

The Role of Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations in Humanitarian Assistance Operations

Adam B. Siegel

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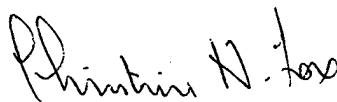
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13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) The Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) conducted a study to identify and analyze alternative ways the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) might consider to improve its ability to conduct Humanitarian Assistance Operations (HAOs). To achieve this objective, we (1) examined how the military has conducted HAOs in the past; (2) identified alternative ways the military can conduct these operations; and (3) assessed the relative costs of these alternatives in terms of changes in organization, education and training, doctrine and documentation, and equipment and supplies. The study was co-sponsored by the Marine Corps Combat Development Command (MCCDC) and I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF). This briefing discusses the role of Civilian Affairs (CA) and Psychological Operations (PSYOP) in HAOs, focusing on what this role means in terms of actual requirements. The briefing presents an overview of general U.S. CA and PSYOP capabilities. It discusses USMC CA and PSYOP capabilities and what these capabilities mean for the ability of the Marine Corps to conduct operations. It also suggests ways to integrate the capabilities of the other services with Marine Corps units to more effectively conduct operations.				
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The Role of Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations in Humanitarian Assistance Operations (HAOs)

by

Adam B. Siegel

The Center for Naval Analyses

The Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) conducted a study to identify and analyze alternative ways the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) might consider to improve its ability to conduct humanitarian assistance operations (HAOs). To achieve this objective, we (1) examined how the military has conducted HAOs in the past; (2) identified alternative ways the military can conduct these operations; and (3) assessed the relative costs of these alternatives in terms of changes in organization, education and training, doctrine and documentation, and equipment and supplies. This study was co-sponsored by the Marine Corps Combat Development Command (MCCDC) and I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF).

In some cases, meeting requirements does not necessarily imply that the Marine Corps needs to have a specific capability, but it may mean that USMC forces need to know which organization has the key capability and how to access this particular type of augmentation. In terms of specific U.S. military capabilities, the subject of this briefing may provide the preeminent example of a Marine Corps need to integrate outside capabilities to achieve mission success.

This briefing discusses the role of civil affairs (CA) and psychological operations (PSYOP) in HAOs, focusing on what this role means in terms of actual requirements. The briefing presents an overview of general U.S. CA and PSYOP capabilities. It discusses USMC CA and PSYOP capabilities and what these capabilities mean for the ability of the Marine Corps to conduct operations. It also suggests ways to integrate the capabilities of the other services with Marine Corps units to more effectively conduct operations.

Overview

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- ◆ Civil affairs and HAOs
- ◆ PSYOP and HAOs
- ◆ Where are the capabilities?
- ◆ USMC CA and PSYOP capabilities
- ◆ Some thoughts for the future

This briefing has five sections. The first briefly discusses the role of civil affairs, outlining CA activities and tasks, with a focus on how these might differ in an HAO compared to what might be expected in a “traditional” military operation. The second section provides a similar discussion of the role of psychological operations in HAOs. An overview of U.S. CA and PSYOP capabilities is next, followed by a discussion of Marine Corps capabilities and experience in CA and PSYOP. The briefing concludes with some ideas for the future—both for the military as a whole and, more specifically, for the Marine Corps.

Before embarking into the briefing, two subjects deserve brief consideration. The first is a definition of HAOs and the second concerns the reasons for combining CA and PSYOP in a single study.

What is meant by Humanitarian Assistance Operations?

This briefing examines the role of CA and PSYOP forces in a wide range of missions. For purposes of this briefing (and the overall study), the term humanitarian assistance operations (HAOs) is expanded to capture a variety in situations. The reasons why this study examined this broader set of missions were examined in an earlier report.¹ For this briefing, the term HAO is meant to encompass operations in which support to a distressed civilian population is a critical element of the operation. Although many of the concepts of this briefing might be applicable in a domestic support operation, this briefing focuses on operations outside the United States.

Recent examples of overseas HAOs involving Marines range from Provide Comfort (Turkey and Northern Iraq, 1991), Sea Angel (Bangladesh, 1991), GTMO (Haitian refugees in Guantanamo Bay, 1992–1993), Restore Hope (Somalia, 1992–1993), Continue Hope (Rwanda, 1994), and Uphold Democracy (Haiti, 1994–1995).

1. CNA Information Memorandum 334, *A Chronology of U.S. Marine Corps Humanitarian Assistance and Peace Operations*, by Adam B. Siegel, September 1994. For a discussion of types of POs and definitions, see Headquarters, Department of the Army, FM 100-23, *Peace Operations*, December 1994.

Why combine civil affairs and psychological operations?

Before proceeding with the briefing, let us examine the reason for combining these two activities in one study.

A key aspect of HAOs is that they will be—to a greater extent than so-called “traditional” missions (i.e., warfighting)—civil-military operations (CMOs). This means that interactions with civilians and civilian organizations are more important, at least relatively, than in what the military perceives to be the case in more traditional missions. Organizations the military will interact with range from “allies,” such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private voluntary organizations (PVOs) or other U.S. Government agencies; to “targets,” civilians requiring aid, such as distressed civilians following a major natural disaster. They can even include “threats,” such as criminals. CA and PSYOP units are the reservoir of much of the military’s expertise in dealing with civilians and civilian organizations. And, within the context of CMO, it is important to remember that CA and PSYOP are mutually supportive—the additive factor of integrated activity is greater than the sum of the parts.

CA and PSYOP forces have much in common. They are both leverage forces—with relatively low investments in terms of augmenting the force, they can achieve a lot. They are both CMO-oriented. They are both force multipliers. And the key requirement for both is trained personnel. In principle and in reality, CA and PSYOP are mutually supportive. With these factors in mind, we will now examine each in turn.

Civil affairs and HAOs

Civil affairs include a number of activities and a range of expertise. In general, CA deals with the relations between military forces and the civilian authority and/or general population in an area of military operations. CA is also a tool to help the military commander exploit the civil dimension—whether in traditional warfighting or in HAOs. CA is supportive in traditional military operations.

The role of civil affairs shifts greatly from traditional warfighting to HAOs. In a traditional mission, CA seeks to *minimize* the effect that (1) the civilian populace has on the military operation, and (2) the military operation has on the civilian populace. In an HAO, as in a post-conflict situation, CA personnel will seek, to *maximize* the effect on the civilian populace—in other words, how can CA personnel leverage limited resources (whether military, governmental, or non-governmental) to achieve the maximum positive result in the civilian community. In warfighting, CA is a necessary, but adjunct, element of the operation. In an HAO, CA is a (if not the) critical player and should be central to much of the planning and execution of operations.

In HAOs, CA personnel or units provide expertise to help redirect the military's warfighting capabilities to provide humanitarian assistance. For example, CA experts can identify problems in the civilian infrastructure for combat engineers to help solve. CA also specializes in dealing with other organizations, such as local governments or relief organizations. In some cases, CA may include military forces carrying out activities or functions that normally are the responsibility of local or indigenous governments, such as restoring, providing, and/or managing public utilities and public institutions.

Civil affairs

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- ◆ A command responsibility
- ◆ Relations between military forces and
 - Civilian authorities
 - General populace
- ◆ Not just in HAOs
- ◆ Major roles
 - Advice to commanders and staffs
 - Assessments
 - Advice to civilian organizations

Civil Affairs is a command responsibility.² It is the only major command responsibility in which commanders are not typically educated; CA is not an integral part of any war-college curriculum. Few commanders of major units in any of the services have CA training. As far as could be determined, for example, none of the commanders in Haiti in October 1994 had such training. However, because of the number of HAOs in recent years, far more officers have now had on-the-job experience—including the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (who commanded Provide Comfort in eastern Turkey and northern Iraq). Despite this experience, the general lack of CA education and training means that trained CA personnel (typically found in Civil Affairs units) play an important role in advising commanders and staffs on civil-military operations.

CA personnel can also help the commander coordinate activities with non-military organizations, whether U.S., international, local, private, or governmental. If there is a large enough CA presence, they can man the Civil Military Operations Center (CMOC) and other key nodes to provide the necessary interface between the military force and civilian organizations.

2. "Civil affairs is an inherent responsibility of the military commanders..." DOD Directive 2000.13, "Civil Affairs," 27 June 1994. See also discussion in "Civil Affairs: A Function of Command," *Special Warfare*, July 1995, pages 20–25.

CA personnel play a key role in assessing facilities, public services, and other needs of the civil sector at the outset of HAOs. These assessments—both quick-look, general surveys and detailed analyses by subject matter experts—can help guide the appropriate allocation of both military and civilian assets to address the most serious needs.

In some cases, CA personnel will provide direct advice to the local government or, in extreme cases, actually assume the role of running the society. The former might occur, for example, in a liberated area (e.g., Kuwait following Operation Desert Storm). The latter typically would occur in a post-conflict situation in conquered enemy territory. In many ways, this is similar to conditions that might be found in an operation in a failed state—for example, the status of Somalia during Operations Restore Hope and Maintain Hope. The balance between the requirement—under international law as well as practical necessity—to assume governance of occupied territories contrasts with the policy-makers' and military leadership's hesitancy to assume responsibilities for governing failed states, even though the practical necessity might be as strong.

Civil affairs (2)

CNA

- ◆ Coordination a key role
 - Civil-Military Operations Center (CMOC)
 - With NGOs, other government agencies, UN
- ◆ HAO role similar to post-conflict responsibilities
 - Helping run civilian society
 - Caring for displaced civilians
- ◆ A leverage and multiplier asset

In most HAOs, the most important CA role will be coordination. As part of this, CA officers will typically man the CMOC, which is the main location for coordinating military assistance to other U.S. Government agencies and international organizations, as well as NGOs and PVOs active in the operation.³

As noted earlier, civil-affairs responsibilities in HAOs can resemble the responsibilities in the post-conflict environment in occupied territory. In Haiti, for example, although CA officers did not “run” the government, CA functional experts were placed throughout the government to improve the effectiveness of various ministries. Such functional experts can improve the post-crisis transition from the military as the lead agency to the military and as a supporting player to the end of military involvement.

In many recent HAOs—such as Operation Provide Comfort in eastern Turkey and northern Iraq, Hurricane Andrew disaster relief in Florida, and the Haitian and Cuban refugees at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba—the military has housed and fed displaced civilians or refugees. Dealing with these distressed civilian populations may involve creating tent cities and essentially managing a civilian society. CA expertise makes such activities run much smoother.

3. The CMOC concept and terminology are changing, partly because of the differing experiences in recent operations. No doubt coordination will remain a central CMOC function and CA personnel will continue to provide the core of an “idealized” CMOC.

Civil Affairs: requirements

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- ◆ Trained personnel
- ◆ Integration with the unit and/or staff
- ◆ Appropriate and adequate intelligence support
- ◆ Additional requirements can vary tremendously by operation—from a few CA advisors to large numbers of CA personnel to run a civilian society

CA is a relatively low-cost leverage and multiplier asset—the presence of well-trained CA officers and enlisted personnel can help a unit apply its resources more effectively and more appropriately to CMO. The following are some of the requirements for that multiplier effect. To effectively conduct civil-military operations with CA requires, first of all, appropriately educated and trained CA personnel. Three categories of personnel and responsibilities exist: CA generalists to conduct general surveys of infrastructure and a civilian society's needs, and handle basic coordination with civilian organizations; subject-area experts who can make detailed assessments of civilian sectors or help run a specific civilian agency; and planners and command staff, which will include both generalists and specialists. Specific personnel requirements will vary across operations and in the different phases of an operation.

Another key element for successful CMO is integration of the CA personnel with the appropriate deployed units and staffs. Although the Army is increasing the number of CA personnel assigned to units, in general an operational unit (Marine or Army) will not have a substantial body of CA expertise. Thus, CA units or individuals will augment operating units for a specific operation. CA units usually have little integral operational capabilities. Their effectiveness relies on using their expertise to appropriately apply other assets—whether military or civilian—to meet civilian needs.

Civil affairs, like all other parts of the military, require intelligence support to get the job done. The problem is that military (and other U.S. Government) intelligence is not accustomed to supporting CA. Haiti was a well-planned operation with a long lead time. Despite this, deployed military units had little or no information on the operations of the UN or NGOs in Haiti. This included no information on the locations and contents of most relief warehouses—many filled by U.S. taxpayer-supported programs—until after they were looted several days into the operation. Effective CA intelligence support would have allowed the deployed CA personnel to arrange appropriate protection for these warehouses, which would have lessened or even prevented looting. This looting made international television, lowered the relief community's ability to deliver food to Haiti's neediest citizens, and damaged the operation's credibility.

The overall requirements for CA personnel vary from operation to operation. Some situations, such as short-term disaster relief, might benefit most from a few CA personnel to provide advice to commanders and staffs. Other operations, such as the ongoing refugee camps in Guantanamo Bay, might require long-term and large-scale CA unit presence to help run a civilian community.

Psychological operations and HAOs

Let us face facts: PSYOP has a public-relations problem. Many organizations and individuals—from the UN to NGOs to journalists unfamiliar with the military—hear the term and an image from *The Manchurian Candidate* comes to mind. This image is not simply a distortion of reality but it reflects a misunderstanding of the role of PSYOP, especially in HAOs. At the core of current U.S. PSYOP thinking on HAOs is something far divorced from the propaganda that many outside the PSYOP community might believe: truth is critical. No PSYOP officer should put something out in a campaign during an HAO that he or she does not believe to be both true and truthful. Thus, rather than old-style propaganda, PSYOP in an HAO today is an informational tool that can help in every phase of an operation.

Psychological Operations

CNA

- ◆ “Non-lethal weapon” in the arsenal
- ◆ Key roles are informational
 - Inform public and counter rumors
 - Work to lower threat
 - Provide transparency
- ◆ Good PSYOP/information policy can smooth every phase of HAO
- ◆ **Must** be coordinated with wide range of other organizations and activities

PSYOP is a tool for the commander—a “non-lethal weapon” in the arsenal. Its main role in HAOs is informational: to let the civilian populace know what is going on and to provide a factual counter to rumors that run rampant in such hectic situations. Such informational activities can be as mundane (but critical) as providing information on the time and location of food distribution or on how to act safely when a helicopter lands in the vicinity.

PSYOP also provides a tool to lower the threat to U.S. and allied forces, and to civilians, whether they are allied local government personnel or relief workers. The threat can be reduced in many ways. PSYOP can, for example, help the local population understand and support the U.S. (and allied) operation. Such understanding and support will, hopefully, decrease public support for any groups or individuals who may want to interfere with (or even attack) the involved military forces and civilian groups. Also, PSYOP can deter threat groups because it can help make clear the consequences of attacking U.S. (or allied) forces. Such activities will enhance the safety of military personnel, humanitarian-relief workers, and the local population.

PSYOP can help in every phase of an HAO, from informing and preparing the population for the entry of a military force, to keeping all target audiences informed of the goals, activities, and progress of the operation. It can also help prepare the population for the eventual withdrawal of the military force. Such transparency in the operation will improve relations between the military force and any involved civilian organizations.

PSYOP requirements

CNA

- ◆ Trained personnel
- ◆ Intelligence support
- ◆ Production and distribution capabilities
- ◆ Integration as part of staff
- ◆ “Educated” commander

Coordination with other organizations—which doesn’t always occur smoothly—is crucial for a successful PSYOP campaign. For example, one U.S. agency released information that the U.S. military would be delivering food in northern Haiti at the start of Uphold Democracy. This was not, however, part of the operational plan, and no food supplies were stocked for such distribution. Coordinating information policy with actual operations is a key requirement.

Besides coordination, there are at least five critical requirements for successful integration of PSYOP into an HAO: trained personnel; adequate and appropriate intelligence; production and distribution capabilities; integration with an operational staff; and a commander who understands and supports PSYOP. First, and similar to CA, is the requirement for appropriately trained personnel. This includes not only knowledge of PSYOP tactics and techniques, but also, for example, knowledge of how pamphlets disperse when dropped from a helicopter, as opposed to a plane, and, always critical, appropriate language skills to communicate with target audiences.

Intelligence support is also very important and wide-ranging in requirements. Again, like CA, many of the intelligence requirements fall outside the mainstream of U.S. intelligence collection. PSYOP requires knowing, for example, who the primary communicators are in a population, what methods people use to communicate with each other, and the population's general needs and desires. The requirements are often quite specific, such as the need to know about specific dialects or regional accents, so that tapes for loudspeaker teams are appropriate for the area in which they are broadcast. Also, intelligence must be able to track and relay rumors in the civilian population without delay so that PSYOP can just as rapidly prepare responses to untruthful and dangerous rumors.

The ability to produce appropriate material and distribute it is crucial to any PSYOP campaign. The required production equipment can include printing presses and sound studios. Distribution methods may include using aircraft for dropping pamphlets, loudspeaker teams for dealing with crowds, and temporary radio stations. In several operations, such as Continue Hope in Rwanda, the U.S. military even distributed small battery-powered radios so that refugees could listen to the radio broadcasts that provided information about relief efforts.

PSYOP teams do not stand alone; they must integrate into the staff. A staff that is unwilling to accept or cooperate with a PSYOP team will render that team ineffective. This brings us to the last requirement. A commander who does not understand the importance of PSYOP to the overall operation will probably create the conditions for its failure. Commanders must understand that, although PSYOP is an important tool in traditional warfighting, it may be *critical* in HAOs.

CA and PSYOP: Where are the capabilities?

In the U.S. military, both CA and PSYOP assets are in relatively short supply. Almost all the CA and PSYOP personnel are in the Reserve Forces. With the rash of operations short of war requiring CA and PSYOP support, those on active duty have been heavily taxed in recent years, literally moving from one operation directly to the next. For example, active-duty PSYOP personnel deployed to Haiti were withdrawn so that they could deploy with Operation United Shield, the evacuation of UN forces from Somalia. Reservists then took over the responsibilities in Haiti. Although this might have had little effect on the operation, it is a good example of the burdens placed on the active-duty portion of the CA and PSYOP forces.

Where are the capabilities?

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- ◆ Military:
 - All services have some capability, but
 - U.S. Army is the main resource:
 - USACAPOC
 - » Active-duty personnel are generalists
 - » Reservists are higher-ranking specialists
- ◆ Civilian
 - Varied resources for both CA and PSYOP
 - USIA and AID/OFDA as examples
- ◆ Other nations? International organizations?

Each of the military services has at least some CA and PSYOP capabilities. In other words, almost every part of the military can contribute to CA operations or a PSYOP campaign in some manner. Navy ships can carry relief supplies to support CMO and the facilities aboard ship can help produce material for a PSYOP campaign. Air Force aircraft deliver relief supplies but, more specifically related to PSYOP, they also can drop pamphlets. In addition, USAF Reserve aircraft have broadcast (radio and television) capabilities that can help the PSYOP message reach mass audiences. The Reserve Marine Civil Affairs Groups (CAGs) also have limited PSYOP capabilities, and other parts of the Marine Corps can help both CA and PSYOP activities.

The center of U.S. military CA and PSYOP resources resides in the U.S. Army's Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command (USACAPOC) in Fort Bragg, North Carolina. This command includes the only active-duty CA unit (one battalion) and PSYOP units (one "group," approximately a brigade in total size). However, The surge in HAOs in recent years has strained these assets. Most CA and PSYOP personnel are in the Reserve Forces. Active-duty CA (about 200 personnel) tend to be lower-ranking and generalists—well-suited for immediate assessments and for standing up a CMOC at the outset of an operation.

Reserve CA units are generally composed of field-grade officers who are subject-area experts. (The U.S. Army Reserve (USAR) CA is organized into three commands, nine brigades, and 24 battalions, with a total of 5000 personnel.) These officers are well prepared to make detailed assessments of damage to or problems in a specific sector (such as public utilities, education, and medical services) or help run a distressed civilian government (e.g., U.S. Army Reservists assisted various Haitian government ministries).

Other U.S. Government agencies have roles similar to, or that need to be coordinated with, military CA and PSYOP. The U.S. Agency for International Development's (AID's) Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) is a key organization for coordinating with CA in a disaster-relief operation overseas. OFDA will be present when the military responds to disasters overseas. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) is a key location for coordination with a PSYOP effort. If the two are not coordinated, both will be undermined. This could hurt the entire operation. Other government agencies can play important roles requiring interaction with military CA and PSYOP. The Department of Justice (DOJ) International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) might conduct police training with support from CA civil-security experts and PSYOP teams. This occurred both in Panama, following Operation Just Cause, and in Haiti.

Other nations and organizations can also play a role in this arena. For example, many U.S. allies have much broader CA or CMO training. All Canadian officers, for example, are trained in CMO, and all French Army officers are trained in working with the UN as part of their basic training. In PSYOP, on the other hand, our allies are generally less capable. The French eliminated their PSYOP unit following the Algerian War, which has left them with minimal PSYOP capabilities. French forces in Operation Turquoise in Rwanda in 1994 could not conduct a broad information campaign among the massive numbers of Rwandan refugees. On the other hand, the United Kingdom has a robust PSYOP capability that can readily work with U.S. forces in a combined operation.

USMC CA and PSYOP capabilities and experiences

Within the context of overall military capabilities, the Marine Corps CA and PSYOP assets are limited. The two USMCR CAGs total less than 300 Marines, not all fully trained. The CAGs also have a small PSYOP element; enough to aid PSYOP planning and some loudspeaker teams. Deployed USMC units—typically a Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable) (MEU (SOC)) or, in some circumstances, a Special Purpose Marine Air Ground Task Force (SPMAGTF)—essentially have little integral CA or PSYOP capability. As noted earlier, every military unit can play a PSYOP or CA role. Attack helicopters can perform PSYOP by flying low over an unruly crowd for deterrence or intimidation. These same helicopters could have loudspeakers attached to broadcast a PSYOP message about the location and activities of a relief organization's feeding centers.

Throughout a MAGTF are elements with CA capabilities, such as engineers who can help restore public services (as Marine engineers did in northern Iraq, Bangladesh, and Haiti, for example) and transportation assets that can help deliver relief supplies. It is the very robustness of the U.S. military's capabilities in this regard that often leads to involvement in disaster relief and other HAOs. Besides these capabilities—developed for warfighting, but appropriate or useful in an HAO—trained CA and PSYOP personnel can provide the expertise to appropriately apply the military's resources. This is where the Marine Corps may have a shortfall.

USMC CA and PSYOP

CNA

- ◆ Limited CA and PSYOP assets
 - All in the Reserve Forces
 - CA units all in the Reserve Forces
 - CA units have small PSYOP elements
 - Some active-duty Marines PSYOP-trained
- ◆ Record in recent operations
 - Provide Comfort in Turkey and Iraq
 - SPMAGTF CARIB in Haiti
 - Vigilant Warrior, Kuwait
 - United Shield, Somalia Withdrawal

In terms of civil affairs, the Marine units are in the Reserve Forces.⁴ About 300 Marine Reservists (one-third officers) are split between the 3rd CAG⁵ on the West Coast, which supports I and III Marine Expeditionary Forces (MEFs), and 4th CAG on the East Coast, which supports II MEF. Marine CA units are in the Reserves partly because Marine CA has focused on the warfighting mission—to minimize civilian interference with military operations and the effect of military operations on civilians. For such warfighting missions, the Marine Corps would have the time and authority to call up Reserve Forces to support the mission. Thus, for warfighting missions, the fact that the CAGs are in the Reserves does not create an obstacle for timely commitment. Also, because CA is partly responsible for providing liaison between the Marine Corps and civilian communities, Reserve status improves the CAGs capabilities. As Reservists, the CAG personnel have one foot in the civilian world and the other in the Marine Corps. Thus, the USMCR CAG personnel might be more able to more effectively coordinate than active-duty personnel. Resources are also an issue. CAG units are heavy in overhead—a lot of officers whose expertise is not necessarily needed on a daily basis. Thus, having Marine CA in the Reserves might be the most appropriate, as well as the most cost-effective, arrangement.

4. As of March 1996, 50 active Marine officers were CA qualified, with an additional military occupation speciality (AMOS) of 0107, Civil Affairs Officer.

5. As of May 1995, 3rd CAG had a T/O of 167 (50 USMC officers and 111 enlisted; 4 USN officers and 2 enlisted) with 129 actually assigned. Of these 129, 104 were considered to be fully MOS qualified.

The challenge in HAOs is to integrate these Reserve elements with deployed and deployable MAGTFs (from SPMAGTF to MEF deployments) so that this CA and PSYOP expertise is available when required. This has not always been the case in recent years. For example, in Uphold Democracy, no Marine CA Reservists were activated to support SPMAGTF CARIB. SPMAGTF CARIB had no CA support during exercises in August and September 1994. U.S. Army CA and PSYOP teams joined SPMAGTF CARIB only days before the operation began.

Marine PSYOP assets are even more limited. Each CAG has only a small PSYOP element, which is focused on PSYOP planning (though the CAGs are acquiring a limited amount of PSYOP equipment, specifically, tactical loudspeakers for mounting on helicopters or vehicles). In recent years, the Marine Corps has been sending more Marines to the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare School at Fort Bragg to receive PSYOP training. Although not PSYOP experts, the officers with PSYOP as a secondary specialty will help improve the ability to plan PSYOP as part of a MEU (SOC)'s operations, and will ease the integration of a PSYOP team (whether USA, USAR, or USMCR) into a command as an operation gets under way.

Recent operations have had a range of success in terms of USMC CA and PSYOP support to deployed Marine forces. In Haiti, for example, SPMAGTF CARIB had essentially no CA publications on hand for planning CMO; did not receive CA and PSYOP augmentation until just a few days before going into Haiti; and, according to both SPMAGTF CARIB and USACAPOC personnel, had problems integrating these teams. Although the SPMAGTF CARIB conducted a number of effective (and even innovative) CMO actions,⁶ others—such as a feeding program where Haitians rioted⁷—were not as successful. It seems reasonable to conclude that SPMAGTF CARIB would have had a more effective CMO capability with a more robust and earlier CA and PSYOP presence.

6. These included restoring the long-dormant electrical power system in conjunction with a PSYOP campaign explaining that the Marines could keep the lights on only if the streets remained calm; and a street-cleaning program that sparked a city-cleaning in Cap Haitien.

7. The feeding program in Cap Haitien in September 1994 is surrounded by some controversy. The SPMAGTF CARIB commander and the Commander, Amphibious Task Force (CATF), agreed that they needed to do something to aid the local population and agreed on a feeding program using USN supplies no longer needed for refugee support. Perhaps due to the late CA presence, SPMAGTF CARIB had a difficult time contacting and coordinating with local NGO/PVOs. USA CA personnel and OFDA representatives later complained that the food distribution should not have occurred outside the already established NGO/PVO structure, that the distributed food was inappropriate, and that the food was given to the wrong Haitians.

Integration of CA and PSYOP with deployed MEU (SOC)s has been problematic elsewhere, as during Provide Comfort, where the Marine CA augmentees, who were already active-duty because of Operation Desert Storm, did not join with the 24th MEU (SOC) until well after CMO activities had begun with Marines involved in providing assistance to Kurdish refugees.

The 3rd CAG has developed a program of assigning a liaison officer (LNO) to all MEU (SOC)s. This LNO is responsible for arranging CA and PSYOP training for and support to the MEU (SOC). Partly because of the success of this program, the 3rd CAG supported I MEF's deployment for Vigilant Warrior (the response in October 1994 to Iraqi movements toward Kuwait) and to Somalia for the withdrawal of UN personnel (Operation United Shield, February–March 1995). This small team (two Marines) provided planning support and liaison between USACAPOC elements and the 15th MEU (SOC). The Vigilant Warrior/United Shield deployment derived from the LNO program and the MEU (SOC)'s familiarity with the CAG's activities and capabilities.

PSYOP is the critical
“deep-strike weapon” in HAOs;
CA helps target PSYOP
and is a critical
“close-in weapon”

The CA and PSYOP roles in HAOs can be considered in a number of ways. One of the most interesting combines insights from two officers who commanded U.S. forces in the Cap Haitien region of Haiti in fall 1994: the commander of SPMAGTF CARIB, Colonel T.S. Jones, USMC, and the commander of the 2d Brigade of the 10th Mountain Division, Colonel James Dubik, USA. For Col. Jones, activities to help the civilian community were critical—he saw that guaranteeing civilian security and improving the general population’s welfare were necessary to guarantee force security. The application of CA concepts and the conduct of civil-military operations lay at the core of Col. Jones’ approach. For Col. Dubik, information was his critical ammunition, PSYOP was his means to deliver the round on target, and civil affairs helped PSYOP deliver the right information to the correct audience.⁸

In other words, PSYOP is the critical deep-strike weapon in humanitarian assistance and peace operations. Civil-affairs expertise can help ensure that PSYOP delivers the right round on the right target. Civil-military operations are a key tactical weapon for force security, and CA expertise will lead toward more effective CMO.

8. This reflects the colonels’ comments about their approach to operations in the Cap Haitien region. Neither Col. Dubik nor Col. Jones ignored the other side of the equation. Col. Dubik was heavily involved in the Civil Affairs mission—meeting with local leaders to help restart a judicial system for example. Col. Jones did not ignore the PSYOP mission, but combined his aggressive CMO actions with the PSYOP campaign.

If PSYOP is the critical
“deep-strike weapon” in HAOs; and
if CA helps target the PSYOP
and is a critical “close-in weapon,”

the questions are:

How to be better “armed?”

How to provide better “targeting?”

CA and PSYOP are mutually supportive; a synthesis of their activities is greater than the sum of their parts. The challenge is to more effectively employ these leverage forces in the HAOs that the United States will, almost surely, engage in in the coming years.

The slides that follow discuss general CA and PSYOP issues and provide recommendations in doctrine, organization, and training that could improve the ability of USMC units to use CA and PSYOP effectively in HAOs.

Some thoughts for the future

The following slides present some concepts for attention or change. The first slide addresses overall issues that are not solely of Marine Corps concern. The second slide discusses an issue at national policy level that is not within the cognizance of the Marine Corps—and perhaps not even within the Department of Defense. This issue—the blacklisting of “nation building”—has, however, important implications for HAOs and is important for understanding the context in which the Marine Corps will use CA and PSYOP assets in HAOs.

The following three slides focus on U.S. Marine Corps issues, providing both recommendations for action and for consideration.

Overall issues

CNA

- ◆ Does the U.S. military have enough active-duty CA and PSYOP forces?
- ◆ If CA is a command responsibility, what commanders are receiving CA education?
- ◆ How can interagency coordination be improved?
- ◆ Differing service concepts—even within the same operation—need to be addressed

The first question seems obvious, and this briefing is not the first place this issue has been raised. Recent experience makes one wonder whether the current active/Reserve mix for CA and PSYOP units still makes sense. These units are in high demand for the type of operation that the U.S. military has conducted in recent years. If the active/Reserve mix is not changed, the ability to use Reserve assets will need improvement.

Viewing this issue from another angle, we can question how much of this is a “self-inflicted” problem, especially for the active-component CA elements. These forces are heavily committed to training programs around the world which, when combined with real-world contingencies, overtax them. Active-duty CA personnel have been withdrawn from contingency operations (replaced by Reserve Forces) to redeploy for such exercises. CA trains hard and, when combined with contingencies, this leads to a potentially overwhelming operational and personnel tempo (OPTEMPO/PERSTEMPO). One option maybe to cut down on overseas CA training—especially during contingency operations. This option, however, could have a number of serious implications: the overseas training with indigenous populations is crucial to developing the necessary expertise in dealing with civilians and civil-sector needs. In addition, these training evolutions and exercises support national-policy objectives as one form of delivering aid and improving relations around the world.

Another serious question relates to training commanders for the command responsibility for CA, which is not taught (other than in a short lecture or as an elective course) at any of the major military command and staff colleges. Educating commanders in CA will probably improve their effectiveness in HAOs. CA should be added to the curriculum at all higher-level command and staff colleges. A brief overview of CA and CMO should occur earlier in an officer's career, preferably before the junior officer joins an operational unit.

The need for better coordination between the U.S. military, U.S. Government agencies, and other organizations involved in HAOs has been raised in many other forums. Poor coordination can destroy a PSYOP campaign and can make CA activities less effective (or even ineffective). PSYOP and CA need aggressive interagency coordination both before and during an operation. As part of this coordination, the interagency process requires a means to ensure that the various agencies will abide by agreements and will be held accountable if they do not. The process becomes even more difficult in a coalition or UN operation, where the coordination is not solely with other U.S. Government agencies.

A number of recent operations have shown that different commanders and different services can have, not surprisingly, different conceptions of CMOs. Examples of this include building tent cities for displaced civilians to different standards during the Hurricane Andrew relief activity. In Haiti, Marines conducted four separate food distributions, whereas the Army's approach was that "soldiers don't touch food—that's an NGO responsibility." Different approaches might be reasonable and appropriate but they deserve examination. The joint doctrine on humanitarian assistance now being developed may help clarify such issues.

Is nation building evil?

CNA

- ◆ Nation building: Trying to remake a society into the U.S. image
- ◆ Nation assistance: Helping a society get back on its feet
- ◆ Civic assistance: The DOD component of nation assistance

A broad policy question related to CA also needs reexamination. “Nation building,” along with “mission creep,”⁹ has achieved the status of an evil item—a four-letter word in policy-making for HAOs. At the outset of Uphold Democracy, it was almost a mantra from the White House down to the Joint Task Force (JTF) spokesman, and even individual soldiers, to emphasize that U.S. forces were not involved in nation building in Haiti. President Clinton set the tone in his 15 September 1994 television address. He emphasized that “The American people should know that our soldiers will not be involved in rebuilding Haiti or its economy.” The president sets policy, and this was the path followed in Operation Uphold Democracy.

This policy guidance, however, is at fundamental odds with requirements for long-term mission success. The overall interagency mission in this operation was to leave behind a functioning society so that thousands of Haitians would not flee to the United States. To succeed for the long term required assistance to the civil sector; not doing so risked ultimate failure. The military component of this assistance was greatly restricted by the statements on nation building and the drive to avoid mission creep. Limiting military involvement in the civic sector early in an HAO lessens the potential for achieving lasting success. Many of the early restrictions were later lifted as the need for military involvement became clear.

9. For a discussion of misconceptions over mission creep and an alternative way to think of the problem, see CNA Research Memorandum 94-74, *Requirements for Humanitarian Assistance and Peace Operations: Insights from Seven Case Studies*, by Adam B. Siegel, February 1995

The military was and is not necessarily the most appropriate organization to conduct civil-sector assistance. In the absence of other efforts, however, the military may have to take the lead and will certainly play a role. In Haiti, many CA officers (and others in the military) were frustrated as soon as they had completed their assessments of Haiti's infrastructure. The injunction against nation building meant that the military couldn't act to rectify identified problems and there were no other organizations that could effectively work on these problems—at least not in the short term. And many of the injunctions on the activities of U.S. forces were changed as the operation progressed and the gaps became more evident. For example, the U.S. military did not conduct road- and school-building programs in Haiti in fall 1994; it became a critical part of the mission for U.S. forces by mid-1995, when there were far less effective forces remaining.

This requirement is not limited to Haiti; assistance to the civil sector is a core element of a path toward long-term success in many of these situations, whether we look to Panama following Operation Just Cause, to northern Iraq in Operation Provide Comfort, or to Bosnia in Operation Joint Endeavor. The early months of Joint Endeavor have seen similar frustrations within the U.S. military and with other (typically civilian) organizations with progress in the civic sector. In an HAO such as Haiti or Bosnia, the military might achieve all assigned tasks and this might become meaningless if the civic sector is not adequately supported and developed.

The current anathema to using the term "nation building" to describe operations, and the failure to understand the implications of this policy choice, handicaps operational success. Many of the activities and approaches appropriate for CA units fall into the category of nation building.

The commander should be able to work in the civil sector, as this is one of the weapons in his arsenal to improve force protection and to help with achieving long-term success. As Col. Jones advocated, improving the people's feeling of security and sense of well-being improved the security for the Marines in the Cap Haitien region. Thus, even at the tactical level, commanders need the flexibility to take actions for force security—actions that the prohibitions against nation building might make them feel restrained from conducting. Solving civil-sector problems could be critical to long-term mission success as well. Dealing with civil sector problems—policing, the judicial system, government services—should have been central to the overall operation in Haiti. To have long-term success in HAOs requires some form of assistance to the civil sector and, at the moment, the rhetorical problems with nation building seem to hamper this.

Clearer definitions might provide a way around this problem: the term "nation assistance" is already extant in joint literature and seems more appropriate to describe what U.S. forces will be involved in. If we think of nation building as trying to rebuild a country in the U.S. image (e.g., Germany and Japan following World War II), nation assistance is helping a nation reach the status of a functioning society so that U.S. military intervention and support is no longer required. The term "civil assistance," used in the DOD Directive on Civil Affairs, is a subcomponent of nation assistance. Civil assistance includes "activities undertaken by DOD components that are primarily designed to aid the civil sector." Nation assistance is the interagency (and international) integration of efforts to help a society get back on its feet. Civil assistance is the DOD component of that effort.

The Marine Corps should

CNA

- ◆ Involve USMCR CA Groups in MEU (SOC) workups and other training
- ◆ Plan, coordinate, and request USMCR CA participation at the earliest moment
- ◆ Ensure appropriate documentation with all units—especially MEU (SOC)s
- ◆ Rewrite FMFM 7-34: MAGTF Civil Affairs

Just as the general defense community has important CA and PSYOP issues to address, the Marine Corps also has such issues. Some seem ready for action and others are raised for consideration. Based on this analysis of the role of CA and PSYOP forces in HAOs, the capabilities of USMC for CA and PSYOP, and a review of experiences in recent operations, the following are recommended for action.

First, and perhaps most important, MEU (SOC) workups should include interaction with the appropriate USMCR CAG and, if possible, USACAPOC, so that when an HAO occurs the MEU (SOC) commander and staff could integrate CA and PSYOP augmentees more easily. In recent years, 3rd CAG has established training and liaison relationships with all deploying MEU (SOC)s and the MEFs it supports. When such an HAO looks likely, Marine units should ask for augmentation at the earliest possible moment. These augmentees can then start helping the Marine unit accomplish mission objectives sooner rather than later. Further integrating the CAGs with the three MEFs and the deploying MEU (SOC)s will lead to implementation of the following recommendations.

All deploying Marine units should have documentation to support potential CMO involvement. This should include Joint, Marine, and Army doctrinal publications on CA and PSYOP, and lessons-learned documents. Much of this material is available on CD-ROMs, therefore it would not require much storage space to have the documentation available for all deployed Marine units. The two USMCR CAGs should be responsible for developing the document packages for the MEFs that they support.

As part of this documentation effort, FMFM 7-34 should be updated to reflect Marine Corps operational experience in recent years. Among other subjects, the updated doctrine should provide more discussion of coordinating Marine efforts with other organizations—especially civilian—to support the civil sector. The current doctrine does not, for example, discuss CMOCs, which are crucial in HAOs. Nor does it discuss the OFDA DARTs. The OFDA DART is likely to be a critical player in any HAO involving USMC forces. It will work with the CA element to provide a liaison between Marine (and other U.S. military) forces and the relief community.

A rewritten FMFM 7-34 should also provide guidance on how to rapidly integrate CA and PSYOP augmentees (whether USMCR, USA active-duty, or USAR personnel) to an already deployed unit as it responds to or is engaged in a contingency operation. This updating should also be coordinated with doctrinal changes at USACAPOC, which has the DOD lead for CA/PSYOP doctrine.

Also, during the revision process, the Marine Corps should consider whether the CA officer should become a special staff officer (with the CMOC as the element he commands), rather than reporting to the G-3/S-3. In some HAOs, where dealing with the civil sector and/or disaster relief is the main focus of the operation, having the CA officer as one of the commander's principals may be more appropriate. Either way, it is critical for the operations officer and the CA/CMOC to coordinate their activities.

The Marine Corps should

CNA

- ◆ Increase Marine Corps officer education in civil affairs and civil-military operations
 - Should occur at all steps in the training program: from Basic School through Command & Staff College
- ◆ Continue training Marines in PSYOP as a secondary speciality
- ◆ Improve coordination with USACAPOC

Just as the general DOD educational community should provide commanders with more CA education, so too should the Marine Corps. The issue is not simply civil affairs, but the broader area of civil-military operations. Currently, Marine officers and senior non-commissioned officers (NCOs) receive limited exposure to the responsibilities that international law places on a military force in terms of treatment of civilians (e.g., on a battlefield). This exposure takes place in the Law of War courses at the Basic and Amphibious Warfare Schools, the Command and Staff College, and the Staff NCO Academy. Education in this material should be broadened to provide Marine officers and senior NCOs with a background in the difficult problems of using a military force to support a civil sector. As CMO is a command responsibility, the Command and Staff College in Quantico seems to be the most logical place for Marine officers to be provided more in-depth education on civil affairs and civil-military operations.

Having active-duty Marines with some PSYOP training provides a valuable augmentation to deployed Marine forces. The Marine Corps should continue sending Marines for basic PSYOP training and should expand this program. PSYOP training should be tracked as part of an officer's career, and when enough officers have had such training, all deploying MAGTF Command Elements (CEs) should have such an officer.

A benefit of conducting CA training in USMC schools and exposing more active-duty Marines to PSYOP (and perhaps CA) training is greater exposure of the USACAPOC community to Marines, and increasing Marine awareness of the roles and capabilities of CA/PSYOP forces. USACAPOC is the center for CA and PSYOP in the U.S. military, and USACAPOC personnel will support Marines in real-world operations (whether or not USMCR CAG elements are present). Interaction between Marine units and Army CA and PSYOP personnel—whether in educational settings or exercises—should improve integration of USACAPOC personnel with USMC units in real-world operations.

In addition to these recommendations for action, the analysis suggests that the Marine Corps should consider whether to undertake a number of other steps. These include, for example, the possibility of creating an active-duty CA unit. This analysis does not support undertaking such a step, but the important role CA plays in HAOs and the seeming epidemic of such operations indicates that the Marine Corps should consider whether it requires active-duty CA elements. The following slide outlines these recommendations for consideration.

The Marine Corps should consider whether to

CNA

- ◆ Create a secondary specialty in civil affairs for elements typically deployed with MEU (SOC)s
- ◆ Request USACAPOC deployment with MEU (SOC)s
- ◆ Have active-duty Civil-Affairs units

The Marine Corps should also consider a number of other, harder issues. For example, another way to provide MEU (SOC)s with a broader CA capability would be to make CA a secondary responsibility of part of the deployed force, perhaps part of the Command Element (CE). For example, the Air-Naval Gunfire Liaison Company (ANGLICO) team might be an appropriate group for this responsibility, as their basic responsibilities include coordination (between supporting and supported units), and ANGLICO teams also frequently exercise with and support non-U.S. forces (thus, they are familiar with dealing with groups outside the U.S. military). This team could be responsible for holding the necessary CMO documentation and could provide commanders with limited CA capabilities until augmentees arrive. ANGLICO teams are well-prepared by their general responsibilities to handle a major CA responsibility—coordinating activities with other government agencies and relief organizations in the CMOC.

ANGLICO teams are, like many other Marine units, heavily tasked—thus they might not be the most appropriate element. Artillery units may also be an appropriate element to assume CMO as a secondary responsibility. In many HAOs, artillery is not used, which means that these units might be available for other commitments. Educating some USMC artillery officers in CA could provide the MEU (SOC) commander with an important stop-gap CA capability. Whether ANGLICO, artillery, or some other element, preassigning a basic CA responsibility to a MEU (SOC) element could lead to more effective CMOs in the time between initial commitment of the force and the arrival of augmenting USMCR or USACAPOC CA and PSYOP personnel.

Access to Marines with CA training could be critical for a MEU (SOC) involved in a time-urgent operation. The U.S. Army's JFK Special Warfighting Center and School in Fort Bragg has a 2-week course on CMO. Sending more Marine officers and senior NCOs to this course could provide the basic education required to provide a MEU (SOC) with a stop-gap CA capability until CAG or USACAPOC personnel can be deployed.

The Marine Corps may want to consider requesting USACAPOC presence on MEU (SOC) and SPMAGTF deployments. Associated with this would be a decision that Marine Corps CA units, which would remain in the Reserves, are intended for warfighting (such as Operation Desert Storm) or extended low-intensity conflicts (such as the Vietnam War). With the OPTEMPO stresses USACAPOC personnel are already facing, this might not be a realistic option in any event.

A different approach to providing Marine forces with more CA capabilities would be to create an active-duty Marine CA capability and to detail CA officers to deployed Marine Corps units (such as MEU (SOC)s and SPMAGTFs). Marine CA expertise would thus be more easily available to Marines forces conducting HAOs. The costs of creating active-duty elements during a period of downsizing might remain prohibitive. Improving integration of the two CAGs with deployable and deployed USMC units might be the most efficient way to achieve the desired result.

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This briefing relies on a wide range of sources, with an emphasis on study of recent operations involving civil affairs and psychological operations. The selective bibliography below focuses on CA/PSYOP publications. In addition to these items, major contributors to the information and concepts in this briefing include the author's experiences with both USA and USMC forces during Operation Uphold Democracy (Haiti, fall 1994); studies of other HAOs (see, for example, documentation in this author's CNA Research Memorandum 94-74, *Requirements for Humanitarian Assistance and Peace Operations: Insights from Seven Case Studies*, March 1995, and the references in CNA Information Memorandum 334, *A Chronology of USMC Humanitarian Assistance and Peace Operations*, September 1994); interviews with USMC, USA, DOD, French Army, and British Army CA and PSYOP personnel; and USMC, USA, and Joint lessons-learned databases.

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