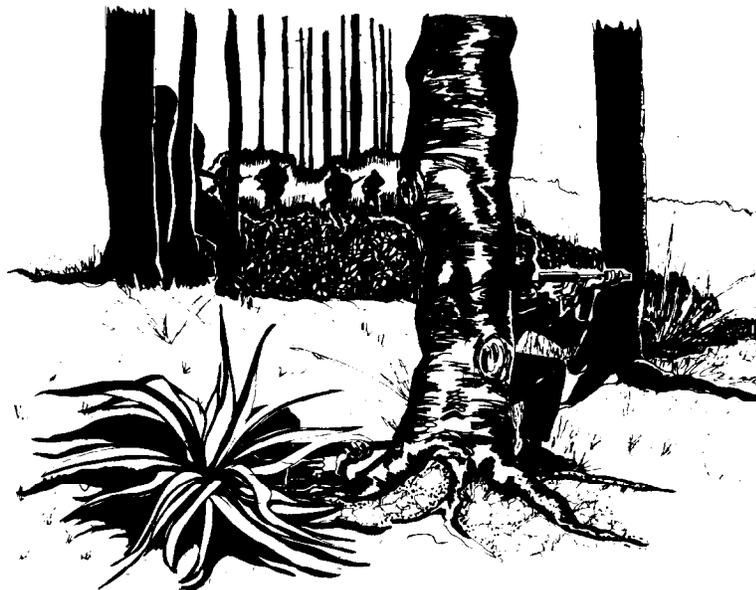


- Overt and covert organizations are established. If the insurgent party is illegal, the organizations may be entirely covert. If the party is legal, overt mass organizations may be established. A covert party organization will exist in either case.
- Psychological operations are conducted to exploit grievances and raised expectations, to influence the populace, and to promote the loyalty of insurgent members.
- The establishment of a shadow government begins.
- Once the party is established to the extent that it can expend effort beyond its own organization, it concentrates on gaining influence over the population; on infiltrating government, economic, and social organizations; and on challenging the government's administrative ability.
- Recruiting, organizing, and training of armed elements are emphasized during the latter part of this phase.
- Attacks on police forces, other terrorist activities, and some minor military operations are carried out to gain additional influence over the population, or provide arms for the movement, and to challenge the government's ability to maintain law and order.
- Groundwork is laid for extensive external materiel support which is essential in most cases for the expansion of the insurgency and its eventual success.



- Phase II (GUERRILLA WARFARE). This phase is reached when the subversive movement, having gained sufficient local or external support, initiates organized guerrilla warfare or related forms of violence against the