asia.

Europe has seen guerrilla warfare post World War 2. In the period between 1940 and 1950, thousands of fighters in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania participated in unsuccessful guerrilla warfare against Soviet occupation.[11]In 1960 troubles began again in Northern Ireland. The origin of the troubles go back to the partion of the Ireland during the Irish war of independence (1919-1921) between British Empire and Irish Republican Army (IRA), in which the IRA resorted to guerrilla warfare style. Currently, in Europe, groups like Corsican FLNC and other groups such as Greek Marxist Revolutionary organization 17 November claim to be guerrilla. The war in Chechnya between the pro-independence group and the Russian army is the most active guerrilla warfare in Europe.

[11] Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerrilla

In Latin America, much guerrilla warfare style took place. In the Mexican Revolution from 1913 to 1920, the populist revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata employed the use of predominately guerrilla tactics. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, Latin America had a number of urban guerrilla warfare whose strategy was to destabilize regimes and provoke a counter-reaction by the military. In countries like Argentina, Uruguay, Guatemala and Peru, the military wiped out the guerrilla movement. Several other left-wing guerrilla movements, often backed by Cuba or the Soviet Union, attempted to overthrow US-backed governments. US-backed Contra guerrilla attempted to overthrow the left wing elected Sandinista government of Nicaragua.[12]

The Vietnam war which took place in the period of 1958 and 1975 was full of the guerrilla warfare tactics between the North Vietnamese and the Americans.

In the Middle East and North Africa many liberation movements used guerrilla warfare tactics for independence. In North Africa, Abd El-Krim El-Khattabi became the leader of a wide scale armed resistance movement against French and Spanish colonial in North Africa. His guerrilla tactics are known to have inspired Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong and Che Guevara. In 1954, the National Liberation Front launched the guerrilla warfare for the Algeria independence. In Northern Iraq, the Kurds, used Guerrilla warfare against the Iraqi army during the Battiest

regime. The Palestinian engaged in guerrilla warfare against Israeli occupation until today. Hezbollah used guerrilla warfare to expel the Israeli out of southern

[12] Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerrilla

Lebanon. In Afghanistan, Mujahedeen engaged the Soviet Union forces in a guerrilla warfare tactics for 10-years from the period 1979 to 1989. The Taliban, are engaging the American and the NATO forces in a guerrilla warfare style since the removal of Taliban from power in 2001. In Iraq, the Iraqi resistant or(what's called by the American Iraqi insurgency), are using guerrilla warfare tactics since the topple of Saddam Hussein's regime in April 2003. An example of successful guerrilla warfare was in Algeria, Angola, Afghanistan, Cuba, south Lebanon and Vietnam. In some conflict the guerrilla warfare was not successful like Irish civil war in 1922-1923 and South African wars. There are ongoing guerrilla warfare in Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iraq and others.

Israel Experience with Guerrilla warfare is Southern Lebanon.

On June 6, 1982, Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon in an operation they called "*Operation Peace of the Galilee*". The announced purpose of the invasion was to push back those elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) operating in southern Lebanon to a distance 40 KM north of the border between Israel and Lebanon.[13]

Israel surrounded west of Beirut after an easy and early crossing of the 40 KM line. By August 1982, the PLO withdrew most of its forces from Lebanon, and by May 1983, and with the USA assistance, Israel begun to withdraw it's forces from Lebanon to an area designated by Israel as the "*security zone*"[14]. This

[13] Global Security.Org. www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1985/DTM.htm
[14] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982_Lebanon_War

security zone was South Lebanon.

Immediately, Israeli forces and their supporter militia in southern Lebanon faced guerrilla warfare from the Lebanese resistance headed by Hezbollah. In the beginning of this century, 21st century and on June 16, 2000, Israel withdrew it's forces from southern Lebanon after heavy causalities and lack of clear goals.[15]

Methods and Tactics used by Hezbollah to Expel Israel.

The, geography, terrain, it's mountains and valleys and the weather are indoubtly in advantage of the local inhabitants (Hezbollah fighters). Hezbollah gained the sympathy, the support, trust and help of the people of southern Lebanon, which is a main factor in the guerrilla warfare. Without the support of the civilian, the fight will be in the advantage of the Israeli forces. In order to gain the support and the help of the local population, Hezbollah provided social services to the poor people. They provided education, health care, security and financial support. On the military side Hezbollah followed tactics as follows:[16]

- Deception to cause in some cases "friendly fire" clashes between Israeli units or sometimes to deceive the enemy of false maneuvers.
- Suicide car bombing against the tanks and infantry.
- Human gathering Intelligence to detect the enemy movements and raids.
- Sniping to take down enemy soldiers in populated areas.
- Ambushing the foot patrols of enemy soldiers especially at night.
- Benefiting out of vegetated terrain to attack enemy without the ability of

[15] http://experts.about.com/e/0/1982_Invasion_of_Lebanon.htm
[16] Tactics of the crescent moon, author, H. Jonh Poole

being detected.

- Convoy ambushes against tanks, APCs and light vehicles.
- Attack of fortified positions
- Infiltrating into enemy strong bases by a single member to cause some kill or psychological affects.
- Tank killing.
- Working in small units and sometimes in company size formation.
- Strong defenses within the villages.
- Mastering Information Warfare.

Weapons used by Hezbollah.

Hezbollah have used different types of weapons to expel Israeli forces out of southern Lebanon. They have used land mines either remotely or autonomously detonated against the tanks, APC, vehicles and personnel as well as roadside bombs, explosive-laden vehicle and booby traps. As any guerrilla fighter, Hezbollah used small arms like AK-47, M16. Anti-tank light missile and RPG to counter the Israeli tanks and armored vehicle. Some advanced technological equipment were used like radars to detect the naval warship and amphibious vessels. Pilot less drones were used to make reconnaissance over Israel and to attack surface ships. Artillery, mortar were used to attack fortified Israeli positions and concentrations. Katyusyha rockets used to inflict civilian damages on northern Israel towns and villages.

Israel and Hezbollah guerrilla fighter in 2006

In 12 July 2006, the war broke out between Israel and Hezbollah after the later crossed

the birder between Lebanon and Israel and kidnapped two Israeli soldiers and killed 9 others. The war ended when the UN brokered ceasefire went into effect on 14 Aug 2006. The war showed how difficult for the Israeli professional military to deal with the guerrilla fighters of Hezbollah in the 21st century. Hezbollah benefited out of the terrain which is very difficult for motorized infantry and armor. They mastered with great efficiency the usage of their weapons anti-tanks, anti-ship and the missile to attack Israeli territories and cities like Haifa.

On the tactical level the benefited out of the local population for intelligence gathering. "*Nearly the entire Shiite population of the south Lebanon acts as eys and ears for the fighter"*[17]. They used tunnel between villages for their undetected free movement in a small group of five to six.[18]. They used the mountainous unpaved roads to ambush Israeli tanks using mines and anti tank weapons.

On the operational level, a decentralized command structure was used by Hezbollah for rapid response to any situation by encouraging initiative and avoiding the need to consult the leaders. They used their missile in a progression way, rather than to use everything it has in the early stages of the conflict. Hezbollah attacked the center of gravity of Israel, by prolonging the war. Certainly a long war is not in the benefit of Israel which realized by Hezbollah, and for that reason not all of it's potent weapons were used.[19]

The War in Afghanistan.

[17] http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2370089
[18] http://www.ouwet.com/othello/other/hezbollah-techniques-and-tactics/
[19] http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2370089

The attack on the USA on 11th of September 2001 was a milestone on the global war on terrorism spearheaded by Al-Qaeda, headed by Osama Bin Laden.
Following the attack on New York and Washington, the United States of America launched Operation Enduring Freedom, a military campaign designed to destroy Al-Qaeda terrorist network in their sanctuary hiding place in Afghanistan and to overthrow their supporter and alliance regime of Taliban.[20] The campaign started on October 2001, and to achieve the end state the United State of America made a coalition with Afghan northern Alliance, the enemy of Taliban who had engaged in war against them for years. It took around one month to remove Taliban from power and to enter Kabul by the Americans and their alliance.

In December 2001, Hamid Karzai became Afghan Interim Authority Chairman, after the meeting that took place in Bw.w 10.po/TT0 1 Tf0 Tc 0 6.021.865 0 Loyad to

ISAF, NATO, Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police are providing the role of security and stability, while international community and NGOs are providing help in building the ruined infrastructure.

"The country continued to rebuild and recover, as of late 2006, it was still struggling against widespread poverty, continued wardlordism, a virtually non-existent infrastructure, possibly the largest concentration of land mines and other unexploded ordinance on earth as well as a sizeable illegal poppy and heroin trade"[23]. The most dangerous problem that is confronting Afghanistan today, is the revival of Taliban and their insurgency.

Taliban Insurgency.

Shortly after their fall in 2001, Taliban began attacking U.S troops, ISAF and Afghan forces. Taliban abandoned the big cities and resorted to the mountains to regroup, reorganize, and training and to plan a guerrilla campaign against foreign and Afghan troops. In the beginning, Taliban conducted low intensity warfare in different areas of Afghanistan. They followed a classic guerrilla insurgency[24], operating in the countryside in the small and isolated villages and the mountains. Al-Qaeda conducted attacks against the coalition forces[25].

By conducting low intensity and low profile guerrilla warfare, Taliban evaded U.S. troops throughout the summer of 2002 and began to regain confidence and launched the insurgency that their leader Mullah Mohammed Omar had promised

[23] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/afghanistan
[24] CBS NEWS. www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/03/08/eveningnews/main604780.shtml
[25] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban_insurgency

during the Taliban's last days in power[26].

"*During September 2002, Taliban forces began a recruitment drive in Pashtun areas in both Afghanistan and Pakistan to launch a renewed Jihad or holy war against the Afghan government and the U.S.-led coalition. Pamphlets distributed in secret during the night also began to appear in many villages in the former Taliban heartland in southeastern Afghanistan that called for Jihad. Small mobile training camps were established along the border with Pakistan by Al-Qaeda and Taliban fugitives to train new recruit in guerrilla warfare tactics, according to Afghan sources and United Nation report. Most of the new recruits were drawn from the madrassas or religious schools of the tribal areas of Pakistan, from which the Taliban had originally arisen. Major bases, a few with as many as 200 men, were created in the mountainous tribal area*

Ghazni, Paktika, Khost, Kunar, Lowgar and Nuristan had come under the control of the Taliban. Except for the larger cities, where there is a stronger coalition presence, all the districts are under Taliban control"[28].

According to the "SENLIS COUNCIL" recent report "*Five years after the removal from power, the Taliban is back and has strong psychological and de facto military control over half of Afghanistan. Having assumed responsibility for the country in 2001, the United States-led international community has failed to achieve stability and security in Afghanistan. Attacks are perpetrated on daily basis; Several provinces, particularly those of the south, considered safe just weeks ago, are now experiencing regular suicide bombings, murders, and ambushes"*[29].

In this report by the SENLIS COUNCIL regarding Afghanistan instability and the return of the Taliban, it concluded that" *despite the international community's concerted five-year focus on military operations, the security situation in Afghanistan is worse than in 2001. The Taliban now has a strong grip on the southern half of the country. Afghans perceive that the US and NATO-ISAF troops in southern and eastern Afghanistan are being defeated by Taliban"*[30]

Taliban Strategy and Tactics.

The Taliban objective is to deny US and NATO-ISAF support by local Afghani people. The center of gravity of the Taliban is the Afghani peoples, if the Taliban are able to draw them to their side, or at least be impartial during the fighting or be sympathetic

[28] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban_insurgency
[29] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/014_publication/exe_sum
[30] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/014_publication/chapter_01

with them, then the main objective of their strategy of prolonging the war will be achieved. Prolonging the war is not in the benefit of the US and NATO-ISAF. The increased body count and the level of violence appear on the T.V. plus the slow process of rebuilding Afghanistan has a big negative influence on the public in the west.

Taliban strategy is also to take advantage of the mistakes committed by US and NATO-ISAF to ignite a public "*Intifada"* or uprising within Afghanistan and in particular the capital Kabul against the foreign forces and Afghan Government.

According to the SENLIS COUNCIL report on June 2006, under the title "Helmand at war, the changing nature of the insurgency in southern Afghanistan and it's effects on the future of the country". "*The strategy of Taliban has recently shifted from traditional hit and run tactics, combined with the deployment of low class Improvised Explosive Devices on an unorganized basis to organized, low intensity terror techniques, combined with platoon plus sized attacks, some even occurring in the daylight"*[31].

Taliban tactics employed against U.S, NATO, ISAF and Afghan forces can be seen in the following:

- Improvised explosive device. Made of old mines and rockets and controlled remotely, against armored vehicle and personnel[32].
- Suicide bombing. This tactics imported from Iraq, since it is capable to

[31] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/010_publication/documents/Helmand_report_june_2006
[32] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/010_publication/documents/Helmand_report_june_2006

inflict damages on military convoys and the concentration of personnel.[33]

- Rockets and shelling attacks. The attack with rockets and artillery shelling is against the fortified military bases and to cause disturbance on the enemy.[34]
- Ambushes. Against enemy patrol in rural areas, usually involve several dozen well-armed insurgents using the element of surprise.[35]
- Open warfare. Platoon plus size and sometimes company size attack lasting for hours.[36]
- Underground strong point defense.[37]
- Border infiltration between Afghanistan and Pakistan.
- Hit and run tactics.
- Opening more than one front at the same time like the recent attack in the western province of Farah, while NATO is fighting them in the south.

Weapons used by Taliban.

The weapons of Taliban, go back to Mujahideen era, during their fight against the Soviet Union forces. These weapons are old, but recently, the Taliban received more advanced weapons according to one of Taliban commanders interviewed by Aljazeera satellite

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[33] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/010_publication/documents/Helmand_report_june_2006

[34] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/010_publication/documents/Helmand_report_june_2006

[35] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/010_publication/documents/Helmand_report_june_2006

[36] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/010_publication/documents/Helmand_report_june_2006

[37] Tactics of the crescent moon, author, H. John Poole

channel. These weapons could be anti-aircraft missile, which indicated the increased number of helicopters being shot down by Taliban. There exists no official figure for Taliban fighters, but the coalition forces suggest their number in the thousands. The coalition forces confess that it is difficult to give number for Taliban fighter, especially where their support increases. The Taliban estimate the number of their official fighters in the south and east Afghanistan by 10,000 and the volunteers and the supporters at 80,000[38].

The weapons used by Taliban ranges from small arms weapons like AK-47, hand grenade and RPG to artillery, mortar, rockets and muli-rocket launcher BM 12. Recently, Taliban used Iraqi tactics of improvised explosive device (IED), suicide car or motorcycle attack and explosive-laden vehicle. Land mines either remotely or autonomously detonated as well as roadside bombs are used against the convoys. Anti aircraft shoulder missile like SA-7 or American stinger are available with Taliban, anti aircraft artillery is available too/

Reasons behind the Taliban's insurgency success.

Five years after being ousted from power the Taliban came back strongly during spring and summer 2005 and more strongly during spring and summer of 2006. What are the reasons behind escalating the fight against U.S, NATO, ISAF and Afghan forces? Is it because of their military strategy? Or acquiring new types of weapons? Or the weak government in Kabul? Or no clear strategy by the U.S in Afghanistan? Or the public support for Taliban by ordinary Afghani people? The

[38] www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/D7B21A51-6AB6-4ABB-AEEF-4CB7B6CF440A.htm

Answer to all the previous questions is yes with different degrees of importance.

The most important one is the public support for Taliban by ordinary Afghani people. This support, came from the mistakes committed by the coalition which went in the benefit of Taliban.

The center of gravity for any guerrilla movement is the people. No support by the public means failure of the guerrilla movement. The public is both, the body and the soul. The intelligence, logistic support and recruiting come from the public. The coalition tried to attack the center of gravity of Taliban, depending on their own way of dealing with professional armies in the way being taught in doctrines and theory without the considerations of the value, culture, religion, social fabric and the customs of Afghani society. Taliban benefited out of that.

The coalition failed to address the issue of extreme poverty in Afghanistan society.[39] Instead they prioritized the issue of security. Military based-security to counter terrorism and to use military response in a way that killed many poor civilians , while the coalition insisted they killed Taliban fighters. Taliban, took advantage of this, by showing the public that the coalition has no credibility in spreading stability, security and lifting poverty. The Taliban is telling the populace that the coalition agenda is to kill indiscriminately.

The coalition failed in countering narcotics in Afghanistan. They used military forces to eradicate poppy fields without providing the alternative. According to

[39] The SENLIS COUNCIL. www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/014_publication/exe_sum

Aljazeera Magazine report under the title "*Who's profiting from Afghan opium trade?*", "*Opium cultivation in 2006 reached 165,000 hectares compared with 104,000 in 2005 and 7606 in 2001 … Taliban campaign, implemented during the period between 2000-2001, led to 94 percent decline in opium cultivation in Afghanistan. In 2001, opium production in the country fell to 185 tons, according to UN figures. But shortly after the U.S. occupation, production surged once again, regaining and may be surpassing it's historical levels"*[40]. According to the report, UN anti-drug chief urged the government to remove corrupt officials and police involved in drug trafficking. The report indicated that many analyst and political experts attribute the increase in the cultivation and trade of opium to the U.S. occupation. This increase in opium cultivation and trading, which is attributed to the corrupt officials within the government who are supported by the coalition, benefited Taliban and show their credibility in curbing drugs trafficking and at the same time provide the alternative.

The coalition failed in introducing the democratic process suitable with conservative Afghani society. They came with slogan of liberating women, free media, free elections to all and getting rid of all Taliban way of living within Afghani society. When Taliban came to power, there were customs and habits within the conservative Afghani society. They kept them, because they existed for centuries, like the way the women dress, relations within the family and the influence of tribal chiefs and their status within the social fabric. It took about 100 years of the American women to get their right to participate in the election. For Afghani

[40] Aljazeera Magazine. www.aljazeera.com/me.asp?service_12262

women where many old traditions may hinder them from the participation in the election, the coalition set up election for all. The election should be gradual. Who went to the parliament? Western Afghani women , who had been living for a long time in the west. This gave Taliban advantage among the conservative society. And women, instead of becoming more secure, felt the opposite. In a report by Aljazeera net, many Afghani activist women feel more difficulties than during Taliban regime[41]. The western movies and programs on the T.V which is far away from the Afghani society gave advantage for the support of Taliban.

The collateral damages among Afghani civilians, and the failure in distinguishing between Taliban fighters and an innocent civilian, gave the Taliban propaganda more credibility among the Afghani that the coalition is not here to help but to kill.

The images came out of Baghram prison, showing the torture among the detainees regardless of being Taliban or suspected Taliban, fostered the idea that the coalition were not there to help Afghanis but humiliate them.

The security contractors (6000 of them in Afghanistan) and the way they are acting and behaving above the law, and their role in the torture and sexual harassment in Afghani jails benefited Taliban in gaining public support.

Insurgency in Iraq.

Immediately after the fall of Baghdad on April 9th 2003 coalition forces encountered more and more guerrilla activity or what is called Iraqi insurgency. "*The Iraqi*

[41] www.aljazeerz.net/NR/exeres/0BC8CC1C-640C-4073-8569-31C28C7D19E1.htm

insurgency refers to the Unconventional war being waged by both Iraqi citizens and foreign people in Iraq. The campaign is referred to by it's supporters as the Iraqi resistance and by some of it's opponents (especially the Iraqi government and the coalition military) as Anti-Iraqi Forces"[42]

Iraqi insurgency followed guerrilla warfare shortly after the US invasion in 2003. At the beginning, the insurgency targeted coalition forces, especially the US and UK forces. When the interim government was established, the militant began to attack the police and the defense forces. The attacks have continued against the coalition forces and the Iraqi defense and police until today with great momentum and increase in number and complixety.

How big is the Iraqi Insurgency.

The exact number of Iraqi Insurgency or Resistance is not known. According to the US military the Iraqi insurgency is between 12000 and 20000 and there are about 14000 in US prisons in Iraq.

The number involved in the Iraqi insurgency is more than US account, putting in consideration the number of Iraqi being trained before the removal of Saddam Hussein regime and putting in consideration the amount of weapons available in Iraq.

Two main factors may play a role in enlarging and accelerating the Iraqi insurgency:

1. Disbanding the Iraqi military by Paul Bremer
2. The de-Baathification of the Iraqi state.

[42] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi_insurgency

The numbers of Iraqi insurgents is increasing with the support of Iraqi people especially among the Sunni population. 88% of Sunni population sees the attack on coalition is legitimate as they perceive the coalition forces as colonial occupying power[43]. A poll by PIPA recently carried out showed an increased number of Iraqi with the attacks against the coalition. The increase is from 47% last January to 61%[44].

The number of Iraqi insurgents can be put very easily in the magnitude of not less than 200,000. A report by John Robb suggests that and "*for planning purposes, we should expect to face an active insurgency of over 150,000 members on any given day"*[45].

Iraqi Insurgency Composition.

"*The Iraqi Insurgency is composed of at least a dozen major guerrilla organization and perhaps as many as 40 distinct groups. These groups are subdivided into countless cells. Due to it's clandestine nature, the exact composition of the Iraqi insurgency is difficult to determine. Because most of these insurgents are civilian fighting against an organized domestic and foreign occupying army, many consider them to be guerrilla"*[46].

The main Iraqi guerrilla groups are Islamic Sunni and pan-Arab tendencies. They existed after the fall of Baghdad into the hands of the Anglo-American occupation, as a natural reaction. The majority of these groups do not know their leadership, the source of their financing, or who provides them with weapons. However, the huge amount of weapons,

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[43] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi_insurgency
[44] http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20060927/ap_on_re_mi_ea/iraqi_opinion
[45] http://globalguerrillas.typepad.com/globalguerrillas//How%20Big%20is%20the%20Iraqi%20Insurgency.pdf
[46] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi_insurgency

which the Saddam regime left behind, is undoubtedly one of the main source for arming these groups.[47] There are many groups within Iraqi insurgency, some groups are main and some considered to be small.[48]

Iraqi Insurgency Tactics.

The Iraqi insurgency tactics depends on attacking in different places at the same time, putting the pressure on the coalition forces. The Iraqi guerrillas operate in small group, between 10 and 15 men, in order to maintain free movement and not being captured by the enemy. "*Larger attacks involving as many as 150 men have appeared on occasion since April 2004"*[49].

Their strategy is to make the life of the occupier is so miserable in order to force him to leave. This is done by attacking in different places that force the occupier to use force in different areas, affecting the civilians. The civilians will join the insurgency and the attacks will increase.

The insurgency groups coordinate between themselves, in where and when to attack. The coordination is done also in the making of weapons, like the Improvised

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[47] http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2004/09/298084.html

[48] Wikipedia,thefreeencyclopedia.http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi_insurgency(Mujahideen Shura Council, including Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Mahdi Army, Fedayeen Saddam, Jaish Ansar Al-Sunna, Mohammed's Army, Islamic Army in Iraq, 1920 Revolution Brigades, Islamic Resistance Movement, Islamic Front for the Iraqi Resistance, Jaish al-Mujahideen, Jaish Al-Rashideen, Asaeb Ahl el-Iraq, Black Banner Organization, The Return, Nasserites, Wakefulness and Holy war, Mujahideen Battalions of the Salafi Group of Iraq, Libarating Iraq's Army, Abu Theeb's group, Jaish Abi Baker's group.(This shows lack of real unity in the insurgency, other than fighting a common enemy. When the insurgency is over, over, the groups may turn on each other.)

[49] Wikipedia,the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqi_insurgency

Explosive Devices (IEDs), land mines and other type of weapons that proved so effective. The following attacks and tactics is designed to give the freedom of movement for the guerrilla and to avoid being capture as will as wearing down the enemy through the war of attrition:

1. Using Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) against convoys and patrols. It is the most lethal and favored method the Iraqi insurgency have developed to attack.
2. Ambushes, against military convoys, patrols and soft skinned Humvees using AK-47 and RPG.
3. Sniper Tactics against coalition soldiers, Iraqi security forces and contractors.
4. Mortar attacks against coalition bases or Iraqi bases and places associated with foreign presence.
5. Attacks on aircraft against helicopters using shoulder missiles like SA-7, SA-14, SA-16, RPG, 0.5 caliber machine gun and Arial IED.
6. Sabotage against oil pipeline.
7. Car suicide attacking against coalition convoys, personnel and bases.
8. Attacks on Iraqi security forces, against police stations, check points, recruiting stations and Iraqi military bases.
9. Assassination and kidnapping, against Iraqi official, translators, employee of coalition bases and collaborator.
10. Exploiting the media and using propaganda, to show their operations against the coalition and Iraqi security forces are having an effect.

Indications of Iraqi insurgency success.

1. The increase of the public support. A poll by PIPA recently carried out showed an increased number of Iraqi agree with the attacks against the coalition. The increase is from 47% last January to 61%. If the public support grows up then it is clear indication that the Iraqi people with the insurgency in their struggle to drive the coalition forces out of Iraq. As the public support increases then the number of Iraqi participating in the Insurgency become more, making it more difficult for the coalition forces and Iraqi forces to defeat the insurgency.
2. The increased number of causalities of coalition forces, indicates that the insurgency is resilient and determine to drive out of Iraq the coalition forces. The increase of coalition causality could be attributed to the new tactics being adapted by the insurgency, new weapons being used or the good intelligence the insurgency being received from the public.
3. The increased number of Iraqi civilian causalities. Shows that the coalition is not doing enough to minimize the collateral damages or unintentional death of civilian. The repercussion among the Iraqi will be more resentment towards the coalition. The resentment towards the coalition means more support to the insurgency, which will lead to more fighters joining the insurgency.
4. The demonstration and the voice world wide to stop the war. The international opinion opposing the war is an indication to the feeling of the world against the killing in the coalition and Iraqi side. This shows that the Iraqi insurgency is fighting and causing death to the coalition and at the same time being killed by the coalition.
5. The increased number of Iraqi insurgency attacks. In the middle of the month of

October 69 US troops were killed, this shows how the insurgent is increasing their attacks.

6. The resentment of coalition high command about the way the war is being conducted in Iraq. (Maj. General John Batiste in his testimony before Sen. Democratic policy committee).[50]

7. The chaos and lack of security and stability in Iraq. It is an indication that the coalition can not secure the cities and towns because of the insurgent attack.

8. The lack of strategy for Iraq after the war.

Reasons behinds Iraqi insurgency success.

As for the guerrilla wars in history, the Iraqi guerrilla insurgency depends on the support of the civilian public. Without this support the insurgency is lost. The center of gravity of the Iraqi insurgen

The killing of the innocent Iraqis by the coalition forces is like the killing happened in Hamdania[51] over growing frustration in their search for the insurgents and many other killings in different parts of Iraq give support to the insurgency.

The searching of Iraqi housing without the consideration of the traditions and customs, which is accompanied by the destruction of houses furniture and belongings had a negative effect of Iraqi public towards the coalition. A report by Washington post on the operation Matador showed how the Marines are searching the houses. They "*Busted up wooden furniture belonging to the poor farm families and threw their polyester blanket and clothes in a jumble on the floor. A handful of the hundreds of Marines involved in Operation Matador walked out of homes with pillows or blanket to cushion the ride in the Amtrac.*"[52]

The beating of the Iraqi civilization during the operations in search of guerrilla fighters, made the civilization more determined to join the insurgency to liberate their country.

The legitimate cause of the insurgency to liberate their country of the foreign occupying forces and to overthrow the government sit up by the occupation, found an acceptance in the Iraqi street. The majority of Iraqi want the foreign forces to leave.

The lack of security and stability in Iraq due to the presence of the foreign forces as well shortage of service like electricity, water and medicine exacerbate the resentment of the Iraqi people against the occupation forces and gave advantage to the insurgency.

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[51] AP report. http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20061007/ap_on_re_us/marines_iraq_shooting
[52] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/15/AR2005051500785_p

Conclusion.

Guerrilla warfare has been practiced throughout the history of mankind wars. Fighting using guerrilla warfare tactics preferred by the weaker side against the stronger. All liberation movement, resorted to the guerrilla warfare tactics to defeat the occupying armies and in most cases they won.

The previous century has witnessed two examples of, guerrilla warfare, against the two super power nations, the US in Vietnam and USSR in Afghanistan, in both cases the guerrillas defeated the two professional military powers.

At the beginning of this century Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon, because of the guerrilla warfare carried out by Hezbollah. On July 2006, Israel could do little to Hezbollah due to tactics of fighting. In Afghanistan and Iraq, the super power and NATO forces are not able to crash the Taliban and Iraqi insurgency.

It appears that guerrilla warfare is making it difficult for the super power military in both Afghanistan and Iraq. The insurgency in both countries is not dependant of weapons and tactics, even though they have introduced new tactics of IEDs and suicidal car bombing ,however, it is dependant of the mistakes committed by their adversary against their center of gravity.

The center of gravity of the guerrilla is the people and their support of logistic and intelligence. In Afghanistan and Iraq the US , Coalition and NATO are taking lines of

operations which is helping to make guerrilla warfare successful, by the way of dealing with the people (the center of gravity of the guerrilla).

The insurgency in both Afghanistan and Iraq has another advantage, the legitimacy of their cause of liberating their country of occupying forces and their culture and religion to fight for the sake of their country.

It looks than one aspect of both insurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan, is the coordination between them, in the type of tactics and the weapons. The tactics which is effective in Iraq is being introduced in Afghanistan. This coordination, either by using the technological communication today, or by traveling from Afghanistan to Iraq, through the mountains to acquire the tactics and weapons.

Recommendation.

The following are some recommendations that might help in fighting against guerrillas in the 21st century, it is to be noted, that, if all these recommendations are taken into account the answer for the title of this paper is not "No" but rather it may help in reducing the effect of guerrilla warfare. These recommendations is a guideline may be followed by the coalition in pursuing the war in Afghanistan and Iraq without causing more casualty to their troops as well as the civilians:

1. The coalition forces must understand their opponent in terms of history, culture, religion and language.
2. Emphasize upon the legal aspect of the war and abide by all the conventions, treaties and laws of war.
3. Make all efforts not to kill civilians. The issue of collateral damage is well

known within the military doctrine, but not in the civilian dictionary.

4. Provide service like electricity, water, medici

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