Guerrilla and Terrorist Training Manuals

Comparing classical guerrilla manuals with contemporary terrorist manuals (AQ & IS)

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to compare classical guerrilla manuals with contemporary terrorist manuals. Specific focus is on manuals from Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, and how they compare with classical guerrilla manuals. Manuals will be discussed and shortly summarized and, in the

second part of the thesis, the manuals will be compared using a structured focused comparison method. Eventually, the sub questions will be analysed and a conclusion will be made.

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PART I: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Chapter 1 – Introduction

In the last 50 years, the number of conventional wars has significantly decreased and there have been few conventional inter-state wars. On the other hand, the number of unconventional wars has increased, especially because of the surge of revolutionary uprisings. In the last couple of years, the Arab Spring was a strong example of this. During the Arab Spring, many countries had to deal with revolts from the unhappy populace, resulting in the overthrow of four governments in countries in that region. Often, these popular revolts were accompanied by armed violence, and attacks against government officials, police and other governmental institutions. These revolts proved to be a catalyst for the strengthening of terrorist organizations in the regions, such as Al Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula (AQAP) and the Islamic State. These organizations are fighting insurgency wars against the governments in the countries in which they are operating, as well as other countries who joined the war against them. In order to spread their ideology, these organizations have written manuals and manifestos about their doctrines and their strategies. They are, however, not the first to write manuals about lessons learnt in irregular and guerrilla warfare.

Terrorism, Insurgency and Guerrilla Warfare have a long history, dating back thousands of years and quite possibly existed before conventional warfare ever did (Laqueur, Voices of Terror, 2004, p. 1). In one of the first history books, written by Herodotus in ancient Greece, citizens revolting against oppressive regimes have already been mentioned. Ancient philosophers like Aristotle and Cicero already mention uprisings against tyrannies. Some of these revolts can already be seen as revolutionary wars like the ones 20th century guerrilla warfare theorists wrote about. Terrorism and guerrilla warfare has since been intertwined in many historical events. Over time, much has been written about revolutionary wars and Walter Laqueur made a valuable attempt to collect some of these writings about terrorism and guerrilla warfare in an edited volume, *Voices of Terror* (2004). When looking at these writings, it becomes clear that 'terrorism'[1] has been present ever since mankind was able to write about it. One of the first mentioning about the involvement of the people in a revolutionary fight can be found in the 19th century writings of Wilhelm Weitling,

[1] The term terrorism has had many meanings over time; it is frequently used to describe a doctrine as well as a tactic that can be used in peace (in the form of propaganda by the deed by rebels and repression by the regime) and war (in the form of war crimes against civilians and non-combatants by either insurgents or governments. The term will be discussed in more detail below.

who in turn influenced the better-known Michael Bakunin. He can be considered as one of the first authors of a manifesto that provided instructions for people who wanted to act as a part of this 'underground' movement (Laqueur, Voices of Terror, 2004, p. 50). One of the first formulations of classical guerrilla warfare theory came from Mao Tse-Tung, with his *On Guerrilla Warfare*, written in 1937. The manual can be seen as one of the most influential guerrilla manuals to this date: not in terms of popularity, but the manual can be considered as the cornerstone in the Guerrilla literature. In the 1960s, there has been an increase in guerrilla manuals, likely caused in part by the surge of decolonisation wars of national liberation following the Second World War. Many of these manifestos, including the famous manual written by Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (1961), are based on the manual written by Mao.

This thesis aims to compare classical guerrilla manuals, written in the 20th century, with contemporary terrorism manuals. For the purpose of this research, four manuals from a number of the most well-known classical guerrilla leaders have been chosen. In addition, four manuals from the two most infamous terrorist groups, Al Qaeda and ISIS, have also been chosen in order to be able to conduct a structured focused comparison. First, the manuals will be roughly summarized in order to give the reader an idea about the nature of these manuals. Needless to say, it is not the purpose of this thesis to teach individuals about how to conduct guerrilla or terrorist operations. It is however, the purpose of this thesis to determine if there are likeliness's between the manuals written many years ago, with the contemporary manuals used in modern day terrorism. After these summaries, the aim of the next part of this thesis is to describe and analyse both the differences and similarities between the different manuals and their doctrines. After the manuals and their authors have been presented, the next part is to compare the classical guerrilla manuals with the manuals that are attributed to Al Qaeda and Islamic State. By using sub-questions, the manuals can be compared in a structured and a focused way, with the goal of determining similarities and differences between the strategies and ideologies of classical guerrilla groups and the contemporary terrorist groups.

Chapter 2 – Problem Statement

The research objective of this thesis is to explore how the 20th century guerrilla strategy manuals compare with the contemporary terrorist doctrines, especially those of Al-Qaeda and IS. This then is the research question:

How do the classical manuals of Mao, Giáp, Guevara and Marighella compare with contemporary terrorist manuals?

In order to compare the manuals, several sub-questions have been determined that would help create a structured and focused approach of comparing the different manuals with each other. The following sub questions will be used in this thesis:

1. *In what context and for what public is the manual written?*
2. *How have the manuals been distributed, and were they translated?*
3. *What strategical recommendations are given in the manuals?*
4. *Are the manuals quoting other authors or texts?*

In order to answer these questions, the manuals written by Mao, Giáp, Guevara and Marighella will be analysed. These manuals represent two schools of thought: Mao and Giáp adhered to the 'People's War' doctrine and Guevara and Marighella adhere to the 'Foco Theory'. Differences and similarities between the two will be discussed. Later, this thesis will focus on the ideology and strategies of two modern day terrorist organizations, Al Qaeda and ISIS. In order to compare the manuals, four manuals have been selected that have been attributed to these terrorist organizations. Two of the manuals have been used by Al Qaeda, and the other two have been used by ISIS. This serves to explore how they compare with 20th century guerrilla manuals.

Chapter 3 – Defining Key Terms

As already indicated, the goal of this thesis is to determine how classical guerrilla manuals compare with contemporary terrorism manuals. In order to do this, it is important to define key terms that are used in this thesis. There are certain terms in this subject area of guerrilla war and terrorism, that are ambiguous in nature. Therefore, it is important to gain a clear understanding of what is meant by certain terms in this thesis. This chapter is used to define these terms, so that the comparative research can be done with clear definitions in mind. This way, the ambiguous nature of some of the terms is limited to a set definition, providing a solid starting point from which the research can originate.

3.1. Guerrilla Warfare

Originally, the term guerrilla was used to describe irregulars conducting military operations along the exterior lines of the enemy. Later, guerrilla has been applied to revolutionary wars, with a focus on insurrections, people's wars, national liberations and terrorism (Laqueur, 1998, p. xvi). Laqueur further states that the term guerrilla has become almost meaningless, due to the ambiguous nature of the word. Guerrilla tactics are not bound to irregular troops; regular troops may also use guerrilla tactics, as well as bandits. Furthermore, guerrilla armies have also been transformed into regular army troops, and regular armies have developed special forces units that make use of guerrilla tactics. Also, not all unconventional warfare is guerrilla warfare, and not all revolutions make use of guerrilla tactics (Laqueur, 1998, p. xvi). This makes defining guerrilla so difficult.

Tactics of guerrilla warfare are quite similar in different situations. Most of these tactics rely on quick movement, evading direct battles, disrupting infrastructure and communications and carrying out surprise attacks. Laqueur feels that these tactics are based on common sense. When the enemy is superior, it makes little sense to fight a head-on battle (Laqueur, 1998, p. xvii). These tactics are contributed to guerrilla, but any capable military commander will acknowledge these tactics are useful in such situations.

When looking at the difficulties of the term guerrilla, it is an ordeal to find a definition that encompasses the full meaning of guerrilla. For the purpose of this research, the definition of Kalyanaraman is used, who used and added to the guerrilla warfare definition poised by Samuel Huntington. This comprehensive definition will not be all encompassing, but it does give a clear view on what guerrilla warfare is in military terms.

"Guerrilla warfare is a form of warfare by which the strategically weaker side assumes the tactical offensive in selected forms, times, and places. Guerrilla warfare is the weapon of the weak. It is never chosen in preference to regular warfare; it is employed only when and where the possibilities of regular warfare have been foreclosed" (Kalyanaraman, 2003)

This definition is not perfect, but finding a perfect definition is not realistic. For the purpose of this research, it does give a clear view of what is meant with guerrilla warfare.

3.2. Terrorism

Similar to guerrilla, the term terrorism is also difficult to define. Many books have been written about this topic and there is still an ongoing debate on the definition of terrorism. Countries, international organizations and scholars all have different definitions for terrorism. The difficulty of a common definition of terrorism lies in the concept of terrorism itself. It is a man-made construct, and therefore tends to reflect the interest of the those who aim to define it (Schmid, 2004, p. 384). There are however, four characteristics that are often, though not always, categorized with terrorism, when looking at the many different definitions. These are (1) the threat or use of violence; (2) conducted often with a political objective in mind, i.e. the desire to change the status quo; (3) the intentional targeting of civilians and/or non-combatants; (4) the intention to spread fear by committing spectacular public acts and using them as propaganda tools.

For the purpose of this research, the definition of terrorism is taken from the Routledge Handbook of Terrorism which states that " terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties" (Schmid, The Definition of Terrorism, 2011, p. 86)

3.3. Guerrilla Warfare vs. Terrorism

Guerrilla Warfare and terrorism are two terms that are often confused with each other. Sometimes they are even seen as synonymous with each other. This is not particularly surprising, due to the fact that guerrillas often use tactics that terrorists use as well, such as kidnapping, assassinations and bombings, with a similar purpose. Furthermore, both guerrillas and terrorists are trying to blend in with the population in order to stay hidden from their enemies. This makes

them indistinguishable from non-combatants (Hoffman, 1998). Nonetheless, there are some distinct differences between guerrilla warfare and terrorism. Guerrilla Warfare is often conducted by small groups of armed combatants who often operate similar to a regular army units. Terrorists operate more individualistic. Furthermore, guerrillas fight to free the population from the oppressor, and part of their task is to protect the population in terror ties where they have control. Terrorist are less interested in protecting the civilian population, often using them as targets for their attacks in order to incite fear in the population.

Another important difference between guerrilla warfare and terrorism is the difference in etymology of the terms. Guerrilla warfare is a type of irregular warfare that makes use of many different military tactics. Terrorism is a tactic, used in order to achieve a goal, something the mujahedeen do in their jihad. It can be said that guerrilla warfare, and thus the guerrillas, make use of terrorism as a tactic, but not the other way around.

3.4. Counter-Terrorism

The word counter-terrorism already gives away its meaning, as it wants to counter the use of terrorism. As with many of the key terms in this thesis, there are many different definitions for counter-terrorism. For the purpose, an interesting definition is used by Sabir. He states that "The purpose of counter-terrorism, at its simplest, is to stop acts of political violence or 'terrorism' from occurring and to ensure populations/communities do not support the 'terrorists' and their cause(s)" (Sabir, 2014, p. 12).

Counter-terrorism is a very broad concept. It is a combination of intelligence gathering, military actions and even actions in the field of finance. It is usually a task of states to conduct on counter-terrorism, but also NGOs and even citizens can play a role in this. The latter two play a role in the so-called human security paradigm. By giving people what they need, and including them in their society, the reasons for someone to move into terrorism can be limited.

Most of the regular armies have some sort of specialised counter-terrorist unit. These units are training in engaging in, and the preventing of terrorist attacks. This is often done in cooperation with intelligence and law-enforcement agencies.

3.5. Insurgency

Shortly stated, insurgency is a rebellion against the authority, when it is not seen as a war. The U.S. Counterinsurgency manual gives the following definition for insurgency: “an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict” (U.S. Army, 2007, pp. 1-1). Important to note here, is that this definition does not take any moral relativity into account. The saying ‘one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter’ comes into play here. The definition is looking at the insurgent as the offender, but this might not be the case when looked at it from a different perspective.

3.6. Counter-Insurgency

As expected, counterinsurgency aims to work against insurgency, and can be defined as a subtype of irregular warfare used to counter insurgents through a combination of military, law-enforcement and civilian measures, mostly used by Western countries (Sabir, 2014). Just like counter-terrorism, this term has a very broad meaning. It can be said that the meaning of counter-insurgency is even broader because of the larger nature of insurgency compared to terrorism

3.7. Irregular warfare

Irregular warfare is warfare where there are combatants who are not part of a regular army. This makes this term a very broad one. For the purpose of this study, the following definition will be used: Irregular warfare is “a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant populations. Irregular warfare favours indirect and asymmetric approaches, though it may employ the full range of military and other capabilities, in order to erode an adversary's power, influence, and will” (U.S. Department of Defense, 2007, p. 5). Examples of irregular warfare are guerrilla warfare and asymmetrical warfare.

3.8. Strategy Theory

An important factor in comparing guerrilla and terrorist groups is the strategy that the organization is using. In order to compare the different strategies that are discussed in these manuals, it important to look at the strategy theory used in these manuals. By looking at the ideologies and strategies of the classical guerrilla manuals and the contemporary terrorism manuals from a comparative perspective, similarities and variances, and influences, can be discovered and discussed. Strategic theory focuses on state actors, as well as non-state actors, something that is important when looking at guerrilla groups, since in many circumstances, they are non-state actors

aiming to take, or re-take, a state. Strategic theory has a difficult connotation to it because of the word strategy, which is one of the most commonly used words in public discourse. Because of its ubiquity and overuse, the term strategy has been drained of much of its original military meaning. Since strategies are used by governments, business and sports teams, the definition of strategy can be very diverse. For this thesis, the focus of strategy lies on the strategy of warfare, and the politics surrounding it. Freedman proposes a workable definition for strategy in his book with the same name. He states that "strategy is the central political art. It is about getting more out a situation than the starting balance of power would suggest. It is the art of creating power" (Freedman, 2013, p. xii). He continuous by stating that for those who are powerful, strategy is not that important since they can rely on the power they currently possess. The real test, in the strategic theory, lies with the underdog, who has to devise a strategy in order to be victorious against a stronger power. This is certainly the case for the topics discussed in this thesis: guerrilla warfare and terrorism theory. Both theories stem from being in an underdog position, fighting against a larger and better equipped enemy. It is important to note that strategy is not just about fighting a war, but also about surviving in order to grow stronger at a later moment in time (Freedman, 2013, p. 183). Time and patience is something that is important for the weaker conflict party, when there is no point in attacking frontally.

Strategic theory has gained adherents as a method of analysis since the beginnings of the Cold War. It has been increasingly used as a "tool to assist in the comprehension of decision making" (Smith, 2011, para. 2). The usefulness of strategic theory can best be illustrated by a statement made by Harry Yarger: "strategic theory opens the mind to all possibilities and forces at play, prompting us to consider the costs and risks of our decisions and weigh the consequences of those of our adversaries, allies and others" (Yarger, 2006, p. 2). Within the strategic theory, there are several assumptions that further explain the idea behind it. The first being that the strategic theory works with the notion that strategy focuses on the relationship between means and ends. As Howard puts it: "use of available resources to gain any objective" (1983, p. 86). In essence, strategic theory can be seen as the "study of correlations between ends and means, including the use, or the threat of use, of armed force as a conscious choice of political actors who are intent on rationally pursuing their objectives" (Smith, 2011, para 12). The main (political) actor within strategic theory is the central focus of analysis. The actor can be a state, a specific non-state actor or a social group. The theory can be used in order to analyse the choices available to that actor

under consideration in order to evaluate the quality of decision making. An important feature of strategic theory is the moral neutrality that it possesses. In order to make an objective comparable evaluation of the merits of two strategies, it is important that the one who evaluates remains neutral (Smith, 2011, Assump. para. 7). For policymakers in the Western world, a terrorist is an evil person, who is trying to instil fear into others by indiscriminate and random attacks on civilians and non-combatants without provocation or warning. For the people fighting a terrorist campaign or jihad with him, he is seen as a freedom fighter or holy warrior, who stand up for his principles and beliefs. Strategic theory remains neutral to this, while only focusing on the strategy used by that perpetrator of act of terrorism. This is important for this thesis as well, since this thesis is not looking at right or wrong, but just at the influence that these different strategies have had on next generations of guerrillas, freedom fighters, holy warriors or terrorists.

3.9 Terrorist Manuals

This thesis makes use of guerrilla and terrorism manuals. A selection of manuals was made in order to answer the research question. It is important to define these manuals before delving deeper into the research.

While there is no clear definition on a terrorist manual, a terrorist manual is in large parts similar to a training manual, and thus the definition of a training manual will be used. When looking at the definition for a manual, the Collins English dictionary states that a training manual is a "a book of instructions, designed to improve the quality of a performed task"[2]. A terrorist manual is generally a book, a written text, or a computer file, shared amongst sympathisers, or published online in some cases.

A training manual is focused on a specific task or set of tasks. It can relate to business or military purposes for example. Terrorist manuals, especially the ones used in this thesis, have a larger scope compared to training manuals. They provide both strategical and ideological advice in order to achieve the ultimate goal. One of the differences between a training manual and a terrorist manual is the political belief that lies behind a terrorist manual. Where a training manual focuses on a specific task, terrorist manuals focus on a larger goal, such as fighting off a foreign invader, or establishing an Islamic Caliphate in the case of Al Qaeda and ISIS.

[2] https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/training-manual

Many of the discovered or captured documents of Al Qaeda and ISIS are letters or short pamphlets with little tactical or strategical information. These documents are not considered as manuals for this thesis, because these documents are either focused on communication between terrorist leaders, or used for propaganda purposes. The documents that were used in these manuals, do show strategical and ideological ideas on how to improve on the task, in this case creating a Islamic caliphate.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

4.1. Research Method

In order to answer the main and sub research questions, this study will make us of qualitative data. The questions are posed in such a way that they will require a qualitative answer. The research will consist of content analysis of the beforementioned manuals and their ideologies. By comparing different manuals, primary sources are being used to gather data. This data is not numerical and is not likely to contain numbers that can be used for a comparison. Therefore, the qualitative method will provide better options for research than a quantitative method.

Another option would be to use a discourse analysis strategy, which makes it possible for text to become quantitative, however, this would be limited by the fact that there is a large difference in the time in which the manuals were written, a cultural difference between the authors of the manuals and different conflicts which might have an effect on the wording used in the documents, making a content analysis less reliable for this thesis; even when words are being grouped in categories. Therefore, the decision was made to follow a qualitative approach.

4.2. Type of Research

For the purpose of this study, the method of Structured Focused Comparison will be used. This method is structured because a research question is used in combination with sub questions to compare the data from each manual. Because of these standardised questions, comparable data will be gathered. The method is focused, since only certain aspects of the manuals will be dealt with. The reason for this is that the manuals do not all use the same topics and therefore a selection of topics has to be made in order to compare the different manuals.

According to George and Bennet (2005), this structured focused comparison method was devised in order to study historical experiences in such a way that it would yield useful information about important policy problems. The aim was to be able to provide decision-makers with other options than merely relying on a single historical analogy when dealing with a new case (George & Bennet, 2005, p. 67). The benefit of this method is that it provides a better way to compare certain facets in multi case situations. There was criticism about the ‘old comparative politics’ and the field of public administration about the fact that it was not genuinely comparative (George & Bennet, 2005, p. 69). The fact that this method makes use of standardises questions and/or topics makes this method more comparative than when a larger research question is used in order to

compare single-case or multi-case studies. This structured approach with a carefully sought out set of questions is necessary in order to gather comparable data that is used in the comparative approach of this study. In addition, the focused approach, garnered by the specific research objective in mind, makes sure that when looking at the cases, the focus will lie on the research objective and not on the other interesting aspects of those cases. For this thesis, the sub questions are used to focus on these specific topics, and to make sure that all manuals are being looked at through the same objective, instead of focusing on one interesting aspect of a certain manual that is not being mentioned in any of the others.

4.3. Type of Case Study

To answer the research question that has been posed before, this study makes use of a multi case study design. This methodology will be applied in order to analyse the unit of observation (classical and contemporary guerrilla manuals) on different units of analysis (the sub questions that are used to compare the different manuals).

4.4. Choice of Cases

The cases used in this multiple cases study are guerrilla manuals. As stated earlier, this study will analyse both Classical and Contemporary Guerrilla Manuals. In total, eight manuals have been used, four from the classical era (20th century), and four from the contemporary era (21st century). Here, the reasoning for the selection of the manuals will be explained.

4.4.1. Classical Guerrilla Manuals

For the classical guerrilla manuals, this thesis makes use of the following four cases:

- Mao Tse-Tung (1937) – On Guerrilla Warfare
- Võ Nguyên Giáp (1959) – People's War, People's Army
- Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara (1961) – Guerrilla Warfare
- Carlos Marighella (1969) – Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

These manuals have been selected because of their importance in their respective time period and ideologies. Mao and Giáp both follow the Maoist theory founded by Mao himself and especially the writings by Mao have had major influence in the field of Guerrilla warfare.

The other who manuals are written by Guevara and Marighella. These manuals take a more aggressive approach and follow the so-called Foco-ism. The manual written by Guevara has been very influential, not only in guerrilla warfare, but also amongst left-wing sympathisers. The

manual written by Marighella become much less popular, largely due to the fact that this manual is more literally a guerrilla war manual, detailing tactics in conducting a guerrilla war in an urban environment.

4.4.2. Contemporary Terrorist Manuals

For the contemporary terrorist manuals, this thesis makes use of the following four cases:

- Al Qaeda (2000) – Declaration of Jihad – 'Manchester Manual'
- Abu Mus'ab al-Suri (2004) – The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance
- Abu Bakr Naji (2004)– The Management of Savagery
- Abu al-Faruq al-Masri (2013) - Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State

As is to be expected, contemporary terrorist manuals, such as the ones attributed to Al Qaeda and ISIS, are not easy to be found. This largely depends on the purpose of the manual, where manuals who focus on tactics and strategies are often kept internal, and manuals that are more focused on being used as a propaganda tool are published on Jihadist website. Two of the manuals used in this thesis were confiscated during raids of Al Qaeda and ISIS strongholds, namely the so-called *Manchester Manual* and the *Principles in The Administration of The Islamic State*. On the other hand, *The Management of Savagery* and *The Call for A Global Islamic Resistance* have been spread online on jihadist websites. After a literature search, these four manuals have been selected and used for this research. There are other pamphlets, letters and short manuscripts[3], but these do not provide enough information to be used as a comparison with the classical manuals.

Finally, the decision was made to use the four manuals mentioned before. For these manuals, English translations have been used in order to research them. The Manchester Manual, written by (affiliates of) Al Qaeda, was translated by the U.S. Department of Justice, who decided not to publicize the full manual, but only parts of the manual, "because it does not want to aid in educating terrorists or encourage further acts of terrorism" (U.S. Department of Justice, 2001). The U.S. Department of Justice website detailing this manual has been removed since 2016, but the document is widely available on the internet. In the case of The Call for A Global Islamic Resistance, a 1604-page book written in Arabic, a full English translation was not available. Instead, an extensive English translation, translated by scholars, of the key-parts was used, who translated the manual for the purpose of their research (Masoud, 2013). The Management of

[3] Many of these can be found on a website from the U.S. National Intelligence Director. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/resources/bin-laden-bookshelf

Savagery has been translated into English by William McCants and is fully published online. This version is used for this thesis. The Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State was a manual published in 2014 and translated by Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi who is part of the Combating Terrorism Centre in West Point. This document was leaked online and published in an English translation on many websites, including the website of The Guardian[4].

4.5. Limitations

Since this study makes use of a multi case study design, there will be difficulties in the generalization of this research. However, the structure of this research, including the research and sub-research questions, can be used in order to replicate this study with other manuals should, for example, other manuals become available in the future.

Another obvious limitation of this study is the fact that it is not feasible to conduct interviews with the authors of the manuals, or other high ranking individuals within the different organizations from which the manuals originate.

One of the limitations of this study is that most of the primary sources used in this study are translated. Since it was not feasible to read the texts in their original language, this study relied on translations of others. This could have led to a limitation in this research. The contemporary manuals for example, could have contained information that was too sensitive or proved to be of such great value to the intelligence services, that they redacted that information from the manual. Furthermore, translations may not be perfect and some words could have been used in a different compared to what is written in the original version, something that has been acknowledged in many of the translations, because of the ambiguous nature of some words in Arabic, Chinese or other languages used in the original manuals. .

[4] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/07/leaked-isis-document-reveals-plan-building-state-syria

PART II – THE MANUALS

In order to properly understand the issues under discussion in this thesis, a concise depiction of both the classical and the contemporary guerrilla manuals will be given. This is done in order to more easily compare the ideology and strategy behind contemporary jihadist doctrines and strategies.

Chapter 5 – Classical Guerrilla Manuals

In this chapter, the classical guerrilla manuals will be shortly discussed and partially summarized. The information in this chapter comes directly from the manual (or the translation thereof), and an effort was made to stay as true to the original information in the manuals as possible.

5.1. Mao Tse-Tung – On Guerrilla Warfare

This manual was written while Mao was in retreat, after battling the Nationalist army of Chiang Kai-shek for over ten years. He wrote *On Guerrilla Warfare* (Yu Chi Chan) in 1937, following the Japanese invasion of China (Second Sino-Japanese War). With this booklet, he aimed to present a blueprint for an organized war by the ill-equipped Chinese partisans against the Japanese mechanized armies. He wanted to use his book to convince the political and military leaders of China that the best course of action to fight against the Japanese was in the use of guerrilla style-tactics. *On Guerrilla Warfare* consists of seven chapters. For this thesis, the version translated by Samuel B. Griffith in 1961 is used.

Mao believed that guerrilla warfare was the only option for China in order to expel the Japanese invaders, who had more weapons, better equipment and a superior number of troops. The people are the most important factor in guerrilla warfare according to Mao. He realised that without a political goal that coincides with the aspirations of the people – largely farmers - it would be difficult to gain their sympathy, cooperation and assistance. Without this type of support, guerrilla warfare could not be waged successfully. Furthermore, Mao held that there is a strong distinction between a general revolutionary war, and a 'class type' war: "when a nation is invaded, the people become sympathetic to one another and all aid in organizing guerrilla units. In civil war, no matter to what extent guerrillas are developed, they do not produce the same results as when they are formed to resist and invasion by foreigners" (Tse-Tung, 1961, p. 48).

Because of the differences between guerrilla warfare and orthodox warfare, Mao felt that it was improper to even compare the two. There are, however, examples of situations in which elements from regular armies can conduct temporary operations as guerrillas. Likewise, the opposite can be true. Guerrilla units developed amongst the people can gradually develop into regular units and can use orthodox war tactics and strategies. Important is the structure of the guerrilla army. Mao believed it is important for guerrilla formations to act independently and therefore command should not be too highly centralized. He suggested that the command must be centralized for strategical purposes, and decentralized for tactical purposes.

With regards to tactics, Mao realized that a guerrilla army was unable to attack the Japanese army with conventional tactics, due to their superior numbers and firepower. Instead, guerrilla tactics became very important, and Mao explains this as follows:

> *"In guerrilla warfare, select the tactic of seeming to come from the east and attacking from the west; avoid the solid, attack the hollow; attack; withdraw; deliver a lightning blow, seek a lightning decision. When guerrillas engage a stronger enemy, they withdraw when he advances; harass him when he stops; strike him when he is weary; pursue him when he withdraws. In guerrilla strategy, the enemy's rear, flanks, and other vulnerable spots are his vital points, and there he must be harassed, attacked, dispersed, exhausted and annihilated"* (Tse-Tung, 1961, p. 46).

The grand strategy of the war develops in three phases. Mao made use of these three phases in order to explain the steps that were needed for those waging guerrilla war to be successful. The first phase covers the period in which the enemy would attack and the guerrilla would be strategically on the defensive. In the second phase, the enemy would be consolidating its position, providing opportunities for the guerrilla formations to prepare a counteroffensive. In the final phase, the insurgents would mount a guerrilla counteroffensive, while the enemy would be in retreat. These phases will be discussed in detail later.

Important for Mao's strategy, is the prolongation of the war, or the protracted war. Because the enemy, in this case Japan, is occupying a foreign country, the invader is not able to hold large territories indefinitely under his control. The longer a war goes on, the more the moral of the invading army, and the citizens back home, will decline. This creates space for the guerrilla to advance and to attack. Another important part of the strategy is to set up bases of operations,

preferably in the mountains, since these provide good vantage points and natural cover, and are also hard to reach for army vehicles.

Mao Tse-Tung wrote this manual during the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. The manual was geared towards opposing a foreign enemy that invaded China, using a three-phased strategy. Mao took peasants as the main social group for the guerrilla war, which would spring out of rural areas. By lengthening the war, Mao believed that the foreign invader would not be able to contain their invasion and would eventually lose. The local resistance guerrilla units who would show greater mobility in difficult terrains, which would prove to be in great advantage of the guerrilla. After the victory against the Japanese, and the victory of the Kuomintang five years later, Mao became the leader of the People's Republic of China until his death in 1976.

5.2. Võ Nguyên Giáp – People's War, People's Army

The Vietnamese General Giáp wrote *People's War, People's Army* as an article for the XVth anniversary of the Vietnam People's army in the year 1959. It consists of only 16 pages in total, and here the English translation, part of a series of writings by Giáp will be used, which was published in 1961. In People's *War, People's Army*, Giáp writes about the struggle and the build-up of the revolutionary armed forces in North and South Vietnam. A special focus is on the characteristics of the 'vanguard party' of (North) Vietnam's military police.

Giáp believes there are two kinds of wars conducted by states and armies, opposed to each other. According to Giáp, the first is the revolutionary war, which is popular and just, the other being the counter-revolutionary, anti-popular and unjust war. In his eyes, the Russian October Revolution can be seen as a just revolutionary war, which resulted into a new type of army, the Red Army under the leadership of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. According to Giáp, it became one of the most powerful armies in the world. In addition to the Russian revolution, he feels that Mao's taking state power in China can also be seen as an example of a successful revolutionary war. Nonetheless, the Vietnamese revolutionary war has its own distinctive characteristics due to the colonial history of Vietnam, and the difference in size and population compared to Russian and China.

He held that the strategy for such a war should be focusing on a long-term war. This does not mean that all revolutionary wars have to be long lasting, but most revolutionary wars are. In most cases, the enemy is stronger, and needs to be worn down in order to turn the balance of forces gradually in favour of the revolutionary forces. Therefore, such a war needs to include multiple stages: the stage of contention, the state of equilibrium, and the stage of counter-offensive. Firstly, the unrest must grow among the people in order to create a fertile soil for recruiting guerrilla fighters Second, preparations need to be made to develop the resources for waging war, and finally attacks needs to be launched as part of the counter-offensive, like in the case of his attack on the French at Điện Biên Phủ in the 1950s. These steps are quite similar to the one's used by Mao, whose manual served as a strong inspiration for Giáp 's own writings.

Giáp defines guerrilla war as "the war of the broad masses of an economically backward country standing up against a powerfully equipped and well-trained army of aggression" (Giáp, 1961, p. 23). This type of warfare was necessary in Vietnam, to fight an enemy with superior

firepower and larger also in numbers, at least initially. The main objective of guerrilla warfare, according to Giáp is to decrease the enemy's manpower, by means of quick attacks followed by a sudden retreat. Small victories will exhaust the enemy little by little. Eventually, the people's war will develop into a mobile war.

It is important that the officers and soldiers have a good relationship, according to Giáp. The same goes for the relationship among officers themselves. In addition to this, it is important that everyone within the People's Army practices strict discipline. Nonetheless, there also needs to be a 'wide internal democracy'. This democratic centralism is important for the organization of the army, as democracy makes sure that the army stays united and that orders are carried out. In addition to the requirements of strong unity and discipline, it is important that the people stay educated about party ideology. Military training and political education are important tasks in order to build the strength of the army.

The manual written by Giáp can be seen as a further elaboration of the work done by Mao in his manual. It uses a similar three-phased strategy, originating from the rural areas and aiming to fight off a foreign invader. In order to achieve this goal, Giáp used ruthless tactics against the enemy, his troops and the people. Giáp's manual is far less popular compared to Mao's manual, largely because of their similarities. Nevertheless, Giáp is seen as an able military commander and remained active within the Vietnamese armed forces long after their guerrilla victory against the United States. He died in 2013 at the age of 102.

5.3. Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara – Guerrilla Warfare

Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara wrote this manual in Cuba in 1961, with the purpose of instructing fellow revolutionaries in Latin America how to properly wage a guerrilla war against a non-Communist regime. The manual was written shortly after the Cuban Revolution and details Guevara's experiences in the victorious revolution. The book is following, in part, the line of ideas of Mao, even though Guevara claimed that he only had been introduced to Mao at the end of the Cuban Revolution (Ciment, 2015, p. 24), which would mean that Mao had little operational influence during the Cuban Revolution.

Guevara starts his manual *Guerrilla Warfare* with three fundamental lessons that he learned during the Cuban Revolution against the Batista dictatorship. These lessons are:

1. Forces of the people can win a war against a government with a sizeable army
2. Not all conditions need to be present before a war can be launched;
   these can be created along the way once the spark of revolution has been ignited;
3. The countryside is the basic area for armed fighting in underdeveloped countries.

Guevara believed that the first two points are most important since these points stand in stark contrast to the "defeatist attitude of revolutionaries or pseudo- revolutionaries who remain inactive and hold on to the idea that the times are not yet ripe and that against a professional army nothing can be done" (Guevara, 1961, p. 2). Guevara felt that guerrilla activity would ignite the spark of revolution in the oppressed people and that many of them would join the cause, once a 'foco' (fireplace) had been created and that it was not necessary to wait for all conditions to be present for revolutionary war to begin. The third lesson is one of strategy. Guevara felt that many theorists focus on the struggle of the masses in urban areas, but tend to forget about the people in rural areas. Because even the most repressive government is unable to maintain a strong control over all rural areas, this is where the guerrilla war should be launched.

Popular support is an indispensable condition for conducting guerrilla warfare, and is something that needs to be considered when operating in a region. This support is important for the recruitment, voluntarily or not, of fighters, and for the ability to hide amongst the populace without being found by the security forces of the government. The local population is also knowledgeable about the surrounding area, which is important for a non-local guerrilla force to acquire, in order to gain a tactical advantage against the enemy.

Guevara believed that guerrilla warfare is a phase that is needed in order to achieve a full victory. Through guerrilla warfare alone, such a victory cannot be achieved. When the guerrilla army is strong enough, and when enough territory is taken, the guerrilla army will acquire the characteristics of a regular army. When this is the case, the new regular army will be able to deal the final blow against the government's army.

An important part of the tactical ideas of Guevara is that the enemy should never be able to rest. Attacks at night should be carried out often in order to keep the enemy alarmed, and thus wearing out his troops day-and-night. At night, counterattacks are also more difficult, giving the guerrilla time to move to a different position, or to withdraw from its attack. In order to be able to attack often and from every angle, it is imperative for a guerrilla unit to be highly mobile. This mobility is also important when the enemy counterattacks, in order to avoid becoming encircled.

Guevara stated that terrorism is not something that should be considered lightly. Sabotaging a railroad of the enemy is certainly a strong tactic, but it should not leave the population paralyzed, since this will stand in the way of popular support to grow and might turn the people against the guerrillas. Important is also, the choice of the location where attacks are taking place. Hills and mountains, forests, and rural areas offer favourable ground since visibility and movement on the side of the official armed forces are limited. This gives guerrilla bands an advantage since they are more mobile. On the other hand, unfavourable grounds for the guerrilla forces are flat rural areas and urban areas.

In the second chapter of his manual, Guevara discusses the personal qualities of a guerrilla fighter. He beliefs that it is important for a guerrilla to be a good companion, to be fit, and to be able to live out of his backpack for prolonged periods of time. In addition to these personal qualities, Guevara also mentions the organization of a guerrilla band, noting that it is important that there is no rigid scheme for such a band. Every situation and area calls for a different type of organization. It is important, however, to make sure that autonomous guerrilla formations do not grow too large, in order to avoid from being spotted by the security forces.

The third chapter deals with the organization of the guerrilla unit along the primary front against the enemy. The guerrilla unit will slowly capture more and more land and these captured zones need to be converted into new home bases. It is important to keep a supply line between the home bases and the front lines. In the home bases, it is important to establish some form of

government or local control, that is in charge of justice, taxes, laws and administration. Important in the writings of Guevara is the role of women, since he beliefs that women can fight alongside men, even though they are weaker and less resilient. Women can act as messengers, transporter of important goods, and provide education in the liberated zones. Furthermore, women play an important role in the medical care. In the last part of this chapter, Guevara stresses the importance of training, education, propaganda and indoctrination, the latter in order to have a steady supply of new recruits who are loyal to the cause and able to fight.

Guerrilla Warfare depicts the experiences of Guevara during the Cuban Revolution in the 1950s. Guevara believed that Latin America was in an unstable situation and that the guerrilla, through attacks executed by small groups, could ignite the populace to join the revolution against the Cuban government. Guevara's book has become quite popular, especially amongst the left-wing followers, being translated in many languages. His capture in Bolivia, and subsequent execution by a Bolivian sergeant a day after his capture, 'martyr of idealism' by many, and he was, and is still seen as a hero in Cuba. In popular culture, Guevara has become a cult figure, being the face of revolution. Especially amongst students, his image is showing on clothing and posters.

5.4. Carlos Marighella – Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

Marighella wrote his manual in Brazil in 1969, after the founding of the National Liberation Alliance (ALN), in order to guide the actions of the ALN an against the authoritarian military regime in Brazil. The purpose of his booklet was to give advice on how small groups could be used to disrupt and overthrow an authoritarian regime through a revolution. The main inspiration for his mini-manuals came from the Chinese and Cuban revolution, as interpreted by Mao and Guevara. The new point in this manual was the fact that guerrilla warfare, which was previously carried out in rural areas, would, according to Marighella move to urban areas. In addition to this strategic difference, much of the manual is devoted to tactical issues as these are faced by individual guerrilla cells, describing choices of weapons, tactics of attacks and living and hiding among the people. He stated that

> "The urban guerrilla is a person who fights the military dictatorship with weapons, using unconventional methods. A revolutionary and an ardent patriot, he is a fighter for his country's liberation, a friend of the people and of freedom. The area in which the urban guerrilla operates is in the large Brazilian cities" (Marighella, 1969, p. 3).

Aware of some parallels with the modus operandi of criminals, Marighella emphasised that the urban guerrilla fighter was not a criminal because he does not personally profit from his actions; the urban guerrilla follows a political goal and only attacks large corporations, foreign imperialists and government forces. One of the primary tasks of the urban guerrilla is "to distract, to wear down, and to demoralize the military regime and its repressive forces" (Marighella, 1969, p. 3). In addition, the urban guerrilla fighter should also target wealthy foreign managers of multinational corporations and members of the Brazilian upper class.

The personal qualities of the urban guerrilla have been characterized by Marighella as decisiveness and bravery. In addition, he should be a good marksman and tactician. He needs to overcome an enemy with superior firepower and equipment, and thus needs to be smart. The urban guerrilla fighter has an advantage over the military and the police, because he is defending a just cause. This gives him a moral superiority over the enemy. In addition, the guerrilla needs to be flexible, and in excellent physical condition and mentally strong.

It is important for the urban guerrilla to be able to live amongst the people and to make sure that he does not stick out and look different from the ordinary people around him. He should have

a job in order to make his living. Equally important is his ability to observe and to be well informed about his surroundings and enemy movements. He should also be able to kill police or military personnel in order to maintain his raison d'etre as urban guerrilla fighter.

Technical and physical preparation is of great importance for the urban guerrilla. This means that he needs to be in a good physical condition and needs to learn how to fight. In addition, he needs to learn how to operate multiple vehicles, handle communication equipment and needs to possess technical skills. Furthermore, it is of the utmost importance that the urban guerrilla knows how to handle weapons and explosives. Training camps can provide exercise for acquiring all of these skills.

For large parts of his manual, Marighella explains the weapons of choice for the urban guerrilla, and the type of weapons a guerrilla must avoid. Guerrilla war is often fought at close range with the enemy, and this requires different skills than those used in conventional warfare. It is important for the urban guerrilla fighter to be able to shoot properly, since that is his main reason for existence. Saving ammunition is key, since not much is available during a guerrilla war.

In the last chapter, Marighella describes the need to establish and maintain popular support amongst the people. The urban guerrilla fights against a corrupt and inept government, and gains popular support by doing so. Because of the attacks on the government, the authorities will have no other option than to intensify the repression against the people in order to stop or limit the attacks. This repression will lead to an increased support for the urban guerrilla. Even when the pacifists and opportunists are calling for democracy and constitutional reforms, the guerrilla attacks need to continue, as the guerrillas and the people know that this is a farce to continue the reigning dictatorship. The urban guerrilla is a war for the people and with the people and they will continue to fight until the dictatorship is over. The liberation of the country which begins in the city will rapidly spill over into the rural areas where the guerrilla war will be continued.

The manual of Marighella was a further elaboration upon the work done by Guevara. It changed the perspective of the guerrilla war from the rural areas into the urban areas. Unlike the other guerrilla manuals, Marighella advocated attacks against the people, especially against the higher classes of society. Like Ché Guevara and unlike Mao and Giáp, Marighella died before his proposed guerrilla got very far. His aggressive tactics against the police and military led to a

manhunt against Marighella and his comrades, leading to an ambush that killed him, and many of his followers.

Chapter 6 – Theories used in the Classical Manuals

When looking at the four manuals, there are two major themes emerging. Mao and Giáp both use the People's War theory and focus on getting support from the people before starting the guerrilla war. Guevara and Marighella, on the other hand, both follow the Foco theory and although quite similar, there are some distinct differences.

In abstract terms, it can be said that Mao and Guevara are the writers who lay out the complete structure of guerrilla warfare, ranging from the organization and education of new revolutionary soldiers, to fighting techniques and political objectives. This thought is confirmed when looking at the writings of the four guerrilla leaders. Mao was an avid writer, with more than a hundred written works on his name. Guevara also enjoyed writing and has written five books, as well as a couple or articles and speeches. On the other hand, Giáp, and especially Marighella, wrote far fewer articles or documents. In addition, the manuals written by Giáp and Marighella can be seen as further elaboration of the work done by Mao and Guevara respectively, by adding their own experiences and thoughts. This thought is confirmed by Laqueur, who stated that Giáp's article regarding the People's War was more like a summary of the work written by Mao (Laqueur, Voices of Terror, 2004, p. 351). Other articles he wrote were about the history of Vietnam, the wars fought by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the building up of the North Vietnamese armed forces. Marighella, on the other hand, a Communist without military experience, wrote in his Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla, about the tactics, weapons and personal character traits of the guerrilla fighter. His' was a more tactical manual about guerrilla operations. There is almost no mentioning of organization, education or the like in both manuals.

Since the four manuals can be divided into the two ideologies of Mao and Guevara, People's War and Foco Theory, and because Giáp and Marighella wrote less extensive manuals when compared to Mao and Guevara, there will be a stronger focus on Mao and Guevara in this thesis. Nonetheless, when and where these last two manuals are relevant, they will of course be mentioned. In the next part, there will be a further elaboration on both theories, their differences and their common themes.

6.1. People's War theory

The theory of a People's War places - like the name suggest – emphasis on the support of the people. A People's War is often conducted against an invader of a country, where the people feel oppressed and finally start revolting against the oppressor. Apart from the well-known People's Wars in China and Vietnam, there were several smaller People's War, most notably in Peru (1982) and Nepal (1999). In Peru, an insurgent People's Guerrilla Army called Shining Path, started a guerrilla war against the Peruvian government, which is officially still ongoing but never gained much success. In Nepal, the Communist Party of Nepal started a guerrilla rebellion, which ended in a peace agreement, allowing the Maoist rebellion to participate in elections. Both of these People Wars were quite successful, however, as in other cases 'the people' remains an undefined entity (which is also true for international law that neither defines people or nation) and never included the majority of the population. Most other attempts to start a People's War outside the context of decolonisation wars were smothered by the security force of the government before they could gain much popular support.

An important factor of the People's War is time; it is based on a long-term fight against a usually foreign oppressor coming from overseas. The most important part of a people's war, is to try to extend the war as long as possible. Since the enemy has invaded the country, he has to spend time, personnel and resources in order to keep a degree of order and control in a foreign country. The longer the war takes, the more difficult it will be to keep control of the people. Furthermore, the longer people are oppressed by the invader in their own country, the more they will start to resent the occupation force and therefore are likely to be more likely to join the revolution to fight against the invader.

As mentioned by both Mao and Giáp in their manuals, a People's War has to go through three phases or stages: preparation, expansion, and counter-attack.

Phase One

The first phase is the preparatory phase. This phase is "devoted to organization, consolidation, and preservation of regional base areas situated in isolated and difficult terrain" (Mao, 1937, p. 20). The revolutionaries start their work in rural areas and the remote locations of these areas give the revolutionary the space to start their propaganda operations. Governments tend to pay less attention to remote rural areas and this makes it easier to hide amongst the citizens. The guerrillas

come to those villages to work and live amongst the peasants and after some time they gain the trust of the people. The rural areas are far less populated compared to urban areas and as a result, people in rural areas are more likely to know one another. This provides for a good recruiting pool, because of the trust within the group. On the other hand, the government will have a much harder task gathering intelligence on these groups; strangers like visiting government 'spies' will stand out and are easily spotted in these rural areas. In this terrain, volunteers are trained and indoctrinated, and after their training they will spread out in small groups to "persuade" and "convince" the people in the rural areas.

Phase Two

The second phase is largely focused on the expansion of the guerrilla force, their bases and their territory. This is done by conducting small assassination operations on certain strategic targets, like police chiefs or village elders who are loyal to the government. At this point, the guerrillas and the oppressor are largely in a state of equilibrium, where the guerrilla fighters afflict significant losses on the enemy, but the authorities still have sufficient forces in order to withstand the attacks from the guerrillas. The main purpose of these attacks is to increase support among the population so that more people will join the fight against the invader.

Phase Three

In phase three, the guerrilla forces have built up their strength to such a level that they can pose a real threat to the enemy. In this phase, guerrilla forces, sometimes in combination with patriotic elements of the regular national army, can attack the invader in order to retake the territory that has been lost. Cities will be seized by the guerrillas and the conventional army, and the ruling foreign authorities will be overthrown so that the revolutionaries can take control of the country.

Important notes

Important to note is that Mao (and Giáp), wrote about the People's War while being invaded by a foreign country, which provides a great breeding ground for the people to revolt against. This makes the People's War theory, or the Maoist theory, difficulty to copy in a situation where the country is not under foreign rule, because it would be more difficult to gain the support of a large part of the population. Furthermore, Mao and Giáp made use of conventional armies, in the last phase of their People's War. This is easier in a situation where the national conventional army is already fighting against the occupying enemy. In a situation where the national army is fighting

against the guerrillas, it will become much more difficult to use a conventional army for the purpose of a People's War.

Another advantage for Mao's People's war was the fact that China was severely underdeveloped. Because of this, many people were situated in the lower classes as China had a very small bourgeoisie. In a country where the bourgeoisie extents into a middle class and backs the sitting government, it will be difficult to gain a large following.

6.2. Foco Theory

Foco theory was theorized by the French intellectual Régis Debray, drawing on the experiences of Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara in the 1959 Cuban Revolution, that states that a small band of revolutionaries can wage guerrilla warfare on the capitalist state, regardless of the conditions typically considered necessary to begin a revolution. Because of the victory in Cuba with a very small guerrilla force, Guevara believed that it was not necessary to gain the support of the masses before initiating the guerrilla war (Johnson, 2006, p. 28). Instead, he believed that these small bands of revolutionaries will create the conditions for revolution and lead to the development of guerrilla warfare against the bourgeoisie. Foco theory relies on a small, mobile and hard-hitting band of insurgents that could act as the focus, (Foco is Spanish for torch, which starts the fire of revolution) of the revolution, the "Foco insurrectional" or "Foco" and go on to seize power. The theory concentrates on three main points:

1. Forces of the people can win a war against an army
2. Not all conditions need to be present before a revolutionary uprising can be launched; these can be created along the way
3. The countryside is the basic area of operation for armed rebel forces fighting in underdeveloped countries.

It is interesting to note that Foco theory had a low-to-no success rate in actual circumstances in Latin America Furthermore, given that some of the conditions for a proletarian revolution already existed in Cuba by the time Fidel and Ché were able to launch their Focoist rebellion, it is not clear as to whether or not the application of the Foco theory actually contributed to the success of the Cuban revolution. Dictator Batista lost his nerve and left the country which demoralised the army (more than twenty times stronger than Fidel Castro's force). In Bolivia, Guevara tried to use the same Foco theory as in Cuba in order to overthrow the Bolivian government. This, however, failed miserably due to the lack of support of the rural population whose language Guevara and

most of his ‘companeros’ did not understand while the imported rebels were also not familiar with the terrain high up in the Andes (Hill, 2010, p. 8). In addition, the United States supported Bolivia in its attempts to fight off a possible revolutionary war by training the Bolivian army in the ways of counterinsurgency warfare.

Foco theory has been used in other places - like the Congo, and Argentina - however anywhere the Foco theory has been applied it has failed (Childs, 1995, p. 623). One can argue that the theory was only successful because of the particular circumstances prevailing in Cuba in the late 1950s – circumstances not easily applicable in another situation.

6.3. People’s War vs. Foco Insurgency

Foco theory follows some ideas of Mao pretty closely. There are, however, distinct differences in ideology. Mao believed that in order for guerrilla warfare to succeed, it was necessary to have a high degree of popular support. Support of the people was the major factor before starting a guerrilla war. According to Foco theory, this was not necessary. Guevara argued that “it is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them” (Guevara, 1961, p. 2). Within Foco theory, the insurgents are able to win the support of the people through their heroic actions. They do not have to wait for a change in government and political beliefs. This emphasis on armed propaganda was an important factor in the growth of the guerrilla in the ‘foco’ theory. In addition to this, Marighella took the Foco insurgency from the rural areas into the cities. His book, like the names suggests, started the shift from rural to urban guerrilla. He stated that it was necessary to “open rural warfare in the middle of an uncontrollable urban rebellion” (Marighella, 1969, p. 37). Furthermore, while both Guevara and Marighella used terrorism as a tactic, Marighella focused terror attacks not just at governmental forces but also against the people, especially the higher class of society. This shows that even within Foco theory, there are some distinctions.

Another major doctrinal difference between People’s War and Foco theory is the organizational structure of the guerrilla army. Mao uses a strict organizational structure which he laid out in his manual. He detailed the amount of personnel for each company, and goes into depth about their equipment, detailing even what type of weapon they should be carrying. Sizes of squads, companies and even battalions are mentioned. Foco theory on the other hand, believes that it is important to keep a fluidity in the organizational structure. Guevara and Marighella both do

not mention organizational structure in such a detailed way. They both want to keep a fluid organizational structure in order to remain flexible and move quickly.

Other differences can be attributed to the different time period and circumstances in which they fought the war. Mao and Giáp were fighting off a foreign invader, while Guevara and Marighella were both fighting to overthrow the national government. This led to differences in strategy. One of these differences between the writings Mao and Guevara is the use of regular forces. Since Mao was fighting off a foreign invader, he was able to rely, in part, on the regular Chinese armed forces, cooperating at times with the guerrilla fighters. Guevara, and especially Marighella, were fighting against their own government, and were therefore unable to make use of regular forces until the end of their campaigns (which did not get very far in Bolivia and Brazil). Marighella was fighting against a military government and thus could not make use of regular forces. Another distinction is the personal level it is written on. Mao rarely mentions the guerrilla fighter himself, instead he writes about the leaders of the guerrilla unit and the traits that make a guerrilla leader successful. On the other hand, Guevara writes about the grassroots fighters themselves, and the skills and personality traits that they need to possess in order to be good guerrilla soldiers. In addition, Guevara writes about the difficulties of surviving as a guerrilla fighter, because of the poor living conditions and constant feeling of being hunted. Mao does mention the hardships of war, but more on a general than a personal level (Fonay, 2013, pp. 1-2). A final difference in the writings especially of Mao and Guevara is their personal experience in guerrilla warfare when writing their manuals. Mao was much older when he wrote his manuals and had a lot more experience in guerrilla fighting. This experience is also reflected in their writing style, as Guevara writes with a more temperamental tone, compared to Mao, who's writing shows a calmer and measured demeanour.

6.4. Common Themes

Despite significant differences between the People's War and the Foco insurgencies and their ideas about when times were right for a guerrilla war to start, there are many common themes in the manuals.

One of the clearest common themes between the writings of the four guerrilla leaders is their political objective. The political objective is the reason why a guerrilla war is initiated and although the actual objective might differ, the fact that there is one shows the common theme between the

writings. In other words, it is important that insurgents also have a political idea, besides being skilled in guerrilla fighting, as Mao explains (Mao, 1937, p. 43) (Rueschhoff, 2008, p. 5). Without a clear political objective, in which every unit of the guerrilla force is focused towards the same goal, a guerrilla has no purpose.

Guerrilla warfare relies heavily on the support of the people. Even though there is disagreement between the writers about the way popular support is generated, and how much of popular support is needed, there is no disagreement when it comes to the fact that popular support is the most important factor in a successful guerrilla war campaign. "Because guerrilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and co-operation" (Mao, 1937, p. 44). Guevara stated something similar when he wrote, "The guerrilla fighter needs full help from the people of the area. This is an indispensable condition" (Guevara, 1961, p. 3). This does not mean that this is easy to achieve; the chance of betrayal is ever present, - that is what happened with Guevara in Bolivia. Local popular support is an important factor in guerrilla war since this sparks further revolts in the countryside, and without it, success is at best limited.

Because guerrilla war relies heavily on popular support in order to gather new recruits, it is important to educate and indoctrinate the masses. In order to do this, a strong propaganda and educational system is needed. This theme can be found in the writings of both Mao and Guevara. Mao states that "without general education that enables everyone to understand our goal … the soldiers will fight without conviction and lose their determination (Mao, 1937, pp. 88-89). Similarly, Guevara mentions education as very important: "The education of the guerrilla fighter is important from the very beginning of the struggle. This should explain to them the social purpose of the fight and their duties, clarify their understanding, and give them lessons in morale that serve to forge their characters" (Guevara, 1961, p. 27).

When a guerrilla war gathers more and more fighters, it becomes important to have a proper organization in order for operations to run smoothly. In both People's War and Foco Theory, an effective organizational structure is important in order to give effect to the popular strength (Rueschhoff, 2008, p. 6). Even though there is a difference between the structure conceived by Mao and Guevara, they both agree that there should not be much interference, or micro-management, between the top organization and the lower frontline formations. These lower units

should be able to operate independently and take their own initiatives. Mao states that these groups "have more or less complete local control" (Mao, 1937, p. 114). Guevara states that "no rigid schema can be offered for the organization of a guerrilla band" (Guevara, 1961, p. 24). Marighella adds that "it is essential to avoid any rigidity in the guerrilla organization, in order to permit the greatest possible initiative on the part of the firing group" (Marighella, 1969, p. 11).

Another common theme between People's War and Foco Theory, refers to bases of operations. Even though guerrilla warfare needs to be quick and mobility is very important, having a base of operations is of high importance. A base of operations can be used for training purposes, but also for treating the wounded and for keeping political prisoners. Mao believes that bases are vital places ""in which the guerrillas can carry out their duties of training, self-preservation and development" (Mao, 1937, p. 107). In his writings, Mao calls these bases of operations, 'sanctuaries'. Guevara similarly states that "It is essential always to preserve a strong base of operations and to continue strengthening it during the course of the war (Guevara, 1961, p. 7). Interestingly, one of Guevara's biggest mistakes was his failure to establish a safe haven in Bolivia, a guerrilla war that failed soon after it began.

One of the most distinctive similarities between People's War and Foco Theory is also one of the most significant features in guerrilla warfare: combat. As Guevara neatly puts is, "Combat is the most important drama in the guerrilla life" (Guevara, 1961, p. 27). A guerrilla army has, in most cases, an inferior number of soldiers when compared to a standing army. Therefore, it is important to have superior tactics, in order to make up for the lack of numbers. The difference in tactics between regular and irregular warfare and their exploitation to one's advantage is nowadays called asymmetric warfare. Asymmetric warfare (warfare involving surprise attacks by small, lightly armed groups on a national army or civilian targets with high-tech weaponry) is an important feature of contemporary irregular warfare.

Both manuals have many similarities, despite the fact that they have been written in different areas of the world and in different periods of time. However, some of the similarities can be seen as quite basic military strategy and can be found in writings of other military strategists as well. However, since the aim of this part was to describe the similarities between the manuals they have been added to this part. Nevertheless, their differences are more important in order to better

determine the influence of the manuals with regards to the tactics and strategies of contemporary terrorist organizations.

Chapter 7 – Contemporary Terrorist Manuals

Similar to what was done in chapter 5, this chapter will shortly discuss and summarize the contemporary terrorist manuals. The information in this chapter comes directly from the translated manual (in some cases from secondary sources quoting these sources), and an effort was made to stay as true to the original information in the manuals as possible.

7.1. Al Qaeda – Declaration of Jihad – 'Manchester manual'

The *Declaration of Jihad* was found on a computer, in house the of an Al Qaeda affiliate in Manchester, England, in 2000. It was translated by the FBI and is believed to be the handbook for Al Qaeda. The authorship of the Manchester manual has never been firmly established. The computer file found by the police was labelled 'the military series' and was related to the 'Declaration of Jihad'. The manual consists out of 18 chapters, or lessons, and can be seen as practical set of instructions on how to conduct in general combat, as well as a guide on how to avoid capture and how to resist torture.

This manual starts off with the notion that in order to be able to establish territory under Islamic rule, unification of the religious ranks is needed. An important element for achieving this goal is the military organization. Such an organization should have three main principles: (1) a military commander and advisory council, (2) the soldiers, and (3) a clearly defined strategy. The main mission of the military organization is "the overthrow of godless regimes and their replacement with an Islamic regime" (Al Qaeda, N.D., p. 14).

In order to become a member, one must be a Muslim who is committed to the ideology, who is mature and willing to make sacrifices for the purpose of the common objective, be able to listen and be obedient, be able to keep secrets and to hide information, to be free of illness and have patience. Furthermore, one must be cautious and show prudence, have intelligence and insight, be truthful, and have the ability to observe and analyse, as well as the ability to act, change position and go into hiding.

The lessons in this Al-Qaeda manual are very practical. The manual teaches the jihadi about getting money, forged documents, practice and evade surveillance, engage in secure

communication and obtain training. The location of bases is explained in detail, and so are the means of communication and how to properly use those means. Weapon handling and how to acquire arm is also explained in detail. All jihadists should have a security plan, which should detail how to travel into and out of countries. Special operations are important part of the military tactics and only specialized units should engage in such operations. The manual goes into the detail of espionage, explain what it is and how to do it. Being able to code messages is also an important part of espionage, because sending and receiving messages is key in order to carry out a strategy. The last few lessons are focusing on military tactics, like assassinations with poison, kidnappings, and torture methods, both physical and psychological. The final lesson is about how to survive prison and detention centres.

The *Declaration of Jihad* calls for the overthrow of the existing Arab regimes and aims to restore an Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East. The operations and techniques mentioned in the manual are not aimed at the United States or other of the Western countries. Instead, it focuses on the 'godless and apostate" Arab rulers and regimes.

The Manchester manual, as the *Declaration of Jihad* is also called, is an important document for both Al Qaeda and the counter-terrorism. It provides a detailed strategy for an Al Qaeda fighter and has become infamous in terrorist detainee centres, because it provides tips on how to deal with the media, the soldiers and guards, and attorneys. This led to claims of torture by Al Qaeda affiliates being held captive in Guantanamo Bay (Miles, 2005, para 1). Most of the operational aspects of this manual are outdated because of the changing environment in the Middle East. However, the ideological still remains very valuable, as the goal still remains the same.

7.2. Abu Mus'ab al-Suri – The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance

The manual 'The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance' is written by a leading Al Qaeda theoretician and strategic thinker named Mustafa bin Abd al-Qadir Setmariam Nasar and was published in 2004. Nasar is also known under is *nom de guerre* Abu Mus'ab al-Suri, and originates from Aleppo, Syria. Since the late 1980s he has also held the Spanish nationality after this marriage with a Spanish woman. This 1604-page book, was written by al-Suri while being on the run had the aim of "transforming Al Qaeda from a vulnerable hierarchical organization into a resilient decentralized movement" (Masoud, 2013, p. 1). For the purpose of this research, a translation is used that highlights the key parts of this manual.

In the first part of the translated manual[5], al-Suri discusses the military theory of the Global Islamic Resistance (GIR). First, he starts with a review of the different methods of warfare that have been used in the jihad from 1963 up until September 2001. He names three different schools of warfare: (1) the school of dynamic organizations (regional-secret-hierarchical), (2) the school of open fronts and overt confrontations, and (3) the school of individual jihad and small cell terrorism. Al-Suri then gives a summary of what the different methods consist of, and also adds the result of each respective method. He beliefs that the first school was a complete failure that led to a loss of 80% of all jihad forces. The second school, the open fronts, has been declining after September 2001, because of the superior firepower of the U.S. who assisted on the front lines of the war zones where Al Qaeda was fighting. The third and last school, is the oldest school and al-Suri beliefs that this 'spontaneous' method is important in the post 2001 era. It was quite successful in inciting fear amongst the enemies of the jihad.

The new military theory for the GIR will use two of the schools previously mentioned: The Open Front Jihad and the Individual Terrorism Jihad. The open front jihad will focus on battle along the front lines where jihadists will fight under the banner of the Global Islamic Resistance. The Individual Terrorism Jihad will consist out of spontaneous attacks on specific targets in the different war zones of the Global Islamic Resistance.

[5] In the actual manual, this part starts at page 1355 of the 1604-page manual. According to the translator, the earlier parts of the manual are all about the origin of the jihad, historical details and propaganda. The second part is where he talks about strategies, theories and methods for the jihad.

The next chapter discusses the main arenas of operations for the GIR. These are the areas where the Mujahedeen need to hurt their enemies and arouse fellow Muslims so that they will join the jihad and the GIR. The main arenas of operations are, in order of priority:

1 – The countries on the Arab Peninsula, the Levant, Egypt, and Iraq:

2 – The countries of North Africa from Libya to Mauritania:

3 – Turkey, Pakistan, and the countries of Central Asia:

4 – The Rest of the Islamic world:

5 – The American and Allied interests in third world countries:

6 – In European countries allied with America and participating with her in the war: (…)

7 – In the heart of America herself, by targeting her with effective strategic operations (al-Suri, 2004, p. 12)

Now that the main arenas have been identified, al-Suri moves onto the large list of targets that he beliefs are important to attack. He categorises them in two categories (al-Suri, The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance (English translation of key excerpts), 2004, pp. 13-17). Firstly, he names the targets in the Arab and Islamic World. Some of these targets include, again in order of priority: centres of missionary activity and Christianisation, economic resources belonging to the U.S. or their allies, diplomatic presence of the U.S. and their allies, military presence of the U.S. and their allies and other targets like tourist and so forth. The second part of the list of targets are targets based in the U.S. or their military allies. These targets include political figures, large economic targets, military bases media personalities and other high value targets. .

The next chapter is used to discuss the newly proposed organizational structure for the GIR. Al-Suri wants to use a so-called ‘system of action’ organization instead of a centralised organizational structure. Groups that are part of the system should only be connected by name, by political conviction and by a common goal. Apart from this, every group should be able to operate independently.

Next to the decentralised system, al-Suri also proposes a system of four brigades (Popular Resistance brigade, General Military brigade, Quality Resistance brigade and Strategic Operations brigade), all with their own specialities, focusing on military, technological, security and financial capabilities.

Al-Suri ends his manual with a blueprint for the training theory of the GIR, including the types of lessons they need to learn, what weapons they need to use and how to set up training camps.

The translation of the large manual provides only a limited insight in the full manual, but it already shows the depth of information that al-Suri put into this manual. It is a complete overhaul of the old Al Qaeda structure, that focused on a hierarchical organization. It provides instructions for many different areas of the organization and it is understandable why this has become an influential document for the Mujahedeen.

7.3. Abu Bakr Naji – The Management of Savagery

The Management of Savagery[6] was written by the Islamist strategists Abu Bakr Naji, a likely *nom de guerre* for Mohammad Hasan Khalil al-Hakim[7], and was published online in the spring of 2004. The aim of this manual was to provide a strategy for Al Qaeda and other extremist groups in order to create an Islamic Caliphate. The manual is rather long, compared to other manuals, consisting out of 268 pages. For the purpose of this thesis research, the translation of this manual by William McCants, written in 2006, is used.

It starts out by detailing the current situation with two super powers (America and Russia), and the failure of Russia to gain a foothold in the Middle East during the war in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Naji puts forward the first goal, which is to show that the United States is a superpower without force, who are fighting a war that they do not fully believe in and thus cannot win. Naji feels that this needs to be revealed, in order to counter the deceptive (western) media. By showing that the US is unwilling to do whatever it takes to win this war to both the western world and the Islamic world, Naji wants to force America to abandon its war against the Islam. Furthermore, by countering the Western media it would be easier to recruit people to join the cause. A second goal is to replace casualties suffered by the mujahedeen in nearly thirty years. This is to be done in two ways: firstly, Naji wants to create operations that are so enormous, that people will be dazzled by it and want to join. Secondly, there will be anger over the US involvement in the Islamic world, which leads to people wanting to join the cause. The third goal mentioned by Naji is to expose the weakness of the power of the US by luring the US into a direct war, instead of the mainly psychological proxy war it is currently fighting in the Islamic world. He also believes that the war will be a long one.

With *The Management of Savagery*, Naji aims to describe the vacuum of power that exists after a large state or empire falls. When there is no replacement that exercises effective power, there will be regions that become 'administrations of savagery'. These, need to be administrated and people need to be able to regain a sense of security, Sharia law, and protection – hence the

[6] Another translation of the title is The Management of Barbarism, due to the difficult translation of the word tawaḥḥuš, which can be translated as "savagery" or "barbarism")
[7] Mohammad Hasan Khalil al-Hakim has many different nom de guerre's, one of which is Abu Bakr Naji. However, this nom de guerre has never been officially confirmed.

manual's name, *The Management of Savagery*. In a later stage, food, medical treatment, education and propaganda, can be supplied and the population can be trained to become fighters.

The establishment of the Islamic State is to be done in three steps. For the 'priority group of states', two or three states where the mujahedeen should focus their striking power, the first stage is one of 'the power of vexation and exhaustion, the second stage one of 'the administration of savagery' and the final stage the one of 'the power of establishment – establishing the state'. In the remainder of the states, the stages are as follows: firstly, the stage of 'the power of vexation and exhaustion' and then the stage of 'establishment', which comes from the victory that is achieved from the outside. These states should not be the main focus, but remain in a state of vexation, trying to disperse the concentration and forces of the enemy through small attacks. These small operations do not have to yield large results in order to be very valuable, but serve to make sure that the enemy is unable to catch his breath as he constantly lives in fear. In addition, these states should recruit new youth to the Jihad work, and training and prepare them for battle by teaching them the use of arms and the nature of war.

Naji created a plan in order to attack the enemy in the second stage: This plan requires:

- "A military strategy working to disperse the efforts and forces of the enemy and to exhaust and drain its monetary and military capabilities.
- A media strategy targeting and focusing on two classes. (The first) class is the masses, in order to push a large number of them to join the jihad, offer positive support, and adopt a negative attitude toward those who do not join the ranks. The second class is those troops of the enemy who have low salaries, in order to push them to join the ranks of the mujahedeen or at least to flee from the service of the enemy." (Naji, 2006, pp. 50-51).

In the final stage, Naji devised news steps:

- "Developing a military strategy in order to push the forces of the enemy to pull back around the main economic targets in order to protect them.
- Developing the media strategy such that it reaches and targets the heart of the middle leadership of the armies of apostasy in order to push them to join the jihad.
- Plan, prepare, and train for the exploitation of the results of the previous points - the outbreak of chaos and savagery.
- Establishing a media plan which seeks, in each of these stages, rational as well as Sharia justifications for the operations, especially (targeting) the masses." (Naji, 2006, p. 51)

Naji emphasises the importance of administration, and the need to establish committees and focus on specialization. He beliefs that every leader should be a manager, but notes that not every manager is a leader. Leaders should be able to fight in the ranks, and be experts in military science. Furthermore, the leader should make sure that the policies used in jihadi action are Sharia policies, unless the Sharia permits the use of other plans and military principles. One of these principles is keeping the operations small, in order not to raise suspicion. He notes that when it comes to explosives, it is sometimes necessary to use more than is actually needed in order to maximize fear and achieve better media coverage.

Naji mentions that information on military principles and the theories and art of warfare can be found in jihadi journals, like the ones written by al-Qurashi, in general books on war, and especially in books about guerrilla wars.

Power, he notes, is an important factor in warfare, and the way to achieve greater power is through religious loyalty. One must always remain loyal to the jihad in order to keep the group strong, even in times of losses. In addition to power, political awareness is very important according to Naji: "A single political mistake (leads to) a result that is worse than one hundred military mistakes" (Naji, 2006, p. 86). Sharia politics should be used to confront the politics of the enemy. Part of sharia politics is economic, and Naji explains ways to earn money, for example, by selling petrol at higher prices. He stresses that both political and economic goals should be studied by as many people as possible, in order to provide continuity. An important political goal is the polarization of the constituency of the enemy in order to create chaos.

Throughout his writings, Naji mentions mountain regions and other hard-to-reach places as ideal spots to set up bases where people can join each other in order to prepare for jihad. Naji states, for example, that if someone wishes to join the jihad, “he must leave … and strive to join the mujtahids[8] in the mountains” (Naji, 2006, p. 124).

Naji continues to devote much space in his manual on educating the youth in the ways of the jihad, addressing issues like how to deal with spies, traitors and the unfaithful. The latter part of his manual is basically a recap of the things previously mentioned, adding little new information.

[8] Mujahid refers to a person who is engaged in a jihad

Interestingly, Naji does not mention the Islam that often, but when he does, he refers to the violent nature of Islam. Naji states that "as for the wicked, they are from the same class as the previous one and are those who say that Islam is a religion of mercy and peace and that jihad is immoderate and excessive and that it has nothing to do with Islam!" (Naji, 2006, pp. 239-240).

The *Management of Savagery* can be seen as one of the most influential contemporary terrorist manuals. Written by Abu Bakr Naji while still being a member of AQI, it now has a strong presence in the ideology and strategy of ISIS. The influence of this manual within ISIS is so strong that it is considered to be the *Mein Kampf* of ISIS (Ignatius, 2014, para 1). Amongst the general Muslim population however, *The Management of Savagery'* did not become a bestseller. Nonetheless, it did become an important manual amongst many IS soldiers and commanders (Hassan, 2015, para 6).

7.4. Abu al-Faruq al-Masri - Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State

The Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State, a 24-page manual, was written by Abu al-Faruq al-Masri in 2014. This internal document was allegedly leaked by a businessman, who remains anonymous, working within ISIS and who has leaked over 30 documents, including financial statements, from ISIS to an academic researcher named Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamini (Malik, 2015, para 11-12), who also translated this document.

The content of this manual focuses more on the macro level of the ISIS organization when compared to the previously mentioned manuals, whose focus was more on the individual qualities, and military strategies of a jihadist. The Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State can be compared with the manual of Marighella, but only in a way of giving information on one topic, instead of the other manuals who provide both high level and lower level instructions.

Al-Masri starts off with the announcement of a global Islamic caliphate. He cites the year 2006 as the starting point for the Islamic caliphate. He also recognised that the U.S. was able to destroy most of the Islamic state in Iraq. Nevertheless, the Islamic caliphate was not beaten and resurged even larger in Syria, according to al-Masri (al-Masri, 2013, p. 3). In this first chapter, al-Masri also makes a remark about the lack of leadership that was present in those times. He accuses the previous leader of Al Qaeda in Syria of lack of faith because he did not want to join Islamic state despite his allegiance to the Islamic Caliphate.

The second chapter of the manual discusses the organizational structure of the individual and the group. Because of the large influx of new fighters for the Mujahedeen, there was a lack of belief and training within the Islamic resistance. Al-Masri believed that it was important to incorporate these new recruits as quickly as possible in the Mujahedeen by educating and training them in camps.

The camps are discussed in the next chapter, where al-Masri names three different types of camps. First, he mentions the Continuation camps, where seasoned jihadist fighters will come for a training session every year for a period of two weeks. Secondly, there are the First Preparation Camps, here new joiners of the Mujahid will be trained in the Islamic doctrine, in addition to fighting and weapon training. Thirdly, there are the Preparation Camps for Children. This type of camp is similar to the first preparation camp, but for children, who will also learn the Islamic doctrine and will learn to bear light arms.

The fourth chapter discusses ‘direction administration’. With this, al-Masri means spiritual direction that every Jihadist needs to have after he came out of a training camp. These directions are given before battle, during battle and after a battle. Directions can be seen as orders, given out by military commanders, depending on the need of the situation.

In chapter five, al-Masri talks about the organisation of provinces that are under control of the Islamic caliphate. There are two important factors in the organisation of the province. First, the Wealth of the state is important. The internal and external operations need to be financed and financial resources need to claimed a secured in the provinces under Mujahedeen control. Secondly, the nature of the lands need to be taken care of, otherwise the land would serve no purpose in the Islamic caliphate.

Chapter six is a chapter about finance, and the distribution of wealth amongst the Islamic people. Al-Masri beliefs that it is important to have specialists in accounting to oversee the financial situation in the Islamic State. He believes that expenses need to be regulated and that factories need to be set up to produce weapons, ammunition and food.

The seventh chapter continues on the topics from chapter six. Here al-Masri talks about industrial projects that need to become an important source of income for the Islamic state. The most important projects are the Oil products, the Gold and Antiquities project and a weapons project.

Al-Masri used chapter 8 to discuss the education that takes place in the earlier mentioned training camps. He stats that the educational "programmes focused on glorifying the ruling authorities and discarding differences between sects, stripping Sunnis of their identity" (al-Masri, 2013, p. 16). Important in the education is the glorification of their leaders, the spreading of the aims and ideas of the party, discarding differences between other Muslim groups in order to promote a unified Ummah, and the spreading of the negative ideas about the culture and civilisation in the west.

Chapter 9 is used to discuss the external relations between Islamic state and their neighbours. International politics is important for al-Masri and he beliefs that alliances are needed as a show of force in order to leverage others that the Islamic leadership is worldwide. He also mentions that the Islamic state should have its own sovereignty and the importance of the acknowledgement of the Islamic state in the international community.

Finally, in chapter 10, al-Masri mentions the importance of the media in the before mentioned chapters. He beliefs there are three important media foundation within the Islamic state. Firstly, there is a Base Foundation. This foundation takes care of the general media output by defining priorities for publications and broadcastings as well as media campaigns. Secondly, the Provincial Media foundation. These should be situated with a media office in each province, under the leadership of the governor in coordination with the military and security officials in the region. Thirdly, the Auxiliary Agencies and Foundations. These agencies should work in accordance with the main office with regards to the needs and interests that need to be spread.

To sum up, the manual of al-Masri is a very high level manual that talks about how the Islamic state should be organised, trained and financed. This manual provides little to no strategic recommendations, compared to the three previously discussed manuals. It also does not provide any quotations or remarks from other writers. The manual seems to be solely relying on the thoughts and ideas of al-Masri.

PART III – ANALYSIS

Chapter 8 – In what context and for what public is the manual written?

This chapter aims to discuss the context in which the manuals was written and publicized, for what purpose, and who the aimed public of the manual was. This is important for the comparison of the manual, because through this question, the motive, as well as the focus, of the manual can be determined.

8.1. Classical Guerrilla Manuals

8.1.1. Mao Tse-Tung – On Guerrilla Warfare

The manual 'On Guerrilla Warfare' was written by Mao as a response to the Japanese invasion of China during the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. At this time, China itself was in a civil war between the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communist Party of China(CPC), that started in 1927. The conflict between the KMT and the CPC remained, even after the invasion of Japan. Instead of working together to fight off the foreign invader, the KMT decided to first attack the CPC in an attempt to unite China. Meanwhile Mao, and the CPC had lost the majority of their forces during the 'Long March' in 1935. Nonetheless, the CPC were able to withstand most of the KMT attacks, and Mao and other CPC leaders started to develop their guerrilla tactics at the North West Anti-Japanese Red Army University based on the manual written by Mao. Early 1937, the CPC started to conduct sporadic guerrilla attacks against the invading army of Japan.

The purpose of this manual was twofold: firstly, Mao wanted to use this book to convince Chinese political and military leaders, of both the CPC and the KMT, that guerrilla tactics were necessary in order to fight off the invading army of Japan. Secondly, this booklet presented a blueprint for an organized war by the ill-equipped Chinese partisans against the Japanese mechanized armies. The booklet served as an instruction manual consisting of tactics and a structural organization that Mao believed were necessary to fight a successful guerrilla campaign against Japan. These tactics were based on his own experiences in warfare, and largely on the ideas of Sun Tzu. By looking at the purpose of the manual, the public of the manual becomes clear as well. The first purpose focuses on the leadership of China, as Mao wants to use the manual to convince them of the guerrilla tactics that he proposes. For the second purpose, this manual is focused more on the general people in the organization, as it provides instruction on how to fight

a guerrilla war, how to organize as a group and how to conduct as a guerrilla fighter. When reading through the manual, it becomes clear that Mao intends to reach a large public with his writings. In his manual, he goes over the macro aspect of guerrilla warfare, detailing organizational ideas and structure of battalions. Furthermore, he also goes into more micro aspects of guerrilla warfare, describing individual conduct and weapon tactics for a guerrilla fighter.

8.1.2. Võ Nguyên Giáp – People's War, People's Army

Giáp's article titled 'People's War, People's Army' was written for the XVth anniversary of the People's Army of Vietnam in 1959. At the time of writing, Giáp was one of the highest ranking military leaders of the Vietnam, acting as the Minister of Defence, the Commander in Chief of the People's Army of Vietnam and the Deputy Prime Minster. In 1959, Vietnam was a divided country: North Vietnam, officially called the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was led by Ho Chi Minh and had Hanoi as its capital. South Vietnam, officially called the Republic of Vietnam was led by Ngô Đình Diệm, with Saigon as its capital. The year 1959 also marked the start of the Vietnam War, with the Northern Vietnam backed National Liberation Front, better known as the Việt Cộng, starting guerrilla attacks in South Vietnam.

When looking at the purpose and public of this manual, it can be said that Giáp uses a relatively formal tone in his article. Combine this with the fact that the literacy rate in Vietnam in those years was extremely low (93,4% of the population between 12-50 were illiterate in that time (Worldbank, Not Dated), due to the colonial rule and their agriculture focused culture, and one can see that this document was not focused at the lower class of the Vietnamese population.

8.1.3. Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara – Guerrilla Warfare

Che Guevara published his book, 'Guerrilla Warfare' in May of 1960, about a year after the victorious Cuban Revolution. The Cuban Revolution started in 1953 and came to a close in 1959, when Fidel Castro took over power in Cuba. The period after the revolution was one of reforms, focused on nationalism, with aims on reducing illiteracy, outlawing rich foreigners and dismantling the catholic church. It was in this time that Che Guevara decided to write his manual on Guerrilla Warfare, using his experience in the Cuban Revolution.

The goal of the manual was to instruct left-wing revolutionaries on the tactics and strategies of fighting a guerrilla war against an oppressive regime and its army. Guevara focused his manual at the left-wing insurgents, detailing specific instructions for guerrilla fighters on their behaviour,

their training and what strategies an insurgent should use in a guerrilla war. In addition to providing strategical and tactical advice for both insurgents and insurgency leaders, Guevara's manual can also be seen as a propaganda tool for his successful campaign in Cuba. By detailing the success of the Cuban Revolution, the manual could have spurred other revolutionaries in different parts of the world to try a similar strategy against oppressing regimes.

8.1.4. Marighella – Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

The 'Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla' was written by Carlos Marighella in June 1969. At this time, Marighella was one of the leaders of the National Liberation Action (ALN), holding significant influence in the left-wing rebellion movement in Brazil. Looking at the timing, the manual was written a year after the worldwide student rebellions and during a time where the hopes for an international left-wing revolution was at a high point.

The purpose of this manual was to teach guerrilla groups and resistance networks around the world about the tactics of the urban guerrilla. It was aimed at other revolutionaries who could use the expertise of Marighella with regards to urban guerrilla warfare. Marighella himself mentions that it is important to distribute the ideas of this manuals to sympathisers of the cause. His goal was to "not merely read this minimanual here and now, but to circulate its contents" (Marighella, 1969, p. 2). This shows his determination of spreading his ideas to other revolutionaries across the world.

8.2 Contemporary jihadist manual

8.2.1 Al Qaeda – Declaration of Jihad – 'Manchester manual'

The 'Declaration of Jihad', was found on a computer in Manchester, England in 2000. The author is still undetermined, with sources claiming it is either written by Al Qaeda, or an Egyptian affiliate of Al Qaeda. This manual was written before the 9/11 attacks in New York and provide an insight in the strategy that Al Qaeda used prior to the major attack in 2001. This manual was written after the issuing of a Fatwa in which Al Qaeda declared war on America and its allies. It is likely that this manual is part of this 'mission'.

The fact that this manual was never published or shared on the internet, before it was captured and translated, shows that this is an internal document. Furthermore, on one of the first pages of the manual is written: "Belongs to the guest house. Please do not remove it from the house except with permission" (Al Qaeda, N.D., p. 6). It was not meant to be found, and therefore shows the purpose and public of the manual. This also shows that this manual was not profoundly meant as a propaganda tool, but more as a training document for existing sympathisers of Al Qaeda. This fact is also supported by the lack of ideological explanations in the manual. It provides hands-on tips and tools for a fighter, but does not use ideological texts to convince new people to join the cause. Therefore, it can be said that the manual was intended for Al Qaeda sympathisers or fighters, especially the insurgents who were fighting in target countries. This is supported by the instructions on how to forge counterfeit passports, how to remain hidden and conduct undercover activities and how to act in case of an arrest and indictment.

8.2.2 Abu Mus'ab al-Suri – The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance

This manual, written by al-Suri, was published on multiple jihadist websites in late 2004. It was written while being on the run. Al-Suri was indicted by Spain together 34 members of a Madrid Al Qaeda cell for their role in 9/11 attacks, and was put on the Most Wanted Terrorist list by the US Department of State in November 2004, offering a US$5 million reward for information about his whereabouts. After the alleged falling out with Al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden, al-Suri showed his scathing criticism towards Bin Laden and his treatment of the Taliban in Afghanistan. He was also highly critical of the strategies of Al Qaeda and denounced some of the Al Qaeda attacks, especially against U.S. targets (Cruickshank & Hage Ali, 2007, p. 6). This is also shown in the manual itself with al-Suri mentioning the "pre-September" world in many occasions,

highlighting the change that the world, and also Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups went through. Al-Suri wrote for example:

"As I summarized in the table above, this school led to complete failure on all levels. (...) These are some of the glaring examples before us, and there are others. If we did not take a warning from these, we can blame nobody but ourselves when 80% of our forces were eliminated in the repercussions of September 11th during two years only! In order for us to realize that our 'Tora Bora-mentality' has to end." (al-Suri, The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance (English translation of key excerpts), 2004, p. 12)

Interestingly enough, The idea of this manual is to provide a blueprint for a newly transformed Al Qaeda organization. This also showed the purpose and public of this manual. This manual was not specifically meant to be kept within the Al Qaeda organization. By publishing this manual on popular Jihadist websites, al-Suri wanted to gain a following for his 'Al Qaeda 2.0'. His public therefore also shifted when compared to the previously mentioned Al Qaeda manual, from Al Qaeda fighters to a larger jihadist public.

8.2.3 Abu Bakr Naji – The Management of Savagery

The Management of Savagery, written by Abu Bakr Naji, was published in the spring of 2004 and widely published on online jihadist websites. The manual was written in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. In the manual, Naji focuses often on the United States, with the aim of destroying the respect and morale of the US Army (Naji, 2006, pp. 24-25). He also states that the US has "reached a stage of effeminacy which made them unable to sustain battles for a long period of time and they compensate for this with a deceptive media halo" (Naji, 2006, p. 23). As mentioned before, 2004 was an eventful year for Al Qaeda and this manual definitely contributed to this.

An interesting fact is that there were two major Al Qaeda publications published shortly after each other in 2004, an eventful year for Al Qaeda with multiple large attacks[9]. Even though the influence of the manual on Al Qaeda turned out to be quite limited, the influence this manual had on ISIS was much larger, whom used The Management of Savagery as one of their key strategic documents, while Al Qaeda focused more on the manual written by al-Suri.

[9] In 2004 there were two major attacks, the Madrid train bombing and the Khobar Massacre in Saudi Arabia, both with many casualties, 192 and 22 respectively.

8.2.4. Abu al-Faruq al-Masri - Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State

This 24-page manual was written by al-Masri in 2014, a time where the Islamic State went through multiple changes. ISIS proclaimed itself as a worldwide caliphate in June 2014 (Malik, 2015, para. 5), and this manual corresponds to the goals laid out by ISIS when they declared themselves the Islamic Caliphate. This manual discusses the state-building aspirations that ISIS has, and how they want to acquire these ambitions.

The document was meant for internal use, and was only publicized after it had been leaked on the internet. Shortly after, English translations were created and also published online. The fact that this was an internal document shows the public and purpose of the manual. This document was written as a foundation for cadre members of the ISIS organization, in order to train them in the new ways of ISIS.

Chapter 9 – How have the manuals been distributed, and were they translated?

The focus of this chapter is on the distribution of the manual, and if they were translated or not. In many cases, little information can be found about the distribution of the manuals, and assumptions need to be made based on the information that is available. As expected, most manuals have been written in the mother tongue of the authors, with translations being done by scholars whose aim it was to study the manuals.

9.1. Classical Guerrilla Manuals

9.1.1. Mao Tse-Tung – On Guerrilla Warfare

Mao's manual On Guerrilla Warfare was published in 1937. The manual was used as a propaganda tool for the Communist Party of China. Even though the literacy rate in China was low in those years[10], the pamphlet was distributed widely in China for 10 cents a copy (Tse-Tung, 1961, p. 37).

The manual was written in Chinese, and therefore it is not likely to have been distributed outside of China. Nonetheless, the manual proved to be one of the most influential documents about guerrilla warfare, which led to many publications afterwards. The original manual was translated by Samuel B. Griffith, and is still being published as of today, in many different languages.

9.1.2. Võ Nguyên Giáp – People's War, People's Army

The manual People's War, People's Army was published in 1959 for the 55th anniversary of the Vietnam's People's Army as an article. Not much is known about where and how it was distributed when it was released. It is likely that it was publish as part of the North Vietnamese propaganda, because of the celebration of the establishment of the Vietnamese People's Army and the depiction of the military successes, like the victory at Điện Biên Phủ.

First publish in Vietnamese, the manual was later translated in English in 1961, by the Foreign Languages Publishing House. Currently, the manual written by Giáp is still being published, as part of other articles written by Giáp, in most of the major languages.

[10] Actual figures are unknown, but Unesco estimated that the 85-90% of the Chinese population was illiterate in the early 20th century (Ross, 2006)

9.1.3. Ernesto 'Ché' Guevara – Guerrilla Warfare

Guevara's Guerrilla Warfare, written in 1960, is arguably the most well-known manual that is discussed in this thesis. Not necessarily due to its prowess with regards to the guerrilla tactics, but definitely because of the status of Guevara himself. Because of this popularity, Guevara's book has been widely distributed, in both English and Spanish.

9.1.4. Carlos Marighella – Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla was written by Carlos Marighella in 1969. It was published in Brazil in Portuguese. Marighella had the wish the people would not just "read this minimanual here and now, but to circulate its contents. This circulation will be possible if those who agree with its ideas make mimeographed copies or print it in a booklet, (although in this latter case, armed struggle itself will be necessary)." Marighella relied therefore heavily on his left-wing sympathisers to spread the word about this manual, in addition to circulation the manual among those people. The manual was originally written in Portuguese, but has also been translated into English, and is still being published.

9.2. Contemporary Terrorist Manuals

9.2.1. Al Qaeda – Declaration of Jihad – 'Manchester Manual'

The Manchester Manual was an internal document from Al Qaeda. It was not officially publicized and only came to the public knowledge after it was captured in a raid in 2000. The manual was written in Arabic and was later translated by the U.S. Government. It was then shared publicly on the internet, albeit partially.

9.2.2. Abu Mus'ab al-Suri – The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance

This 1604-page manual was spread widely on jihadist websites in late 2004. Most of these jihadist websites were password protected forums, which limited the distribution to the open public. As mentioned before, the focus of this manual was on jihadist sympathisers and this supports this claim.

The manual has been written in Arabic and there are no official translations available on the internet. However, there are some translations of summaries of the texts, which include the key parts, according to the translators, of the large manual.

9.2.3. Abu Bakr Naji – The Management of Savagery

The Management of Savagery was published online in 2004, especially on jihadist websites (likely similar to the ones where the previously mentioned manual was posted). It quickly spread amongst several news agencies who all reported the manual in the fall of 2004, before the English translation was publicly available.

Stated before, the manual was written in Arabic and since the public of the manual were jihadist sympathisers, it is quite logical. The manual was translated to English by the academic William McCants two years later, in 2006.

9.2.4. Abu al-Faruq al-Masri - Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State

Similar to the previously mentioned manuals, this document was written in Arabic. The manual was supposed to be kept as an internal document within the ISIS organization, distribution was therefore limited, and it was certainly not the goal to publicize this manual on a larger scale.

There are no known official translations, apart from the ones made after the document was leaked. This is supported by the fact that this manual was meant to be an internal document for jihadist sympathisers, whom all are expected to be able to read Arabic.

Chapter 10 – What strategical recommendations are given in the manuals?

This chapter focuses in the strategical recommendations made in the manuals. These recommendations are an important part of warfare and it is therefore an important factor in comparing these manuals with each other. The recommendations mentioned here are higher level strategical and organizational recommendations. They are different from the tactical level. Guevara stated this as follows: "Tactics are the practical methods of achieving the grand strategic objectives" (Guevara, 1961, p. 7). This chapter will not look that deeply into information that is based on the tactical level, but that the focus is more on the recommendations made on a higher strategical level.

10.1. Classical Guerrilla Manuals

10.1.1. Mao Tse-Tung – On Guerrilla Warfare

The manual written by Mao is very comprehensive. It has many strategic and tactical recommendations. The most important ones will be mentioned below.

. Mao beliefs that guerrilla warfare alone is not the answer to a victory against the invading Japanese army. According to Mao, guerrilla operations are just "one step in the total war, one aspect of the revolutionary struggle" (Tse-Tung, 1961, p. 47). Guerrilla warfare needs to be combined with a national policy, as "without a political goal, guerrilla warfare must fail" (1961, p. 49).

The most important strategy recommendation of Mao is the three-phased approach. The first phase of Mao's strategy is the organizational phase, "which is devoted to organization, consolidation, and preservation of regional base areas situated in isolated and difficult terrain." (Tse-Tung, 1961, p. 27). The second phase is the phase of mobile warfare. In this stage, the guerrilla army starts to cooperate with the regular army in order to slowly take back initiative from the Japanese. By combining guerrilla forces with regular forces, a quick and mobile army can be used in order to take back territory that was seized by the invading army. The third phase is a closer resemblance of a conventional war, making use of "mobile and positional methods" (1961, p. 63). In this phase, the guerrilla forces and the regular army have taken back parts of their land and garnered a large enough support to conduct a large counterattack against the invading army.

According to Mao, China was “a weak country of a vast size” and it needed a protracted war strategy, supported by guerrilla operations, in order to be able to expel the invading army of Japan (Tse-Tung, 1961, p. 94). Mao believed that the Japanese military power was inadequate to be able to conquer China, due to the massive size China. The result of this was that the territory that Japan had taken was insufficiently garrisoned with troops. Mao wanted to make use of this by using the guerrilla for three major functions. Firstly, Mao wanted the guerrilla to “conduct a war on exterior lines, in the rear of the enemy” (1961, pp. 94-95). Secondly, Mao wanted to establish bases for the guerrilla army. Lastly, Mao believed that the war needed to be extended as far and long as possible. Extended has a two-fold meaning here, firstly it is about a time period, the longer it takes the Japanese to conquer China, the more difficult it will get for Japan in terms of equipment, personnel and public support from its home country. Secondly, extending the war areas in terms of land. By spreading out the war area, the Japanese forces also have to spread out which puts them at a disadvantage (Tse-Tung, 1961, pp. 72-74).

10.1.2. Võ Nguyên Giáp – People’s War, People’s Army

Giáp’s manual makes us of and builds upon the ideas of Mao. This is quite understandable because they both fought a similar type of guerrilla war in a largely feudal society in the rural areas of the country. Mao and Giáp both call it a ‘People’s War’.

Giáp beliefs that the strategy for a guerrilla war should be focused on a long-term war. In most cases, the enemy is stronger, and needs to be worn out in order to turn the balance of forces gradually in favour of the revolution. Giáp uses a similar three phased approach as Mao did. He states that a guerrilla war needs to include multiple stages: the stage of contention, the state of equilibrium, and the stage of counter-offensive. Firstly, the unrest must grow among the people in order to recruit guerrilla fighters, secondly, preparations need to be made to develop the war potential, and finally attacks needs to launched as part of the counter-offensive (Giáp, 1961, p. 20), for example like the attack on the French at Điện Biên Phủ.

10.1.3. Ernesto ‘Ché’ Guevara – Guerrilla Warfare

Guevara believes that strategy in “guerrilla terminology, … is understood as the analysis of the objectives to be achieved in the light of the total military situation and the overall ways of reaching these objectives” (Guevara, 1961, p. 5). It is important to first establish the goals of the guerrilla, and to study the enemy in order to come up with a strategy for the guerrilla. Interesting

with regards to the strategy part covered by Guevara is that he puts a large emphasis on preparation before committing to a strategy for the guerrilla war. This is significantly different compared to the previously mentioned manuals.

With regards to the military strategy, Guevara explains that "the essential task of the guerrilla fighter is to keep himself from being destroyed" (Guevara, 1961, p. 6). He beliefs that the way to do this is to flee and escape from the attacking forces, until they have taken up positions that are in accessible for the attacking forces, or to a place where the guerrillas can assemble forces who can defend against the attacking forces. The guerrilla band should then start to gradually weaken the enemy (1961, p. 7). The counter attacks should start from the front lines, and in later stages be moved deeper into the territory of the enemy. These attacks should be continuous. "the enemy soldier in a zone of operations ought not to be allowed to sleep; his outposts ought to be attacked and liquidated systematically. At every moment, the impression ought to be created that he is surrounded by a complete circle" (1961, p. 7).

Mobility is the most essential characteristic for a guerrilla band, according to Guevara. It is important for a guerrilla group to attack quickly, and then leave the area in a matter of minutes (Guevara, 1961, p. 8). In addition to mobility, another important characteristic for the guerrilla band is flexibility. In guerrilla war, situations change rapidly and guerrilla fighters need to possess the ability to adapt himself to all circumstances.

An important aspect of the guerrilla strategy of Guevara is the treatment of the public and enemy soldiers. He beliefs that it is important to respect the "rules and traditions of the people of the zone, in order to demonstrate effectively, with deeds, the moral superiority of the guerrilla fighter over the oppressing soldier" (Guevara, 1961, p. 10). This means that wounded people should be taken care of, survivors ought to be set free, and there should be execution of justice without giving the perpetrator a chance to clear himself.

10.1.4. Carlos Marighella – Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla is a manual that focuses more on the individual guerrilla compared to the previously mentioned manuals. It discusses logistics, preferable character traits of a guerrilla fighter, what weapons he or she needs to use and other topics that are relevant for an individual guerrilla fighter. Higher strategic recommendations are not mentioned in this manual.

The strategic recommendations that Marighella does make are quite similar to the ones mentioned by Mao and Guevara, just a lot less depth. According to Marighella, guerrilla warfare is an aggressive and offensive tactic. It is not a defensive tactic, as this would result in a quick loss due to the limited number of forces and the lack of superiority. Therefore, a guerrilla needs to be aggressive by conducting concentrated attacks. These attacks need to be quick and decisive, followed by a "rapid withdrawal, by which we preserve our forces" (Marighella, 1969, p. 13). Finally, Marighella distinguishes his manual by stating that the guerrilla tactics are aimed at the urban environment to "wear out, demoralize and distract the enemy forces, permitting the emergence and survival of rural guerrilla warfare, which is destined to play the decisive role in the revolutionary war" (Marighella, 1969, p. 13).

10.2. Contemporary Terrorist Manuals

10.2.1. Al Qaeda – Declaration of Jihad – 'Manchester manual'

The Declaration of Jihad is comparable with the Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla in terms of its structure. It is more of an individual training manual than a higher level strategical documents. The manual provides information for the individual jihadi, detailing information about setting up meetings with informants, finding a safe house, interrogating a hostage, and how to conduct yourself when you are in prison and during a court case.

What little is mentioned about strategy is about setting goals as a military organization. It is important to set long-term goals, and to combine this with short-term goals that work toward the long-term goal. Another important part of the manual is information. The manual states that it is of the utmost importance to gain as much information as possible, through open source information, through espionage, and through interrogation of persons of interest either as volunteers or through other motives.

10.2.2. Abu Mus'ab al-Suri – The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance

The manual The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance is a manual of 1600-pages. A few chapters in this manual are dedicated to strategy and tactics for the Global Islamic Resistance. These strategic recommendations are very detailed, and will be discussed here, in lesser detail due to extensive nature of the recommendations. In addition to the strategic recommendations, the manual discusses the structural organization of the brigades that al-Suri feels are needed in the Global Islamic Resistance and how they should be trained.

The strategic recommendations in this manual have two main categories: (1) the Open Front Jihad and (2) the Individual Terrorism Jihad. Open Front Jihad is present where the Global Islamic Resistance is fighting a direct war against their enemy. These front-line battles are important because they occupy the enemy's army in a direct battle against the Global Islamic Resistance. For this type of fighting, there are no specific strategic recommendations. The battle on the front lines is led by the battlefield commander under the banner of the Islamic Resistance.

The Individual Terrorism Jihad is different from this, as it does not operate along the front lines. This type of jihad makes use of spontaneous attacks in areas where there is no front line, such as on American territory. They are not part of a programme but originate from an individual

act. In this manual, al-Suri names the main areas of operation for the 'Individual Terrorism Jihad'. Al-Suri lists seven areas of operations, listed in order of importance.

1 – The countries on the Arab Peninsula, the Levant, Egypt, and Iraq:

2 – The countries of North Africa from Libya to Mauritania:

3 – Turkey, Pakistan, and the countries of Central Asia:

4 – The Rest of the Islamic world:

5 – The American and Allied interests in third world countries:

6 – In European countries allied with America and participating with her in the war: (…)

7 – In the heart of America herself, by targeting her with effective strategic operations (al-Suri, 2004, p. 12)

In addition to the list of important areas of operations, al-Suri also provides a list of important targets in those areas: focusing on missionary activity, economic targets, diplomatic and military targets and many more. "In short... Targeting all kinds of material and human presence of the Americans and their allies in our countries is the basic arena for the Resistance" (al-Suri, The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance (English translation of key excerpts), 2004, pp. 13-14). Al-Suri believes that these types of targets have the largest impact, when attacked.

One of the strategies mentioned in this manual is the "strategy of deterring with terrorism" (al-Suri, 2004, p. 17). This strategy makes use of retaliatory attacks when states apprehend a Mujahid, and detains, tortures or kills him. According to al-Suri, these states should "immediately receive a deterrence operation carried out by any Muslim or Resistance Brigade able to perform this religious duty" (2004, p. 17). He continues by stating that "The basic idea is that any operation which kills civilians or harms faithful Muslims, or any action performed by troops of the country at war... should be met with an equally deterring action" (al-Suri, 2004, p. 17).

10.2.3. Abu Bakr Naji – The Management of Savagery

In The Management of Savagery, Naji explain the stage that the Ummah[11] has to pass through in order to realise their goal of creating an Islamic state. He believes that this stage is the most critical stage in achieving this goal. The Management of Savagery explains how to destroy unstable Muslim regimes and the western armies that are present in those countries, so that these regimes

[11] The word Ummah refers to the worldwide Islamic community

fall into a state of ‘savagery’ or ‘barbarism’. When this is achieved, the Ummah can start to rebuild these countries under the banner of an Islamic Caliphate (Naji, 2006, p. 144).

Naji is under no illusion that the jihadists can win a direct confrontation with the United States army. He acknowledges their power and poses an alternative strategy, similar to the one used in Vietnam against the U.S. Army. By conducting smaller attacks, and aiming for a short-term victory, the propaganda tool can be used to demoralize the U.S. and strengthen the support for the jihadists in the long-term. This should be combined with a media strategy that focusses on two classes. Firstly, this media strategy should focus on the masses, so that people will join the jihad, support the jihad, and grow an increased hatred against the people who do not support the jihad. Secondly, the media strategy should focus on the “troops of the enemy who have lower salaries, in order to push them to join the ranks of the mujahids or at least to flee from the service of the enemy” (Naji, 2006, pp. 50-51).

In order to be victorious against the U.S. forces in the Middle-East, Naji follows the ideas of the classical manuals, stretching the battlefield to exhaust the enemy. By stretching out the field of battle, the enemy, in this case the U.S., has to spread out as well (Naji, 2006, pp. 195-196). The goal of stretching the field of battle is for the U.S. to suffer from overreaching, a term posed by Paul Kennedy, who stated that “if America expands the use of its military power and strategically extends more than necessary, this will lead to its downfall” (2006, p. 18). This makes it harder for the U.S. army to control the larger area and will cost more money, resources and manpower.

An important part of the strategy mentioned by Naji is violence. He states that jihad “is naught but violence, crudeness, terrorism, frightening (others), and massacring” (Naji, 2006, p. 72). Violence is important; the jihad cannot continue with softness. One of the tactics that Naji mentions with regards to violence is the tactic of ‘Paying the Price’. This means that when an enemy attacks a city or area that is occupied by the jihad, there should be a quick and strong reaction. The goal of this tactic is to make the enemy think ‘a thousand times’ before attacking, because he knows that he will have to ‘pay the price’. The response mentioned here, does not have to shortly after the enemy attacked a city, there could be years between that attack and the response. Furthermore, the response does not have to be directed at the located where the original attack took place. By responding with an attack in a place far away from the original attack, the enemy will be embarrassed and “will not find a good arena in which to respond” (Naji, 2006, p. 78). This will

also increase the support for the jihad, because the followers of the jihad will see that the Ummah is not limited by borders.

10.2.4. Abu al-Faruq al-Masri - Principles in the Administration of the Islamic State

As mentioned in chapter 7, This manual is less of a strategic document but more an organizational document about the structure of Islamic State, including blueprints for the organization, training camps and the methods used in those camps.

Al-Masri does say something about the strategy in regards to the efforts of working together with Al Qaeda. He states that there is a lack of leadership within Al Qaeda because they did not want to join with Islamic State in order to found the Islamic Caliphate that they both want to create. This shows that there is little to no cooperation between Al Qaeda and Islamic state, even though they both want a similar goal, albeit on different terms.

Al-Masri also points out that the Shia militias in Syria joined together with the Assad forces in order to fight against the Sunnis and their Islamic uprising. According to al-Masri, this led to a surge of people joining the Mujahedeen, which was very positive for ISIS.

Chapter 11 – In what way are the Classical Guerrilla Manuals mentioned in Contemporary Terrorist Doctrines?

The purpose of this chapters is to find out if the classical guerrilla manuals are mentioned in the contemporary terrorist manuals, not only in the writings, but also in the underlying strategies. Guerrilla manuals have been widely circulated and have proven to be a source of information for subsequent insurgencies and terrorist campaigns. For most of the manuals of the 20th century, the ones written by Mao Tse-Tung and Guevara seem to be the starting points. Giáp and Marighella used and adapted the ideas of Mao and Guevara respectively, incorporating them in their own guerrilla strategy. The aim now is to find out if the contemporary terrorist manuals mention the classical guerrilla manuals in their manuals.

The structure of this chapter will be different from the previous ones, as we will now look at the manuals through their respective organization. The reason for this, is that the classical manuals have their overarching theory and the contemporary manuals are written by both Al Qaeda and ISIS. Classical manuals will be categorized in two groups, the Maoist manuals, consisting of the manuals of Mao and Giáp, and the Focoist manuals, consisting out of the manuals of Guevara and Marighella. The contemporary manuals can also be categorized in two groups, Al Qaeda, using the manuals from Al Qaeda (Manchester manual) and al-Suri, and ISIS, using the manuals from Naji and al-Masri. This will be useful in this chapter because at first glance, it would appear that both Al Qaeda and ISIS use a framework that shows substantial resemblance with the Maoist and Focoist schools of revolutionary thought. “Al-Qaeda exhibits a revolutionary strategy that is both implicitly and explicitly based on the works of Mao Tse-Tung, while the Islamic State’s approach is more consonant with the Focoist writings of Ernesto “Ché” Guevara and Régis Debray.” (Gartenstein-Ross, Barr, & Morgeng, 2016). The juxtaposition of Maoist versus Focoist models of revolutionary warfare is useful in placing the groups in a broader context with regards to revolutionary warfare and may help in better understand their ideas and beliefs. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that both groups are not adhering to a perfect Maoist of Focoist approach. This categorization will be a useful tool for comparing these groups’ differing strategies.

While the four guerrilla leaders mentioned earlier produced manuals in which they explained their ideas and beliefs, Al Qaeda does not have a clear equivalent manual that outlines their strategy in such a determining way as the classical guerrilla manuals mentioned in this thesis. Even though

Mao, Giáp, Guevara and Marighella all wrote other works and articles, their manuals can be seen as their most important work with regards to guerrilla warfare. For Al Qaeda and Islamic State, this is not such a clear-cut case. The writers of the manuals that this thesis uses, are important figures, but are not the most well-known leaders of their organization. Furthermore, the classical manuals are the leading manuals for their organization, and this is not the case for the contemporary terrorist manuals. There are thousands of documents and letters written by members of Al Qaeda and ISIS discovered over time by intelligence services[12]. While some of these documents do provide some limited strategic information that could have been relevant for this thesis, the vast amount of data, and the difficulty in accessing this information makes it impossible to read and analyse them in the available time. Furthermore, most of these documents are short, and will only give information on a certain topic, while the classical manuals are more comprehensive in their work.

[12] Many of these documents are published on the website of the U.S. National intelligence agency, titled 'Bin Laden's Bookshelf. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/resources/bin-laden-bookshelf

11.1. Al Qaeda

It is believed that Al Qaeda strategists adopted many of the tactics and strategies laid out in manuals written by the likes of Mao, Giáp, Marighella and Guevara. This section will aim to prove this statement by analysing the writings and strategies of Al Qaeda and comparing them to the ideas of the four classical guerrilla leaders that this thesis deals with.

When looking at the documents that are used by Al Qaeda for training purposes, one can see that the ideas use by Al Qaeda are not primarily taking Islam as a source of inspiration – contrary to what one might assume. Instead, there are many references to 20th century guerrilla manuals written by Mao, Giáp, Guevara and even Marighella. Here it becomes evident that Al Qaeda relies less on religious arguments but more on a secular military tactics to determine its actions (Ryan, 2013, para. 4).

Interestingly enough, the second manual, the Call for a Global Islamic Resistance did not have a single reference to other writers, neither any of the classical guerrilla manuals nor other jihadist writers. Therefore, this mention will not be mentioned below, since it does not provide any other insights than this chapter was looking for.

11.1.1. Writings

One of the most influential publications by Al Qaeda thinkers is *The Management of Savagery*, written by Abu Bakr Naji. In his online treatise, published in 2004 and widely regarded as an Al Qaeda handbook, Naji provided a strategy which Al Qaeda could use to create an Islamic caliphate. In this manual, Naji directly states that in order to study the military principles and theories and the art of warfare one should read "general books on the art of war, especially guerrilla wars" (Naji, 2006, p. 70). In addition to the books on guerrilla wars, Naji refers to the writings of Abu Ubayd al-Qurashi, who is largely influenced by Mao.

An additional link between the writings of Mao and the strategy of Al Qaeda can be found in the writings of prolific Al Qaeda writer Abu Ubayd al-Qurashi. Not much is known about him, and his name is likely to be a pseudonym for a bin Laden advisor (McCants, 2007). In his articles, often written in the jihadi *Al-Ansar* magazine, al-Qurashi mentions sources like Clausewitz, Mao, Giáp, Guevara, Marighella and Taber (particularly visible in the footnotes of his articles). One example of an idea in which Mao, along with Clausewitz, is cited is the belief that political discipline is an important tool to keep coherence between the different groups, much like Mao

stressed as well. In addition, just as Mao mentioned, al-Qurashi believes that a guerrilla war is only successful when it is supported by a political belief system, in this case support of the people and a political system similar to that of Mao's communist party. In a later part of his writings, al-Qurashi introduces the example of rural revolutionary forces, along the ideas of Guevara and Regis Debray, and the need for the existence of guerrilla forces in cities, similar to the ideas of Marighella. Furthermore, al-Qurashi believes that the fighters in the guerrilla war should receive their political and military authority from one single source of authority – the leader. In the case of Guevara, this was Fidel Castro. For Al-Qaeda, this was Osama Bin Laden, who was the charismatic leader of Al-Qaeda (Ryan, 2013, p. 88). It is worth noting that al-Qurashi translated some of the writings of Giáp with his ideas about the use of guerrilla warfare in Vietnam against the US into Arabic (Ryan, What Al-Qaeda learned from Mao, 2013, para. 12). The victory of the weaker Vietnamese armed forces, against a more powerful US army is seen as an example of how the war against the 'Western invaders' can be won. In particular, the tactic of the weaker side hiding amongst the masses in order to keep the enemy from attacking, is viewed by al-Qurashi as a very good tactic. The difference in morality between terrorist tactics and those binding Western armies constrained by the laws of war gives Al Qaeda an advantage. Western armies have to adhere to the Geneva conventions of humanitarian law and cannot legally attack civilian people in attempts to destroy terrorist groups.

During the US raid of Kabul in the early 2000s, a laptop and desktop computer were found, belonging to an Al Qaeda military chief. From this computer, thousands of documents were retrieved, some dating back to 1997. These documents consisted of working papers, letters, checklists and other unpublished writings. One of the documents was an "untitled treatise on guerrilla warfare" (Ryan, 2015, p. 18). After close examination of this document, it became clear that there were many Arabic sentences which were direct quotes from the book *'The War of the Flea'*, written by Robert Taber in 1965 – a book by a counter-insurgency specialist who had tried to synthesize the essence of the works of Mao, Guevara and Giáp (Taber, 1965). The manuscript found in Kabul listed no author and it was long unclear who was the writer of this important Al Qaeda document. Only much later it became clear that it was an Al Qaeda strategist and trainer, by the name of Abu Mus'ab al-Suri.

In the Al Qaeda magazine 'Inspire', al-Suri had written that it is important when fighting a jihad, to study the principles of guerrilla warfare and that these lessons should be taken from "the

greatest theoreticians in military art, for example, Mao Tse-Tung, Guevara, Giáp and Castro... and others." (al-Suri, The Jihadi Experiences: The Military Theory of Open Fronts, 2010, p. 33). In other publications, al-Suri stated that one of the most important books on guerrilla warfare was Taber's book, *The War of the Flea*. The title of this book, and much of its content are linked to Mao's guerrilla strategy. The title of the book refers to Mao's analogy of guerrilla warfare with a flea harassing a dog. Mao said that guerrilla warfare is like the weak flea fighting against a powerful dog. The flea first starts to irritate and agitate the dog until the dog starts to bite himself. Unable to kill the flea, and with the quick multiplication of the fleas, the dog is further weakened and eventually dies. The use of this analogy by Taber, and the use of Taber by al-Suri shows an indirect link of Al-Qaeda's strategy with Mao's manual. This is supported by the fact that Abdel Aziz al-Muqrin, a trainer of Al-Qaeda forces and later leader of Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia, used ideas of Taber, originating from Mao, in his book *A Practical Course for Guerrilla War'* (Ryan, Decoding Al-Qaeda's Strategy, 2013, pp. 128, 132). Another part of Mao's writings can be directly linked to letters exchanged between AQ leaders. In a letter sent by Atiyah Abd al-Rahman, Al Qaeda's head of regions, to Nasir al-Wuhaysi, the emir of AQAP and former secretary of bin Laden, al-Rahman stated that "the people's support to the mujahedin is as important as the water for fish" (Rassler, Koehler-Derrick, Collins, al-Obaidi, & Lahoud, 2012, p. 125), which can be seen as direct reference to a famous adage of Mao, stating that "the guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea" (Griffith, 1961, p. 8). This shows that Mao was a direct influence for these Al Qaeda leaders.

11.1.2. Strategy

When looking at the strategy of Al Qaeda, it becomes clear that Bin Laden's organisation first used a Maoist approach to revolutionary war. Al Qaeda and its affiliates later changed their approach after the outbreak of the Arab spring in 2011 The new approach focused largely on maintaining and further expanding the political support that the group already enjoyed. In some cases, fighters from Al-Qaeda were engaging in open warfare, but the warfare was relatively restraint (compared to their previous approach and the approach of Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)) and not primarily targeting the civilian population (Gartenstein-Ross, Barr, & Morgeng, 2016). This new strategy, used by the Al Qaeda organization (except Al Qaeda in Iraq), of decreasing the use of mass violence in order to maintain and expand political support, follows some ideas of the Maoist theory. By limiting the use of extreme violence, or at least the public knowledge of this,

exposure to counterinsurgents would be limited, which would give Al Qaeda some breathing space to pursue their new strategy.

The strategy that Naji proposed in 2004 in this publication is closely related to Mao's three phase theory of a guerrilla war. To recall: Naji believes that the first phase of the Islamic insurgency is used to create or exploit certain 'regions of savagery' through violent actions in which the central authority, or state control, is destroyed under the weight of the damage and exhaustion caused by ongoing attacks. The second phase is to manage or govern the regions that were taken in the first phase. People are in need for authority because of the violent attacks and are desperate for security. When security is guaranteed, the insurgency's driving forces can take responsibility for the formation of a local government, while maintaining a certain level of violence in order to keep the people under control and to defend and further extend the 'region of savagery'. The final phase is used to form a proper governing body under the Salafist version of Islamic law (Niva, 2015, para 10). While the details of the phases are not the same as the phases that Mao laid out in his manual, generally speaking, the steps are quite similar: preparation and gathering support, keep building strength and momentum, and all-out war and the destruction of the enemy.

The new general strategy of Al Qaeda was not welcomed by some of its followers outside the AfPak region. In particular, Al Qaeda in Iraq did not agree with this softer and slower approach. A letter, sent by Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi to Osama Bin Laden in 2005, indicate an alternative strategy, where their aim was to introduce strict Sharia law in Iraq through acts of violence against the Shia dominated Iraqi government. In retaliation, the Iraqi government would engage in further acts of repression and slaughter Iraqi Sunnis who, because of this repression and violence against them, would be forced to fighting back and join the cause of Al Qaeda in Iraq, waging Jihad (Evans, 2010, para 3). The support that was gathered by these violent attacks against the Shia people in Iraq, was, in this theory, needed in order to be victorious in the revolutionary war in Iraq. This is very much along the lines of Focoist theories; waging a guerrilla war without the full support of the people, garnering support by violent attacks against the repressive governments. It is also in line with Marighella's strategy to provoke heavy regime repression against the people in order to gain new recruits from the suffering populace.

Whereas Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) conducted its strategy through a policy of relative 'restraint' (compared to its previous approach (before the Arab Spring) and compared

to Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), the new approach of Al Qaeda led to a discord between some Al Qaeda affiliates, since AQI did not adhere to the limited violence approach (Gartenstein-Ross, Barr, & Morgeng, 2016, p. 6). Because of the difference in ideology between AQAP and other affiliates and AQI, the eventual expulsion of AQI from the Al Qaeda organization occurred Since AQI was expelled from the Al Qaeda organization, it changed its name to Islamic State in Iraq (ISI), but its own, hyper-violent approach did not change. In April 2013, ISI merged with jihadist forces from Al Nushra in Syria under the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and became the 'Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant' (ISIL), and eventually, in the summer of 2014, when it declared the creation of a caliphate, into 'Islamic State' (IS) (BBC, 2015).

A counter-argument for the notion that Al Qaeda is following in the footsteps of classical insurgency theorists, is that due to technological advances, Al Qaeda has been able to expand its organization on a global scale by making clever use of the Internet. Because of the Internet, Al Qaeda has moved from a classical insurgency to a modern insurgency. This idea has been put forward by Kilcullen (2004). However, Rueschhoff (2008, p. 22) believes that this idea has been over-emphasized. He admits that there is indeed a large increase in Internet usage world-wide, however, he also notes that the countries which are most susceptible to Al Qaeda still have very low internet usage rates. Many of the countries susceptible, like countries in Africa, and Iraq and Afghanistan have user rates of below 10 per cent of the population (International Telecommuncations Union, 2014). Furthermore, people who have access to the Internet are often higher educated and wealthier citizens who are often less susceptible to the ideas and beliefs of Al Qaeda (Rueschhoff, 2008, p. 23).

11.2. Islamic State

The Islamic State and its Iraqi predecessors (AQI, ISIL) and Al Qaeda did not have a harmonious relationship since at least 2005 and eventually split over questions of strategy as IS favoured more aggressive methods. IS believed that the slower strategy of garnering public support was a sign of weakness. While Al Qaeda was tuning getting more moderate when it came to target selection – a tactical step to limit exposure against more massive counter-insurgency operation, IS went into the opposite direction. By constantly seeking the spotlight and promoting its victories (whether they were real or social media stunts), IS believed that it could persuade other Al Qaeda fighters to join the ranks of IS. The difference in strategy between Al Qaeda and Islamic state parallels with the difference in strategy between Maoist theory and Focoist theory. "The Islamic State has in many ways followed the Focoist model; it believes in the power of violence to forge the political opinions of the Muslim masses. The Islamic State views al-Qaeda's more deliberate approach as too slow. It appears happy to win today and lose tomorrow, as long as today's win creates a large enough subject for propaganda" (Gartenstein-Ross, Barr, & Morgeng, The Islamic State vs. Al-Qaeda: The War within the Jihadist Movement, 2016). A majority of support is not needed before starting with attacks against the enemy, just as Guevara proposed in his manual.

Similar to the manual written by al-Suri, the manual Principles in the administration of the Islamic state, written by al-Masri, makes no use of any citations of references to other manuals. Since there are also no real strategical recommendations in this manual, it limits this study in comparing this manual to the classical guerrilla manuals.

11.2.1. Writings

The strategy of Islamic State is largely based upon the writings of Abu Bakr Naji (Reardon, 2015). Even though this manual is regarded as an Al Qaeda manual, it proved to be of significant influence for ISIS. Naji provided a strategy by which Al Qaeda could create an Islamic caliphate. After the split of AQI with the Al Qaeda organization, AQI, then changed to ISIS, would adopt this strategy in its pursuit of an Islamic caliphate. As mentioned before, in the chapter about Al Qaeda, this book and its strategy is largely based on the ideas of Mao and his theory.

Whereas Al Qaeda affiliates have written many publications and exchanged letters on matters of strategy that have either been made public by themselves, or were captured in counterinsurgency operations, Islamic State has had far less public documents that lay out their strategy and ideology

(although more have been captured recently). Apart from propaganda statements and video's, their strategy is more one of deeds than of words. Nevertheless, the writings of Al-Suri indirectly influenced IS strategy. It is believed that Al-Suri was a great influence to al-Zarqawi and thus is also a major influence on the strategy and ideology of IS, since IS continued the violent approach that was initiated by al-Zarqawi during his time as emir of AQI (Gartenstein-Ross, Fritz, Moreng, & Barr, 2015, p. 7). Al-Zarqawi can be seen as the founding father of the current IS ideology. As previously mentioned, it can be said that al-Zarqawi was influenced by the Foco theory and started to use this tactic shortly before the split between AQI and Al Qaeda. This means that even though there is little to be found in the writings of IS that substantiates this claim, there is still a connection between the classical insurgency and the ideology of IS.

One other popular manual of Islamic State, not used for research purposes well-known 'manuals', is the guide '*How to Survive the West: A Mujahid guide*'. In this manual, that was spread via the popular social network Twitter, the authors give tips and tricks in order to stay hidden in the Western world, while being active for ISIS. The manual gives little information about strategies and ideologies, and focuses more on teaching the reader "how to be a secret Agent who lives a double life" (Islamic State, 2015, p. 7), using fake moustaches and glasses. For this reason, this manual is not considered valuable for the purpose of this study, and will not further be elaborated upon.

11.2.2 Strategy

When looking at the general strategy of the Islamic State, we can see that its leaders take a high-risk approach, with extreme violence to deal with its external enemies and repressive rule in the captured territories (Gartenstein-Ross, Fritz, Moreng, & Barr, 2015). This strategy is in some respect (though not others) quite similar to the Focoist theory and aims to use violence and attacks in order to get popular support young Muslims outside the territory directly controlled by the Caliphate. While Guevara opted to use this type of violence against governmental forces, Marighella believed that such violence also needed to be used against the population. Both aimed to inspire others to join their cause through that violence. Unlike the Maoist theory, where support in occupied areas was needed, before committing to such violence. Despite the shady reputation of the Focoist theory, with the many failures over the years, the Focoist theory seems to have some importance to IS both strategically as well as ideologically.

Another part of their strategy which seems quite similar to the ideas of Mao and Guevara is the emphasis on protracted war. Gaining time is important for IS in order to recruit forces and restore morale. An example of this can be found during the losses of major battles like in Kobane or Tikrit. After losing a significant battle, the narrative about IS invincibility weakened which could have significant consequences for recruitment of foreign fighters. In order to gain time and counter this political setback, IS moved forces to another front and drove Iraqi forces out of Ramadi (Ryan, 2015, p. 21). By using successful guerrilla tactics, such as suicide bombers, explosive trucks and small bands of guerrilla fighters, IS was able to rout a considerably stronger force with better equipment, just as Mao and Guevara had suggested in their manuals. It was more than likely that IS knew in advance that it would be unable to hold Ramadi for a long time due to its importance to the Iraqi government. Nonetheless, it changed the negative narrative about IS and gave them the breathing room it needed to rebuild morale and recruit new forces. - a tactic successfully used to prolong the war, similarly used by Mao and Guevara. IS also follows the general guerrilla tactics of attacking enemies when they are isolated or weak, and avoiding direct confrontations with stronger forces. When the enemy has a fortified position, like a city, IS will first use suicide bombers in the initial assault, to draw in the enemy and keep them occupied while attacking them with a small guerrilla forces in a later wave. Videos of such attacks have been published by IS, where they show trucks exploding, followed by small guerrilla units attacking (Ryan, 2015, p. 30). This tactic has been a successful guerrilla tactic for a long time, and was used by Mao, Guevara and other guerrilla leaders.

Apart from military strategy, there are also similarities between IS and classical insurgency theory in order parts of their strategy. According to Ryan, IS is known to use the writings of Al Qaeda strategists like Abu Bakr Naji's *'The Management of Savagery'* in order to educate and indoctrinate new recruits about the strategies and tactics favoured by the group (2015, pp. 28-29). The fact that Naji's writings were influenced by Mao and Guevara has already been mentioned. However, the fact that education and indoctrinating new followers is important to IS, shows that even current IS leaders are quite possibly influenced by Mao, since his is a similar idea as the one Mao put forward in his manual; the importance of educating and indoctrinating your followers in order to have them commit to your ideology.

PART IV – CONCLUSIONS, REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 12 – Conclusion

The problem statement of this thesis was to determine the following:

How do the classical manuals of Mao, Giáp, Guevara and Marighella compare with contemporary terrorist manuals?

In addition to the research question, there were sub-questions, used as part of the structured focused comparison. These will be answered in order to be able to answer the main research question.

1. *In what context and for what public is the manual written?*
2. *How have the manuals been distributed, and were they translated?*
3. *What strategical recommendations are given in the manuals?*
4. *Are the manuals quoting other authors or texts?*

12.1. Answering the sub-questions

12.1.1 In what context and for what public is the manual written?

When looking at the context of the manuals, it is evident that the manuals are all written from some point of weakness. While this is an obvious thought, because guerrilla warfare and terrorism are used in cases where there is a superior, it does provide a strong similarity in these manuals. All these manuals are written with the belief that a foreign power, or dictatorial government needed to be relieved of power, for the good of the people. Mao was fighting against the KMT and Japan, Giáp was fighting against South Vietnam and the United States, Guevara was fighting against the Cuban government and, albeit in a limited fashion, the United States. When looking at Al Qaeda and Islamic states, they were fighting the governments of Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan, while also fighting against foreign powers, like the United States. These cases are, of course, not 1 on 1 copies of each other. Nonetheless this does show a significant similarity between the manuals.

12.1.2. How have the manuals been distributed, and were they translated?

In many cases, the manual was distributed shortly before the conflict escalated. Mao distributed his manual to convince the CPC and the KMT to follow his tactics against the Japanese invasion. Giáp wrote his manual shortly before the invasion of the U.S. in Vietnam. Marighella wrote his

manual while fighting against the Brazilian government. The same can be said about the manuals from the Manchester Manual, which was found shortly before the September 2001 attacks, and the manual written by Abu Bakr Naji, which became a blueprint for ISIS, and al-Suri who provided a completely new blueprint for the Islamic resistance movement. The other manuals, written by Guevara and al-Masri were written in relative quiet period. Guevara wrote it after the victory in Cuba, and al-Masri published their documents in periods ISIS were not heavily engaged in fighting.

12.1.3. What strategical recommendations are given in the manuals?

When looking at the strategic recommendations of the manuals used in this thesis, there are four manuals that actually provided detailed strategic advice. These are the manuals from Mao and Guevara, and the ones written by al-Suri and Naji. The other documents provide little to no information about strategic recommendations.

A recurring factor in the strategic recommendation is the expansion of the war zones. Because of the superiority of the enemy's armies, it was important to have them cover as much ground as possible in order to exhaust the troops and diminish their resources. The advantage of guerrilla- and terrorist attacks is that a few troops can keep many enemy troops busy. This works well with the extended war zones.

The one area where the classical manuals differ immensely from the contemporary manuals is violence against citizens. The only classical manual that does not condemn violence towards the population is the manual written by Marighella, who beliefs that violence against the upper classes is allowed. The contemporary terrorist manuals use violence against civilians as a tactic in order to achieve their ultimate goal.

When one looks at the strategies and ideologies of both, it shows that there is a mix between the ideas of classical insurgency theorists. Ideas of Maoist theory, Focoist theory, and others are used, combined and adapted in order to become the most appropriate strategy, which in itself can change as well, as can be seen with the change in strategy of Al Qaeda during and after the Arab Spring. Generally speaking, Al Qaeda's ideology is more influenced by the Maoist theory, while Islamic State is more focused on the Focoist theory. However, it has to be said that there is a possibility that armed insurgent groups use these similar tactics because they of the logical reasoning behind them, as mentioned earlier. In other words, there is some sort of influence of the

classical guerrilla manuals on the contemporary guerrilla manuals with regards to their strategical recommendations, but it is difficult to measure how big this influence is.

12.1.4. Are the manuals quoting other authors or texts?

Both Al Qaeda and ISIS are quoting the writings of the classical guerrilla manuals, either directly or indirectly. It is apparent that these manuals provided a strong influence for revolutionary leaders of future uprising. Mao became one of the most well-known guerrilla writers and influenced the likes of Giáp and Guevara. They, in turn, influenced other writers, like Robert Taber, who's book 'The War of the Flea' has had a large influence on both Al Qaeda and ISIS.

12.2. Answering the Research Question

12.2.2 How do the classical manuals of Mao, Giáp, Guevara and Marighella compare with contemporary terrorist manuals?

To conclude, by using a structured focused comparison, and by using both primary and secondary sources, this thesis shows that the four classical guerrilla manuals, the ones written by Mao and Guevara in particular, show significant comparisons with the contemporary terrorist jihadism. The classical guerrilla manuals can be seen as a framework for the current strategies used by Al Qaeda and ISIS. Nevertheless, as expected, there are distinctive variances between the classical manuals and the contemporary strategies. Nonetheless, there are also many similarities between them, and in many cases, there are direct citations in the contemporary terrorist manuals to the classical guerrilla manuals. This shows that the authors of the contemporary manuals used the classical manuals in their research while writing their manuals. Apart from the direct citations, comparisons between the classical manuals and the contemporary manuals can be found in the strategies used in the manuals. When looking at the influences, Al Qaeda seems to be based more upon the Maoist theory, while Islamic State is operating more along the lines of the Focoist theory. Nonetheless, both groups interchange ideas of both, and other theories which better suit their ideas and beliefs. The fact that Mao's manual was written over 75 years ago, means that there are differences, especially in terms of changes of technology and communication. Nevertheless, the classical guerrilla manuals still show significant similarities with the contemporary terrorism manuals.

Chapter 13 – Reflections

No research is perfect and this study does not prove this wrong. The manuals used in this thesis show some significant differences in their content. Some of the manuals were comprehensive in their content, discussing both high level and lower level strategies and recommendations. Other manuals were focused on one aspect of guerrilla warfare or terrorism. This made it harder to compare them well with each other. Furthermore, the manuals discussed in this thesis, were written in a specific country during a specific course of events. From Mao with the Japanese invasion of Japan, to Giáp's success in stopping French and later American colonialists and imperialists in Vietnam, it is evident that these manuals were only (partially) useful for subsequent insurgency campaigns. To this day most leaders of armed insurrections have been unable to follow past blueprints to the letter as situations are different. Guevara can be seen as an example of this. He had a successful campaign together with Castro in Cuba, but later tried to use the same strategy in Bolivia, where it failed. This

A larger influence of the classical guerrilla manuals in Al Qaeda doctrines can be found compared to IS, which is explainable because of the amount of published works. More Al Qaeda documents have been published, making it easier to find references of the classical guerrilla writers. A reason for this can be found in the age of Al Qaeda and ISIS. Al Qaeda existed for a lot longer than ISIs and this is likely a reason for the larger number of published documents, increasing the search pool for finding a useful manual. It would be better if similar documents from both Al Qaeda and ISIS could have been used. That way, the comparison could have carried even more weight than it does in this study.

This study can also be improved if the author was able to read and understand the Arabic language. The classical guerrilla manuals have been translated through official channels and can be considered as properly translated. The contemporary terrorist manuals however, are not always translated by official institutions which could hinder the correctness of the translation. This was especially the case the manuals written by al-Suri and al-Masri.

Chapter 14 – Recommendations

When we look at the similarities that the manuals of Mao and Guevara have on the manuals of Al-Qaeda and, in lesser sense, ISIS, it is still valuable for the international communities learn from these classical insurgency theories. The fact that contemporary terrorism has become a global phenomenon does not mean that classical insurgency tactics are not being used anymore. Therefore, this thesis would recommend that the classical insurgency manuals remain a strong topic in counter-insurgency strategy and theory fields. They can still provide important insights, like for example the protracted war strategy, even though there are important differences between counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism and the hybrid form of irregular warfare we are facing today. Future research needs to be done, building further on this thesis, in order to show proper recommendations about what we can learn from this comparison between the classical guerrilla manuals and the contemporary terrorist manuals.

By looking at history, one can see that the track record of the Focoist theory is far less successful compared to the one of Maoist theory. Even though there have been fewer instances in which Maoism theory was applied, it can be said that the Maoist ideology is better thought out than the Focoist theory. If this is a correct conclusion, it could mean that the Islamic State is moving towards disaster, as in many instances in which the more aggressive Foco theory has been used. Al Qaeda, with its more protracted approach, along the lines of Mao, is more likely to be able to continue to fight for a longer period of time.

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