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THESIS

THE ROLE OF CIVIL AFFAIRS IN UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

by

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December 2012

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THE ROLE OF CIVIL AFFAIRS IN UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

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ABSTRACT

With the renewed focus on Unconventional Warfare as a means of achieving U.S. Foreign and National Security Policy goals, the U.S. Army Special Operations Command Civil Affairs force must assess its capability to conduct Civil Affairs operations in support of an Unconventional Warfare campaign. This thesis examines Civil Affairs' current role and surveys past conflicts to explore Civil Affairs' potential role in all phases of Unconventional Warfare. It assumes that political and logistical networks are the keys to building and sustaining a revolutionary movement. This thesis answers the following questions: How can Civil Affairs forces in place now and deployed for an operation identify, develop and motivate revolutionary networks that can be activated to sustain a revolution and fulfill U.S. policy needs within a foreign nation? How can Civil Affairs doctrine be revised to better support these tasks?

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Armed Forces Philippines
ARSOF	Army Special Operations Forces
BCT	Brigade Combat teams
BN	Battalion
BUDC	Barrio United Defense Corps
CA	Civil Affairs
CAO	Civil Affairs Office
CAO	Civil Affairs Operations
CAPT	Civil Affairs Planning Team
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIM	Civil Information Management
CLT	Civil Liaison Team
CMSE	Civil Military Support Element
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CPT	Captain
FHA	Foreign Humanitarian Assistance
FM	Field Manual
GW	Guerrilla Warfare
HA/DR	Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief
Huk	Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon, or People's Anti-Japanese Army
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IGC	Interim Governing Council
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IPI	Indigenous Populations and Institutions
IR	Internal resources
IVS	International Voluntary Services
JUSMAG	Joint United State Military Advisory Group
L	Leader (Development)
LOE	Line of Effort
LOO	Line of Operation

LTC	Lieutenant Colonel
MAJ	Major
MM	Mass Mobilization
N	Neutral (Groups as Connecting Organizations)
NA	Nation Assistance
NAI	Named Area of Interest
NAMFREL	National Movement for Free Elections
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NVA	North Vietnamese Army
NVN	North Vietnam
OPC	Office of Policy Coordination
PCAC	Presidential Complaints and Action Commission
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' party
PMESII	Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure
PRC	Populace and Resources Control
PSYOP	Psychological Operations
R	Radical (Groups as Distraction and Protectors of Resistance)
RLA	Royal Lao Army
SCA	Support to Civil Administration
SCIRI	Supreme Council of Iraq
SG	Shadow Government
SOF	Special Operations Forces
TAI	Targeted Area of Interest
TSOC	Theater Special Operations Command
TTP	Tactics, Techniques, Procedures
U.S.	United States
UCAO	Unconventional Warfare Civil Affairs Operations
USAFFE	United States Armed Forces-Far East
USASOC	United States Army Special Operations Command
USG	United States Government
UW	Unconventional Warfare
UWTF	Unconventional Warfare Task Force

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I. INTRODUCTION

The relief movement is a tool for the realization of the united front. It can directly unite all classes and parties to oppose militarist and imperialist oppression and indirectly arouse the great masses to participate in and sympathize with the revolutionary movement. Party headquarters at all levels should pay great attention to relief work and earnestly carry out the following tasks:...¹

—Soviet Document “Resolutions on the Relief Movement”
seized by the Peking National Police at the Soviet Military
Attaché Office on April 6, 1925

The Iranian regime is holding on to power through coercion and repression, effectively maintaining internal power and projecting international influence that may threaten U.S. security interests in grave ways. As this drama plays out, the United States has a limited array of strategic options available to deal with such hostility. The president could decide that it is in the interest of the U.S. to influence regime change there in support of U.S. national security objectives. In recognition of the power of influence operations on a resistance movement, U.S. Civil Affairs forces, the “masters of the civil domain,” could be called on to conduct civil activities that weaken the regime and strengthen the opposition. Such an operation would require organizers with tact, resourcefulness, maturity and discretion in full measure.

After eleven years of openly supporting combat and counterinsurgency operations, the 95th Civil Affairs Brigade finds itself in the same boat as the rest of U.S. Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) clambering to retrain itself to support an Unconventional Warfare (UW) campaign. A cursory exploration of how civic action fits into UW reveals that Civil Affairs has a significant role to play in post-conflict reconstruction and in the legitimization of the government that emerges from a resistance

¹ C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution; Soviet Advisors and Nationalist China, 1920–1927* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

and the UW campaign that supports it. This thesis will show that Civil Affairs has a significant role to play in every phase of any campaign to coerce, disrupt or overthrow an undesirable regime.

The 95th Civil Affairs Brigade is the USASOC unit that specializes in conducting Civil Affairs activities. With the renewed focus on Unconventional Warfare, the USASOC Civil Affairs force must assess its capability to conduct Civil Affairs operations in support of an Unconventional Warfare campaign. This thesis will examine Civil Affairs' current and potential role in all phases of UW. It will focus especially on methods to identify, assess, develop and motivate current and potential military and civilian leaders for key roles at all levels of a potential revolutionary organization.

Political and logistical networks are keys to building and sustaining a revolutionary movement. A survey conducted in the course of this research shows that 70 percent of Civil Affairs soldiers in USASOC are confident that they are prepared to "assess and recruit civil leaders and facilitators to build and activate resistance networks in preparation for a UW campaign." When asked what aspects of civic action were important to the success of that campaign, however, those same respondents disagreed greatly. According to the survey results, CA soldiers believe that Mass Mobilization (MM) and Populace and Resource Control (PRC) are relatively unimportant compared to Key Leader Engagement, Access and Placement, and Civil Reconnaissance in a UW context (just 13.1% listed MM and PRC as one of the top three).² Based on the cases described in this thesis, Mass Mobilization is one of the key components to coercion, disruption and overthrow of an entrenched regime, and PRC is a key component of mobilizing the populace. One respondent, showing some inherent knowledge of what this thesis will highlight, commented "PRC can be reversed to take legitimacy away from the current government, pull necessary resources from the public to support the resistance movement and meet needs of the populace through the Shadow Government or social movement leaders." We agree, and consequently believe that Civil Affairs forces

² The coauthors distributed a survey to 164 USASOC personnel, in person and via e-mail. One hundred twenty-nine soldiers completed the survey. Of those, 104 identified their Military Occupational Specialty. The results are cross-tabulated with Military Occupational Specialty in the Appendix.

deployed now should be trained and prepared to identify, develop and motivate revolutionary networks that can be activated to sustain a revolution and fulfill U.S. policy needs in a foreign country.

The North Vietnamese demonstrated how important these networks are when they planted and grew them in Laos and South Vietnam in the mid-20th century. Building on Mao Tse-Tung's most basic ideas for recruiting and cadre-building, North Vietnamese communists capitalized on underground networks in their struggles against the Laotian and South Vietnamese governments. With political officers as the coequals of operational commanders, the communist Vietnamese were able to coopt and construct networks of influence that furthered their concept that "politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed."³ With these networks, the communists built not only military capability but also civilian support for their efforts.

Below is a graphic depiction of how the weight of effort in each of three lines of effort (LOE) in a UW campaign might look. The LOEs are Guerrilla Warfare, Mass Mobilization and Shadow Government. This is the ideal, based upon the amount of effort UW practitioners assigned to that LOE might be expected to exert during each phase of a UW campaign.⁴ It cannot be overstated that the greater the preparation in Phase 0 and Phase I for each LOE, the easier it will be to employ sponsored individuals, units and organizations in Phases II-VII. This recognizes that it is easier to establish contact with approachable political and social movement leaders before violence increases to a scale where the people are preoccupied with survival and physical struggle.

³ Mao Tse-Tung, "On Protracted War" (May 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, 152–53 accessed on October 22nd, 2012 at <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch05.htm>.

⁴ The U.S. Army's seven phases of Unconventional Warfare are: I. Preparation, II. Initial Contact, III. Infiltration, IV. Organization, V. Buildup, VI. Employment and VII. Transition.

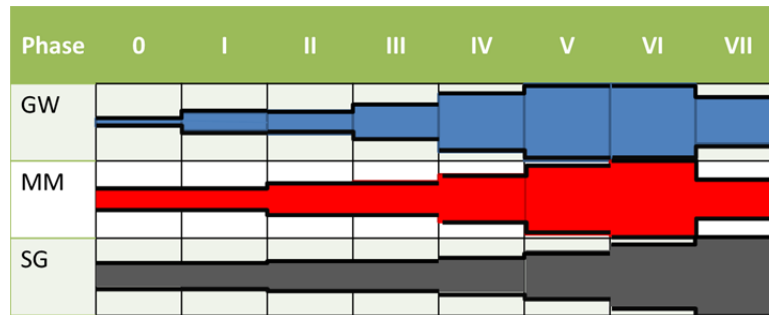


Figure 1. Guerrilla Warfare, Mass Mobilization and Shadow Government Lines of Operation. Blue, Red and Black shapes indicate the level of civic action effort expected during each phase in support of each LOO.

As a UW campaign progresses, the weight of emphasis on any single line of operation will change, but each will gradually trend upward until Phase VII Transition, when only the development and employment of the Shadow Government will continue to increase. Whether working to identify the right leader to spearhead a revolution in America's interest or reinforcing an already-powerful leader in a revolution of his design, the work of picking the right way to help the right person should be done well before any pilot team is inserted. Any operations that are planned and conducted up to and through Phase VI must be done with great consideration for how they will affect the long-term sustainability of the new government post-transition.

A. CONCEPTS

Hypothesis: Employing Civil Affairs forces to support the three lines of effort in an Unconventional Warfare campaign will increase the likelihood of success.

Our hypothesis is derived from three trends identified in studying various insurgencies and how they came to exist, sustain themselves and expand their power. The first is that access to materiel and resources, and the ability to distribute them clandestinely in a way that supports resistance networks' influence operations, increases the expected success of an Unconventional Warfare campaign. Second, a network of strong, individual local resistance leaders with established support and political networks increase the likelihood that a UW campaign will succeed. Third, coordination between these elements of logistical support and political leadership as well as with the Guerrilla

Warfare element is necessary to strengthening the resistance, and in turn the UW campaign. Our contention is that current Civil Affairs doctrine and recent operational experience do not enable the Civil Affairs contingent in a UW Task Force to effectively leverage what is needed to support of an insurgency.

In recent cases, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Philippines, Civil Affairs forces have traditionally been assigned five doctrinal core tasks: Civil Information Management (CIM), Populace and Resource Control (PRC), Support to Civil Administration (SCA), Foreign Humanitarian Assistance (FHA), and Nation Assistance (NA). These are important for the role that CA plays in most traditional combat situations, but insufficient to identify, develop, and motivate the right people for the job of revolution within an Unconventional Warfare campaign. Of the five doctrinal tasks, Civil Affairs forces can most effectively apply elements of CIM, PRC, and FHA in support of the guerrilla, underground and auxiliary in UW. The planning and execution of these tasks in recent Counter-Insurgency (COIN) operations has generally been from the top down, relying on existing or U.S.-built Host Nation government administration and logistics networks to push aid and materiel to target populations. In UW, those networks will not be available to friendly forces and will likely be openly hostile and antagonistic toward insurgent civic action. Consequently, UW planners and implementers must be able to work within and outside of these five tasks to maximize political and civic action efforts and achieve desired effects. They must also be flexible and creative in finding access into vulnerable target populations and in identifying and developing the logistics necessary to link them up with assistance. The legal authorities involved will be in some cases restrictive and in others liberating. In all cases, it is important that UW planners and implementers understand and work within them to achieve desired effects. This includes coordinating activities with stakeholders in other government agencies to ensure synergy and limit turf conflicts. They must also understand how to work with these organizations to capitalize on overlapping authorities and implement effective support mechanisms to bolster revolutionary organizations.

U.S. UW doctrine places the burden of responsibility on tactical CA teams to provide tactical CA support, to include “assessment, planning and coordination with the

civil component and International Government Organizations (IGO), Non-Government Organizations (NGO) and Indigenous Populations and Institutions (IPI) in areas where [friendly] military forces are present” (FM 3–05.130, para 7–7). This permissive environment is not likely to exist in a grassroots UW environment and ignores the necessity that UW must be conducted with tact and discretion, from Phase 0 through Phase VII. U.S. national authority officials and UW planners and implementers must consider all possibilities for conducting a UW campaign. Questions of access, authorities, regional influence, personal and strategic security, and many others will determine how and when a UW campaign might succeed. Building capable and willing civil and political cadres is necessary, but may be physically impossible within a country's geographic border. In restrictive environments, CA forces may have to accomplish their mission through International Government Organizations (IGO), Indigenous Populations and Institutions (IPI), Non-Government Organizations (NGO), dissident organizations or with governments in exile located outside the country. In North Korea or Iran, for instance, where the United States has troops openly serving on the borders, it may be easier to gain contacts, strengthen local leaders, and develop logistical programs from outside the country than it is to hide an American in Pyongyang or Tehran. Finally, the focus of current Civil Affairs doctrine is on the technical application of the five core tasks and omits the primacy of a nuanced and trust-based strategic plan to identify, develop and motivate the people who can best do that from within the target environment. It also fails to address the organizational and functional implementation or emphasize diverse solutions to complex problems.

Historically, as we will illustrate, the use of civic action strengthened UW and resistance campaigns. The networks of interagency, international, regional and local contacts that CA soldiers build in the course of combat and Civil Military Support Element (CMSE) missions enable CA to connect individuals and organizations with money and resources. The active duty component of the Civil Affairs branch has ties to academic, political and other professionals who can provide both hands-on and remote expertise to teams in the field and their surrogate partners. The Civil Information Management (CIM) component has the potential to bridge the information gap between

U.S. military, the U.S. government, the IGO/NGO communities and the revolutionary on the ground, thereby connecting him with the right resource at the right place to help him in his quest to mobilize the people. In contrast, but just as importantly, CIM can provide the necessary information to also deny those same resources and people to the state. Given that any UW campaign will have three common lines of operation; Guerrilla Warfare, Mass Mobilization and Shadow Government, Civil Affairs can support all lines of operation in a UW campaign. Of course, CA may not be the supporting element, but the element *leading* a particular effort.

B. METHODOLOGY

This thesis examines some common trends across a series of case studies and proposes a way to take advantage of the access that Civil Affairs forces have to relevant populations in order to establish and maintain relevant networks. These logistical and political networks, especially when established in advance of a UW campaign and coordinated by Civil Affairs operators during the course of the campaign, will have the overall effect of increasing the success of that campaign. In researching this topic we dug into a number of cases of insurgency engaged in over the past century. The case studies we include are of the Philippines post-World War II, Laos in the 1960s, Muqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army in Iraq 2003–2007, and the Taliban from 2001–the present. In examining these, we pay particular attention to how logistical and political networks were formed or leveraged. In addition to the case studies, we present evidence drawn from current U.S. Special Operations soldiers. Through a survey of UW planners, commanders and trainees, as well as first-hand observation of UW training events, we assess the current state of understanding of civic action as a tool for network development and mobilization as well as the willingness to engage in civic action. Our historical review via the case studies isolates critical Civil Affairs techniques for UW, while our survey and interviews point to gaps and lead to recommendations for where and how to implement UW-oriented CA techniques in training and operations. This thesis will not recommend a plan for the Guerrilla Warfare line of operation, but will make recommendations for how Civic Action and Civil Network Development can support that LOE, especially through Mass Mobilization and Shadow Government development.

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II. ED LANSDALE; CIVIC ACTION IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN INTERNAL DEFENSE

A. INTRODUCTION

LTC Edward Geary Lansdale undertook an ingenious plan to replace a corrupt, incompetent government with a trustworthy, proactive, and pro-American administration in the Philippines in the early 1950s. His aim was to install a government that was willing to fight an insurgency. In order to do so he had to remove the existing government. He and his team employed numerous unorthodox, Unconventional Warfare techniques that resulted in the rescue of a state on the verge of failure. He helped bring into power a man who could fight the Communist rebellion and who would not participate in the crony capitalism that had been the status quo. This chapter will explore how Lansdale and a handful of helpers took a bare-bones approach to waging a contest for popular support that relied on their own inventiveness, the creativity of their advisees, and the power of well-placed dollars to prop up a struggling administration in order to narrowly avoid the loss of an American ally to the influence of communism.

While in practice most of Lansdale's reforms amounted to Counter-Insurgency rather than Unconventional Warfare, his is a shining example of how individual and network mobilization, coordinated by an external source with access to funding, materiel, and technology, can enhance the overall effectiveness of an operation, whether the goal is countering or supporting insurgency. Key to accomplishing this was divining who among the Philippine government could be trusted to adopt and enforce a sense of resolve about defeating the communists, and who would be willing to make the necessary changes that would enable the corrupt government to reform and win popular support. Lansdale and his team developed networks that provided not only tactical intelligence, but support mechanisms for the counterinsurgency effort from the ground level up. Lansdale's efforts to influence trustworthy and capable Filipino leaders and to help them get to the top of the political and military pyramid were a sort of soft Unconventional Warfare all their

own. He replaced a band of complacent, corrupt bureaucrats with organized, efficient teams of aggressive, dependable warriors in the military and effective leaders in the government.

B. THE HUKS

“If I worked in those sugar fields I’d probably be a Huk myself.”

—General Douglas MacArthur⁵

Communist and socialist ideologies spread widely throughout the Philippines during the 1930s. Many of these left-leaning farmers temporarily put aside those ideologies when the Japanese invaded their homeland, and instead helped build an effective and deadly armed resistance. The Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon, or People’s Anti-Japanese Army, was formed in Luzon during World War II to wage Guerrilla Warfare. The Huks, as they were known, fought fiercely and admirably. They also took advantage of the chaos of World War II to seize most of the wealth and land in central Luzon.⁶ They established a Shadow Government anchored in the local Barrio United Defense Corps (BUDC), which was capable of exercising civil administration responsibilities by collecting taxes and establishing and enforcing their own laws while building the intelligence and logistical backbone for their army.

When the American Army returned in 1944, General MacArthur acknowledged their “socialistic”⁷ tendencies, rationalizing and minimizing them as a product of the corrupt and unrepresentative economic and political conditions under which the people lived. Ed Lansdale’s reports from the same period were less forgiving, describing the Huks as having an iron grip on five provinces and working toward a tipping point where

⁵ William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1890–1964* (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1978). 420. As quoted in Cecil B. Currey. *Edward Lansdale: Unquiet American* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1998), 38.

⁶ Cecil B. Currey, *Edward Lansdale: Unquiet American* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1998), 37.

⁷ William Manchester, *American Caesar*: As quoted in Cecil B. Currey, *Unquiet American*, 38.

they would start their revolution. When the war was over, the Huks refused to give up their 500,000 American and Japanese weapons to what they believed was a corrupt and oligarchic government.⁸

Huk leader Luis Taruc won a seat in the 1946 congressional elections, but was excluded from participation. This further separated the Huks and their sympathizers from the government in Manila. Upon his own election in 1946, President Roxas announced that his policy toward the Huks would be one of an “iron fist.” This heavy-handed tactic applied brute military and police force against the Huks wherever they were found, often inflicting heavy civilian casualties along the way. The Huks withdrew into the jungle and initiated a rebellion that would occupy the Philippine government and military until 1954. Largely because of low morale among government troops and heavy-handed retaliation policies that turned the population toward them, the Huks nearly overcame their obstacles in early 1950 and seemed on the verge of achieving their revolutionary goals. Their troops fought their way to the outskirts of Manila, where they met their match in the newly revived Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) under Defense Minister Ramon Magsaysay.

C. BUILDING A GOVERNMENT WITHIN A GOVERNMENT

Magsaysay learned from childhood that honesty and integrity were important and at times expensive. His father lost his teaching job when he refused to pass the school superintendent’s failing son in his class.⁹ The family had to move to another village and reestablish themselves, but his father visibly stuck to his principles, making an indelible mark on Ramon.

By the time WWII came to the Philippine Islands, Magsaysay had worked his way up from bus mechanic to manager of the Try Transportation Bus Company in Manila. He again worked his way up as a member of the Filipino guerrilla forces fighting

⁸ Cecil B. Currey, *Edward Lansdale: Unquiet American* (Washington, DC, Brassey’s, 1998), 38.

⁹ Major Lawrence M. Greenberg, *The HukBalahap Insurrection: A Case Study of a Successful Anti-Insurgency Operation in the Philippines, 1946–195*, U.S. Army Historical Analysis Series, U.S. Army Center of Military History (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987), 79. Accessed on May 25, 2012 at <http://www.history.army.mil/books/coldwar/huk/huk-fm.htm>.

the Japanese, ascending from captain to commander of the Zambales Military District, in charge of ten thousand U.S. Armed Forces—Far East (USAFFE) fighters. MacArthur recognized his “honesty, integrity, and ability” with a promotion to Military Governor of Zambales in 1945.¹⁰ President Roxas and 11,000 of Magsaysay’s men urged him to run for office, and Magsaysay won a seat in the House of Representatives in the 1946 election. He was then appointed to the House Committee on National Defense, became the committee chairman, and was directly responsible for reorganizing the security and armed forces to better combat the Huk danger. This included transferring control of the Police Constabulary from the interior ministry to the defense ministry and organizing the AFP into battalion combat teams (BCT).¹¹ He held the Constabulary indefinitely in key positions to defend villages so that the BCTs could move into the environs of “Huklandia” and take the fight to the rebels.

During his tenure as chairman, Magsaysay traveled to the United States, where, with the overt help of the National Security Council, President Truman, and the covert assistance of Ed Lansdale and the CIA’s Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), he procured \$10 million for AFP salaries and money-for-information campaigns. It was in Washington where he met Ed Lansdale for the first time, building a personal and professional relationship that would inevitably affect the future of the Philippines. This meeting would pay the aforementioned financial dividends in the near future and more extensive dividends in the medium and long term, but for the moment Magsaysay would return to Manila to accept appointment as the Secretary of National Defense. The Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group chief and many within his own administration urged President Quirino to appoint Magsaysay to this position. Magsaysay agreed to accept, but stipulated that he be given free rein to quell the Huk rebellion. Concurrently, he was approached by a group of senior military officers to join a coup and overthrow the president. His response was to request that the officers involved give him ninety days in office to exercise free rein before staging the coup, stating, “If I haven’t done anything by

¹⁰ Greenberg, *The HukBalahap Insurrection*, 79.

¹¹ Greenberg, *The HukBalahap Insurrection*, 80–81.

then, go ahead.”¹² His reputation was strong enough to delay the disgruntled AFP leaders in taking action. His counterinsurgency techniques were effective enough to prevent it from ever happening.

Magsaysay had developed a reputation as a soldier’s soldier early on and maintained it throughout his tenure as Secretary of National Defense. Ed Lansdale’s outwardly naive but always thoughtful delight in war¹³ plus his well-advertised affinity for the Filipino people¹⁴ were force multipliers in his dealings with them. That Lansdale and Magsaysay had a great personal and professional relationship is beyond question, but the task of reinforcing Magsaysay as “The Guy” in the eyes of the Filipinos was not simply a matter of giving him money and weapons hoping that he would do the right thing. Lansdale and JUSMAG devoted their energies to mentoring and reinforcing Magsaysay at every turn. Charles Bohannon, Lansdale’s deputy, is frank about what it took:

How did they operate? By working, in one way or another all the time; by spending virtually (and this is literally true) a minimum of 20 hours a day with Filipinos . . . by poking their noses into everything....By never leaving the key man alone except when he went to bed with his wife, until he was thoroughly indoctrinated.¹⁵

Lansdale worked for the Office of Policy Coordination, a CIA-linked but independent organization designed to carry “out a covert foreign policy in support of overt aims,”¹⁶ and under cover of the JUSMAG and 13th Air Force.¹⁷ Under these covers, he developed Magsaysay and like-minded military and political leaders into a

¹² Ramon Magsaysay, as quoted in William L. Wardon, “Robin Hood of the Islands,” *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXXIV (January 12, 1952), 76.

¹³ Edward Geary Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars: An American Mission to Southeast Asia* (NY: Harper & Row, 1972), 15.

¹⁴ Edward G. Lansdale, ‘Lessons Learned: The Philippines, 1946–1953 (ALERT No. 6A)’, reprint of a lecture at the Foreign Service Institute, Washington DC, 26 Sept. 1962 (Armed Forces Information and Education, Dept. of Defense, 1962 from the Hoover Archive), 2.

¹⁵ Charles Bohannon, “Draft. Question outline of significant factors affecting the U.S. advisory role in Philippine actions countering the Hukbalahap insurgency,” 111–4-2, *Bohannon Papers* (12–16 December 1964), Hoover Archive, Box 8.

¹⁶ Cecil B. Currey, *The Unquiet American* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 62.

¹⁷ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 121.

potent network within the bureaucratic and unwieldy larger Philippine Government and military. They were thus able to capitalize on the existing networks which they developed through persistent engagement with key members of the Philippine government to bring civic, military, and political action to bear at key times in the struggle against the Huks, in contrast to the establishment governors, mayors and commanders operating under the Iron Fist doctrine. As we will see below, coordinating these individuals and networks to gain strategic effects from tactical successes was simple, but by no means easy.

Lansdale carefully helped craft Magsaysay into a candidate who could fulfill his mission to “protect American interests in the Philippines and to consolidate a power base for Ramon Magsaysay.”¹⁸ Magsaysay was at times reluctant and lacked confidence in his ability to be president. Lansdale was an angel on his shoulder at all times; counseling him that the country needed him, that he was the only man honorable and committed enough to fight the insurgency, and that his deep love of the Philippine people made him the only choice for the job.¹⁹ In the course of developing Magsaysay, Lansdale also helped spot and recruit trustworthy subordinate leaders like Manuel Manahan. Manahan administered the Presidential Complaints and Action Commission (PCAC), resolving some 27,000 grievances against various levels of government and bolstering Magsaysay’s image as a man of the people along the way.²⁰ This selection, and others like it, ensured that Magsaysay’s commitment to fight the insurgency and build trust in the government was echoed far and wide across the country.

Throughout his campaign to assist Magsaysay to win the Presidency, Lansdale gathered existing networks under his umbrella of influence and put them to work. Through his Civil Affairs Office (CAO), he had positive stories about Magsaysay placed in American-controlled Filipino newspapers. These stories eventually filtered out to the rest of the media as local journalists joined the chorus praising Magsaysay and admonishing President Quirino. He introduced Magsaysay to influential Americans and international civic organizations like the Lions Club, going so far as to write speeches for

¹⁸ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 78.

¹⁹ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 118.

²⁰ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 131.

him for these occasions.²¹ In Manila, Lansdale befriended and recruited numerous civic organizations to help organize and motivate voters, to include Catholic Action, the Jaycees, the Rotary Club, the Lions Club, the League of Women Voters, and the Committee for Good Government.²² Gabriel Kaplan, an OPC-provided assistant, helped Lansdale to do this, urging Filipinos to unite local chapters of their civic organizations and demand free and honest elections. Kaplan himself brought together many of these organizations under the name NAMFREL; the National Movement for Free Elections. With NAMFREL as a strong voice for electoral legitimacy and veterans groups enlisted to assist with electoral monitoring, Lansdale was able to use the election to bring trust to the government and discredit to the Huk leaders. With “free and fair” elections in place, it was exponentially more difficult for the Huks to win influence via violence and armed rebellion.²³ In an amazing demonstration of Lansdale’s ingenuity and political savvy, he was even able to convince three rising political candidates within Magsaysay’s own Nacionalista party to give up their presidential aspirations and assist in Magsaysay’s campaign.²⁴ Interpersonal skills and advertising acumen were important attributes for men like Lansdale and Kaplan as they undertook such a grand scheme. Without these and other character traits, the effort to make Magsaysay president might never have succeeded.

Charles Bohannon describes some of the attributes that enabled the Americans to succeed, to include experience working and fighting with Filipinos, “top-level U.S. backing stateside and tolerance or cooperation from local U.S. authorities.” Lansdale and his team earned and enjoyed full cooperation from Magsaysay, and respect turned into fear from President Quirino.²⁵ Meanwhile, the effective marriage between U.S. and Filipino military and government officers made it possible to link civic action, deception operations, psychological warfare, and direct military action together to defeat the Huks

²¹ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 114–117.

²² Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 130.

²³ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 105–107.

²⁴ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 122.

²⁵ Bohannon, *Draft Questions Outline of Significant Factors* (1964), 111–4-2.

in four years. Lansdale had to work within Magsaysay's and the Filipinos' goals and adopt the narratives that motivated them to succeed. These narratives supported and were supported by efforts that advanced Magsaysay politically, made the AFP a viable force to fight the Huks, united organizations into coalitions that bolstered his standing among the population, and ultimately helped Lansdale succeed.

D. GENERATING RESOURCES AND COOPTING NETWORKS

"Whatever it was that hurt me most as a guerrilla...we are going to do now to the Huk."²⁶

—Ramon Magsaysay

The Economic Development Corporation (EDCOR) was one critical component of an effective civic action campaign with psychological effects that reverberated beyond its direct economic effects. Here is the EDCOR methodology: a Huk troop surrenders, he promises that he will reform, he is re-educated and possibly made to fight against the Huks, and he is then rewarded with a plot of land and the means to turn it into a viable farm. As an example of wisely employing resource control methods, he is contractually obligated to supply food and services to the community as repayment for the land. Meanwhile retired AFP officers lived among the EDCOR recipients as a means of ensuring that the EDCOR reserves would not become Huk regrouping camps.

This program is a prime example of how civic action programs served as a force-multiplier. Estimates of the numbers of Huks who surrendered are generally between 1,000 and 1,500, but the Philippine government estimated that it would have taken about 30,000 troops to achieve the same effect in combat action.²⁷ EDCOR denied the Huks fighters and provided some 5,000 families with a living. More importantly, word about the EDCOR villages spread quickly, and demonstrated to the average Filipino that Magsaysay was serious about supporting the population by improving the plight of the average farmer. This and the fact that Lansdale had Magsaysay's men steal the Huk

²⁶ Ramon Magsaysay as quoted in Reginald J. Swarbrick, *The Evolution of Communist Insurgency in the Philippines* (Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1983), 30.

²⁷ Greenberg, *The HukBalahap Insurrection*, 92.

slogan of “Land for the Landless” for EDCOR purposes²⁸ and tied it to their own strategic objectives provided a serious blow to Huk recruiting.

Lansdale and Magsaysay used the Civil Affairs Office to facilitate the spread of civic action as an operational tool throughout the AFP. The CAO flooded the airwaves and the public consciousness with anti-Huk propaganda through student organizations, newspapers, leaflets, and public radio. The CAO directly employed journalists and radio announcers, feeding them advantageous information. It also instilled a sense of community participation by organizing and facilitating over 6,000 public meetings²⁹ and co-opting existing religious, social, and communications networks in order to spread themes and messages. Through the CAO, Lansdale orchestrated an education campaign that introduced students from elementary school through university to ideas that bolstered both Magsaysay and the counterinsurgency campaign. Those behind the education campaign sponsored anticommunist forums and patriotic essay contests.³⁰ These activities had a decidedly Filipino face and tone, which helped satisfy those who felt separated and underserved by their government and helped reverse the pull of those who felt drawn toward the Huks. All of these things supported tactical operations in the field. They were coordinated with combat operations to capitalize on AFP successes and kick the Huks when they were down and most desperate. Such civic action carved deeper into the Filipino psyche the impression that the Huk were no alternative to the caring and legitimate government.

E. CONCLUSION: PROMOTING CHANGE TO FIGHT INSURGENCY

What does any of this have to do with Civil Affairs’ Role in UW? Magsaysay and his American sponsors had the luxury and benefit of a marginally organized and experienced AFP, a functioning government, and an enemy that was dispersed and geographically isolated. When supporting a friendly insurgency, UW practitioners will

²⁸ Charles T. R. Bohannon and Napoleon D. Valeriano, *Counter-Guerrilla Operations, The Philippine Experience* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006) ix. Accessed June 1, 2012 at http://books.google.com/books?id=3iA9II_ktLcC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

²⁹ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 114.

³⁰ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 114.

invariably have to work in conditions far less hospitable than this. Nevertheless, the contours of the situation Lansdale and Magsaysay had to contend with were not unlike those found in many UW situations. Lansdale backed Magsaysay's successful campaign for the presidency, disrupting imminent election fraud and the previously-discussed insurgency to help him become a viable and electable candidate. Lansdale was able to do so with tact and optimism, so much so that in 1954 Magsaysay asked Lansdale to return to the Philippines to help him implement more reforms.³¹

In addition to the civic actions techniques that can be gleaned from this case, there are some specific concepts that are of particular importance to those interested in the coercion, disruption or overthrow of a government. First, developing cooperative leaders and organizations from among those who already exist is preferable to manufacturing them out of whole cloth. Second, a unified coalition of existing organizations that works toward the common goal of regime change is a powerful force worth capitalizing on for its strengths in diversity, wide spread appeal, and access to resources; by definition such a coalition nullifies the weaknesses that surface otherwise in loose, uncoordinated networks. Third, taking advantage of internal resources and supplementing them with necessary external support is preferable to a synthetic, manufactured version of resistance wherein the sponsor provides all of the resources and operational strength. Finally, tying civic action directly to military operations and carefully coordinating them to mutually support one another multiplies the positive effects that can be expected from either.

³¹ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*. 137–138.

III. EDGAR BUELL, CIVIC ACTION IN SUPPORT OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

Many people think it impossible for guerrillas to exist for long in the enemy's rear. Such a belief reveals lack of comprehension of the relationship that should exist between the people and the troops. The former may be likened to water and the latter to the fish who inhabit it. How may it be said that these two cannot exist together?³²

—Mao Tse-Tung

A. INTRODUCTION

In the early 1950s, Viet Minh forces led by former history teacher Vo Nguyen Giap increased the tempo of the First Indo-China War and defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu, ultimately winning a victory for the revolutionary forces of Vietnam. Giap built up a substantial force of Viet Minh combat troops and logistical support units from among Vietnamese nationals. Inspired by Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary concepts, part of Giap's brilliance as a commander, aside from his great skill as a military tactician, was his understanding of the importance of political struggle as a major component of revolutionary warfare.³³ Giap recognized that the masses, once fully mobilized, would constitute the ultimate weapon. Under his direction the political struggle (*dau tranh*) took advantage of a vast array of economic, psychological, and ideological weapons aimed at strengthening the resolve of friendly civilians and troops while converting their enemy counterparts. A key element of the Viet Minh's *dau tranh* was to win the support of the people.³⁴

After defeating the French, President Ho Chi Minh shifted large numbers of Viet Minh troops to the eastern border of Laos to support the Laotian communist Pathet Lao. The North Vietnamese presence had two significant impacts: it expanded Ho's communist influence on his neighbor to the west, and secured the eastern border of Laos

³² Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, translated by Samuel B. Griffith (Baltimore, MD: The Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1992), 112.

³³ Vo Nguyen Giap, *Selected writings* (Hanoi: The Gioi Publishers, 1994), 574.

³⁴ D.J. Sagar, *Major Political Events in Indo-China 1945–1990* (New York: Facts of File, 1991), xiv.

for use in creating supply lines running south to South Vietnam. The Viet Minh experience in Laos served as experimental grounds for testing new tactics and techniques to be used in insurgency. It also gave the Viet Minh forces an inside look at the UW techniques employed by the United States to win the support of the population.

The United States perceived the potential loss of Laos to communist influence as a continuation of the domino effect. Prior to leaving the White House, President Eisenhower told Kennedy that “Laos was the key to the entire area of Southeast Asia.”³⁵ Before 1960, the United States’ involvement in Laos had been limited to a small contingent of “civilian” advisors training royal Laotian forces and a large military aid package which funded the entire Royal Lao Army (RLA) budget. The Program Evaluation Office, also known as Operation Hotfoot, was a covert effort begun in 1955 to train the RLA to fight against the Pathet Lao.³⁶ Under Operation White Star in 1961, this role would expand to include large-scale covert support to anti-communist guerrilla forces, massive bombing of the area containing the Ho Chi Minh trail, and a civic action program which would shape the outcome of the war.³⁷ As a supporting effort to the Vietnam War, these operations were indispensable. CIA veteran Richard Helms assessed that “Every attack on the Ho Chi Minh Trail diminished the supplies available to the North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam,” and that “three of the best NVN combat divisions were tied down and under persistent guerrilla attacks in Laos.”³⁸

The RLA was composed of French-trained ethnic-Laotian soldiers. Laotians as a whole are not known for their warrior qualities. At the time they were described as a peace-loving people. The warrior race of the Laos were the Hmong, who reside in

³⁵ Elliot Mai, *RAND in Southeast Asia: A History of the Vietnam War Era* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010), 541.

³⁶ Victor Holman, “Seminole Negro Indians, Macabees, and Civilian Irregulars: Models for the Future Employment of Indigenous Forces” (master’s thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1995) 44.

³⁷ D. Gareth Porter, “After Geneva: Subverting Laotian Neutrality,” in *Laos: War and Revolution*, ed. Nina S. Adams and Alfred W. McCoy (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970), 182–183.

³⁸ Richard Helms, *A Look Over My Shoulder; A Life in the Central Intelligence Agency* (New York, Random House, 2003), 255.

mountainous areas and trace their roots back to southern China.³⁹ In 1960, the CIA began a program to recruit and train anti-communist guerrilla forces from among the Hmong tribesmen. These guerrillas would serve as surrogate forces through which the United States provided reconnaissance and harassing forces against the Viet Minh and Pathet Lao. One reason the Hmong had such success in fighting the Pathet Lao is because the Pathet Lao, like the Lao in the Royal Army, never had much of a taste for fighting.⁴⁰ The CIA also made use of large numbers of Thai and Filipino government troops, for limited air power, logistics, and combat forces.

The United States' effort at civic action during this period is best represented by one man who would spend a decade in Laos, living and working among the people. Edgar Buell was an Indiana farmer who was sent to Laos as a volunteer with the International Voluntary Services (IVS). His initial motivation to join the IVS was his desire to break a bout of depression after the loss of his wife.⁴¹ When he arrived in Laos in May 1960, the balance of power between the Communists and Neutralists hung precariously on who could win the support of the population. At the time Buell could not have imagined the impact he would have on the Laotian people or the influence he would leverage in the unconventional war being waged by the United States against communism in Southeast Asia.

B. BRIEF HISTORY OF LAOS

From 1893, until a brief Japanese occupation during World War II, Laos was a French protectorate. Following the fall of Japan in 1945, the country declared its independence, but the French under Charles de Gaulle re-asserted control. In 1950, Laos was granted semi-autonomy as an "associated state" within the French Union. Souvanna

³⁹ Arthur J. Dommen, *Laos Keystone of Indochina* (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1985), 6.

⁴⁰ Don A. Schanche, *Mister Pop* (New York: Van Rees Press, 1970), 221.

⁴¹ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 20.

Phouma became the democratically elected Prime Minister in 1951. France remained in de facto control until 22 October 1953, when Laos gained full independence under King Sisavang Vong.⁴²

While France had granted independence to Laos as a constitutional monarchy, the country was torn between competing political parties. During the Geneva Conference of 1954, Democratic Republic of Vietnam Prime Minister Pham Van Dong demanded that the Pathet Lao, a Laotian communist party, be given a seat at the negotiating table. Dong later dropped his demand and proposed a complete ceasefire in Indochina and the partitioning of Laos into communist and nationalist sectors. The conference ended with an agreement for the withdrawal of Viet Minh forces from Laos, the retention of a modest French military training team by the RLA, and the understanding that no military alliance be formed between the United States and Laos. The United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, acknowledged this agreement, but refused to sign the accords. One additional term of the agreement provided for two “regroupment zones” in Phong Saly and Sam Neua provinces adjacent to North Vietnam, to allow the Pathet Lao to assemble under the ceasefire. The provinces were to remain Pathet Lao held areas only until the next general election.⁴³

Tension between the royal government and the Pathet Lao flared immediately following the convention. The royal government contended that, it had the authority to exercise its functions anywhere in Laos, to include stationing royal troops in Phong Saly and Sam Neua provinces. The Pathet Lao held the view that they were entitled to exercise exclusive authority of the provinces until the general elections were held. Additionally, while the royal government maintained the position that the general election should be held in accordance with current laws, the Pathet Lao were of the belief that since they had not been represented at the National Assembly, they were not bound by the laws.⁴⁴

⁴² Dommen, *Laos*, 42–44.

⁴³ Dommen, *Laos*, 44–46.

⁴⁴ Dommen, *Laos*, 49–50.

The Pathet Lao boycotted the 1955 general elections and Souvanna Phouma was reelected Prime Minister. Subsequent negotiations between Phouma and his half-brother (and Pathet Lao leader), Souphanouvong, resulted in the formation of a coalition government in late 1957. With the communists and independents holding enough seats in parliament to block the royal government from attaining a two-thirds majority, the house became deadlocked. The National Assembly responded by confirming a right-wing government led by Phuy Xananikon in August 1958.⁴⁵

On August 9, 1960, Captain Kong Le led “Neutralist” forces in a successful coup d’état in the Laotian capital of Vientianne. With help from the King of Thailand, the CIA-backed Laotian cabinet minister, General Phoumi Nosavan, established a competing capital in Savannakhet. Phoumi’s forces attacked Vientiane on September 18, but the Neutralists, with the help of the Pathet Lao and the Soviets, repulsed the attack. A tripartite coalition government was formed between neutralists, communists, and rightists on November 18, 1960. On December 8, Souvanna Phouma removed Kong Le from the throne and made himself King, but the next day Kong Le deposed Souvanna Phouma and the leftist minister Quinim Pholsena was appointed Premier. On December 13, Phoumi began the Battle of Vientiane and, once victorious, installed Boun Oum as Premier. At this time, the country was divided, with a neutralist regime led by Souvanna Phouma based in the Plaine des Jarres and a U.S.-backed rightist regime in Vientianne under Oum. In 1961, John F. Kennedy’s administration opted for a neutralist coalition rather than risk an armed confrontation with the Russians over Laos, and Phoumi was ordered to merge his right-wing government into a tripartite coalition under the leadership of Souvanna Phouma.⁴⁶

C. GUERRILLA WARFARE AND CIVIC ACTION

The Hmong people were an ethnic minority within Laos. They held a low position in society and had a very small presence within the RLA. The only Hmong officer within the RLA in 1960 was MAJ Vang Pao, a French-trained combat veteran with extensive

⁴⁵ Martin Stuart-Fox, *A History of Laos* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 95–98.

⁴⁶ Stuart-Fox, *A History of Laos*, 99–107.

military experience. Vang Pao saw the potential for the Hmong to serve as a resistance force against the communist forces in support of Souvanna Phouma's effort to establish a power base for the Royal Lao government. He had been quietly working to establish resistance networks by handing out weapons from the government armory to his fellow tribesmen.⁴⁷ The CIA came to serve as advisors and financiers.

At the time, Edgar Buell's job with the IVS was to teach rural vocational skills to adults on an elementary level. The first thing Buell did on arriving in Laos was to learn a few perfunctory phrases in the local language and begin establishing a network of reliable local nationals. He focused considerable time and effort on learning local customs and traditions of the people. In addition to integrating with the locals, Buell built strong relationships with U.S. Army Special Forces soldiers, CIA personnel, and other members of the international community involved in the secret war in Laos. As his personal civic action program expanded in scale and scope, Buell avoided creating a bureaucratic structure which would likely fall prey to Parkinson's Law.⁴⁸ He did this by employing a small number of local nationals to handle the tasks associated with running a large-scale humanitarian support operation while maintaining a relatively flat hierarchy with a narrow span of control.

Buell's civic programs and Vang Pao's military actions came to be intertwined. Neither activity could function without the other. The Hmong and Lao people relied equally on Buell's rice and Vang Pao's guns. Indeed, the relationship was so close that at times Buell lent direct support to the guerrilla forces by delivering relief supplies to isolated bands of Vang Pao's fighters who were not able to reach friendly lines.⁴⁹ This action reduced friction with the population by alleviating the need for Vang Pao's guerrillas to burden the populace with material support. Buell came to see the struggle for Laos in terms of Cold War morality, as one between free world good and communist

⁴⁷ Roger Warner, *Shooting at the Moon* (South Royalton, VT: Steerforth Press, 1999), 12, 20.

⁴⁸ Parkinson's Law details a mathematical equation describing the rate at which bureaucracies expand over time. Parkinson says that officials can be relied upon to multiply their subordinates and to make work for themselves. Buell successfully avoided both of these temptations and focused on effective civic action. See C. Northcote Parkinson, *Parkinson's Law* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), 4–5.

⁴⁹ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 224.

evil.⁵⁰ He understood from his study of the human terrain that winning the support of the Hmong people was the key to winning the fight against the communists.

D. HOW MANY MEN DO YOU NEED IF YOU WANT TO MAKE A CHANGE?

Buell was universally known in Laos as *Tan Pop*, which means “Mister Sent from Above.” He is the most beloved American in the history of Laos. Besides becoming the face of America in Laos, he became intimately familiar with all the tribes across Laos, developing close personal relationships and a keen understanding of the tribal nature of the country. Within the first five years of his involvement in the war, he was responsible for partial or total support of 500,000 people.⁵¹ He brought about changes in sanitation habits, education programs, and cultural norms which endure today.

Prior to providing any aid, Tan Pop conducted assessments of the capabilities and knowledge of the people he sought to help. He spent the first few weeks in-country traveling 18 hours a day to the villages within his area of responsibility. His perspective on giving assistance was “If you’re gonna [sic] help out in a country like this, you first got to find out what the people can do for themselves. The closer you can git [sic] to the lowest man out here, the quicker you find out what he needs.” By meeting with the rural farmers, he was able to identify shortcomings in their tools and equipment. Instead of supplying tools to the farmers, Pop trained the villagers to make their own out of locally procured materials. “They need steel points on their wooden plows, and their own blacksmiths are makin’ [sic] ’em [sic].”⁵² Pop had an instinctual understanding that in order to build a sense of independence and strength within a community, one must foster a sense of ownership and self-reliance.

Within a month in-country, Pop realized that in order to help the people of Laos, he would have to expand his civic action role beyond his charter of vocational training. While performing his duties as technical advisor, he quickly identified weaknesses in

⁵⁰ Warner, *Shooting at the Moon*, 1–5

⁵¹ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 246.

⁵² Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 38–39.

health and education programs that left the Hmong people vulnerable to the influence and control of communist Pathet Lao. Similarly, Vang Pao had been educated by the French at a young age and saw the importance of education for the future of the Hmong people. The Hmong never had their own schools; the only opportunity for education was to send a small number of children to Lao schools that were built and funded by the Pathet Lao. Buell leveraged his connections within the international aid community and the CIA to attain simple school supplies for the Hmong. He led local villagers in projects to build the first schools that had ever been built for Hmong children.⁵³ This gave the Hmong an opportunity for education and helped break their reliance on the Pathet Lao.

E. ENABLING A GUERRILLA FORCE THROUGH HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

Health problems were a major problem among the Hmong. In 1960, infant mortality rates were 70 percent. Pop found there was a critical shortage in trained medical personnel. In concert with U.S. Special Forces medics, he identified a small number of candidates from among the Hmong and Lao people and erected a medical training school at Pho Khao. The nurse training program was a quick success.⁵⁴ Within two years, his program trained more than 100 simple practitioners from all ethnic groups and placed them strategically around the northeast, thereby bringing crude but regular medical attention to the area for the first time. Vang Pao's guerrilla force benefitted directly from the increase in morale thanks to improved medical care they and their families received. Perhaps the greatest measure of effectiveness of the nursing program was the infant mortality rate, which dropped sharply within two years to just over 30 percent, still a far cry from the U.S. infant mortality rate of .025% at the time.⁵⁵ Also under Buell's initiative, a 100-bed hospital facility was built at Sam Thong.⁵⁶

⁵³ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 91.

⁵⁴ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 172.

⁵⁵ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1962, Volume II-Mortality Part A* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1964), 274.

⁵⁶ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 125.

Pop's medical program paid dividends in August 1963 when a cholera epidemic broke out in lowland rural areas. This epidemic, if untreated, threatened the Hmong guerrillas who were now the main source of resistance against the communist forces. Buell was able to leverage his influence within the CIA and State Department to bring the cholera vaccine in from Thailand overnight.⁵⁷ Over the course of two weeks, Pop's medics immunized more than 15,000 lowland, mid-slope, and mountain dwellers, including hundreds from threatened Pathet Lao villages.⁵⁸ This outreach by anti-communist forces displayed a willingness and capacity by the Royal Government of Souvanna Phouma to aid the people of Laos regardless of their ethnicity or political loyalties.⁵⁹

Tan Pop's civic action programs had a strong impact on Vang Pao and the CIA's recruitment efforts. By providing emergency relief, and agricultural and vocational training to the Hmong tribesmen, Pop effectively freed up thousands of military age males to join the guerrilla force. Within two years, many of the 125,000 Hmong for whom he cared had become self-sufficient, tilling new farms across the area.⁶⁰ Just as important, this population was now actively and lethally engaging Vietnamese forces in Laos and along the border on the all-important Ho Chi Minh Trail.

F. SAVING THE SEA THROUGH POPULACE AND RESOURCE CONTROL

As the war intensified, Pop focused considerable effort on refugee relief. He was an ever-present leader during countless evacuations of villages under direct attack from the enemy. Over the course of his time in Laos, he personally led 70,000 Laotian refugees to safety when their villages were attacked by communist forces.⁶¹ As quickly and efficiently as possible, he would move the evacuees to a safe area, take a head count of

⁵⁷ Warner, *Shooting at the Moon*, 100.

⁵⁸ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 186.

⁵⁹ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 172.

⁶⁰ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 246.

⁶¹ "Somebody Cared: The Legacy of Edgar Buell," YouTube, Dec 3, 2008, accessed May 25, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08Zd3N6zDvU>.

the remaining personnel, and call for aerial delivery of relief supplies through the CIA-run Air America. Vang Pao relied heavily on Pop's refugee program. While Pao moved his units like chess pieces, sweeping to the sides, leaping over pockets of the enemy in the mountains, Pop functioned like his bishop, following behind with immediate aid for the civilian populace in the newly seized areas.⁶²

Refugee evacuation became a prime method for winning or maintaining the support of the population. Vang Pao followed Mao's ideology that the people are the sea and his guerrillas were the fish that needed the sea to survive. Vang Pao knew that as long as Pop supported the people, the people would support his guerrillas. A large part of Vang Pao's strategy involved the safeguarding and movement of refugees. "If the people are the sea, then let's hurry the tide south," he said. Vang Pao and Pop came up with a plan to move every native who was willing to disrupt his traditional geographical ties more than a hundred miles south where the area was more secure. Because of its optional nature however, this operation was not a military success, as many Hmong were left behind because they opted to stay, or were held in place by communist forces. Ironically, at least two villages of Pathet Lao did end up being moved south because they did not understand that they could remain behind if they liked. They liked the security and their new lease on life so much that they changed allegiances.⁶³

G. INFLUENCING SOCIETY THROUGH LEADERSHIP AND INITIATIVE

The high stature that Pop earned among the Laotian people lent him immense credibility and the moral authority to alter traditional taboos. For instance, while conducting a visit to a small Hmong village, Pop encountered a young Hmong man whose left hand was hanging by strings of rotten flesh. Pop explained that the arm was infected with gangrene and the arm would have to be removed. The tribal shaman told him that amputation was not possible because the spirits would not permit it. Pop patiently explained to the young man, the shaman, and village elders that the man would die if the arm was not removed. They begrudgingly allowed Pop to amputate the arm.

⁶² Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 171–172.

⁶³ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 293–295

The man lived, as did the other three dozen amputees operated on by the Indiana farmer during his decade in the mountains of Laos.⁶⁴

In an early refugee evacuation, Pop led 9,000 evacuees out of danger, but they were still pursued by the communists. When they came to a shallow river, the followers refused to cross. Under small arms and mortar fire, an elder explained to Pop that it was forbidden for the Hmong people to wet the body above the knees or below the shoulders at this time of year; spirits of the water would make them sick. Frustrated, Pop told them they could stay and die or take their chances in crossing. He convinced the elders to cross with him and the rest of the group followed. This event represented a watershed moment in tribal history because for centuries the Hmong had suffered from unnecessary diseases of the skin and internal organs caused entirely by their refusal to bathe except at very special times of the year.⁶⁵ Thanks to Buell's ability to improve field sanitation practices the combat readiness of Vang Pao's guerrilla force also improved.

It was through necessity that Pop broke the long standing Hmong taboo against women providing medical aid. After one extremely harrowing evacuation, Pop found himself with 25,000 refugees in need of medical attention. With a shortage of medics, he called for a team of young female nurse trainees to be brought forward to assist. When Vang Pao arrived to inspect the camp, he was so impressed with the results that he said "It was good that they volunteered to help. It is time for customs to change among my people." Vang Pao saw the utility in using the nurses as a resource and added "Some, perhaps, will even work with my soldiers."⁶⁶

H. GIVE A MAN A FISH, HE EATS FOR A DAY...GIVE HIM 2,000 FISH, HE WILL EAT FOR GENERATIONS

Pop sought to improve the dietary habits of the refugees he worked with. Protein scarcity caused malnutrition and disease. Pop's introduction of steel tipped plows had an instant effect on the farmers' ability to till land in preparation for planting. His

⁶⁴ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 106.

⁶⁵ Schanche, *Mister Pop* 130.

⁶⁶ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 201.

introduction of row-planting methods also increased the rural farmers' effectiveness and production rates.⁶⁷ As previously mentioned, by teaching efficient farming techniques he lowered the labor requirements of the villages and freed up military aged males to join Vang Pao's guerrillas. As an example of how Pop tackled problems more specifically related to protein, take the black razorback pig that is native to Laos. Despite its small size, boney frame, and lack of meat and fat, it had been for centuries the only pig that the people raised and consumed. Although people had recognized that pigs were a good source of protein, no one had introduced a viable alternative. Pop took the initiative to order 60 hefty Yorkshire pigs from Thailand. The Hmong were delighted by the rotund pigs and the resulting cross-breed leaped from bone to fat in one generation. By 1970, there were more mixed-breed pigs in Laos than there were razorbacks before the war started.⁶⁸

A second venture to boost the supply of protein came with Pop's introduction of farm-raised fish to the locals. While native Laotians did have a taste for fish, the ponds, rivers, and streams of the mountainous country had never produced much in the way of aquatic life. Again, Pop introduced a new species into Laos by importing 2,000 tilapia from Thailand. Within three months, the Hmong and Lao people were actively harvesting all the fish they needed from ponds. Today, in Laos, even where there is no chicken or pork, even the poorest of people have fish to rely on.⁶⁹

While Pop generally had overwhelming success, he did fall short on some occasions. One such instance was his effort to curb the dependence of rural farmers on the opium trade. Pop invested much time and some of his own money to introduce sweet potatoes as an alternative crop. He did so based on results of a soil study and because sweet potatoes could yield two harvests a year as opposed to the single annual harvest of poppy. This would also have provided a sustainable source of protein to the Laotian people. Unfortunately, there was no way to get a profitable amount of potatoes to any

⁶⁷ Schanche, *Mister Pop* 246.

⁶⁸ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 247.

⁶⁹ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 247.

market. The farmers who took Pop's advice lost out on a year of opium production and gained an overabundance of sweet potatoes.⁷⁰

I. CONCLUSION

Everything turns in time, and it'll turn again in Laos, some day. Maybe it's turnin' now, maybe it'll be ten years or fifty years before there's peace. But when that day comes, these people is gonna remember what Tan Pop stood for, whether they remember me or not. They'll be just a little better off for my bein' there, and that's the only thing that keeps me goin'.⁷¹

—Edgar Buell

Civic action had a profound effect on the fight against communist influence in Laos from 1960 until the United States finally withdrew all aid and support to guerrillas in 1973. In the later years of U.S. involvement in the war, the communists adopted many of the same civic action techniques which Pop was employing. On several occasions, Vang Pao's guerrillas found caches of blankets, rice, and school books in Pathet Lao and Viet Minh bases.⁷² Clearly, communists had taken note of the overwhelming effects that civic action was having on tilting the balance of popular support in favor of the anti-communists. Buell's efforts contributed to the campaign in Laos, denying supplies being ferried along the Ho Chi Minh trail system and assisting the Hmong people to help tie down three entire divisions of NVA troops on the periphery of the Vietnam war.

Even after the American withdrawal, Edgar Buell stayed on in Laos to continue his relief efforts until May 10, 1975 when he finally agreed to leave at the urging of friends. His safety was in jeopardy as he had become the symbol of American interference as far as the Pathet Lao were concerned, and they now occupied Vientiane.⁷³ Edgar Buell's successes in Laos are an example for how civic action conducted at the tactical level can have strategic effects in a UW environment. His efforts helped keep the Hmong on their feet and fighting, even in a losing cause. As a senior U.S. diplomat wrote

⁷⁰ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 131.

⁷¹ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 310.

⁷² Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 299.

⁷³ Warner, *Shooting at the Moon*, 259–260.

of Buell, “his grasp of the microeconomics of refugee resettlement and rehabilitation is of a high order. His handling of the unusual representational responsibilities of his position in the shadow of the battle line is equally good. Second only to Vang Pao, another living legend, Tan Pop’s word is holy writ in the Meo [Hmong] country.”⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Schanche, *Mister Pop*, 261.

IV. MUQTADA AL SADR; CIVIC ACTION IN SUPPORT OF RESISTANCE

A. INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, Shia Iraqis found themselves in a position to finally seize the political power that their greater percentage of the population numbers warranted. Several Shia and Sunni organizations waged small-scale insurgent warfare against the U.S. occupation and its Iraqi allies. Some fell under the umbrella of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and waged an ideological war. Some rose from disbanded Baathist organizations, waging a counter-coup to expel the American occupiers. Still others built upon existing internal and external links to mobilize local geographic and sectarian-based populations to gain their own political power in the emerging democracy. This chapter will highlight Muqtada al-Sadr's effective employment of civic action and social movement theory techniques to create a political base within the Shia population that helped his party incorporate itself into the Iraqi political process and become a power player.

Muqtada al-Sadr is perhaps best known as the leader of the Shia guerrilla organization Jaish al-Mahdi, or the Mahdi Army. This organization was often described by media sources and Coalition authorities as a violent insurgent group bent on the expulsion of the U.S.-led occupation forces following the fall of Saddam Hussein. While the Mahdi Army's military actions did play a significant role in the post-invasion insurgency, this chapter will focus on Muqtada al-Sadr's use of networks and civic action to establish a Shadow Government and mobilize the Shia population into a mass movement organization under the banner of the Sadrist party.

B. RECENT HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Iraq is composed of a Shia majority, representing 60–65% of the population.⁷⁵ Until the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, government control was maintained by the

⁷⁵ Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, "Iraq; People and Society." Accessed on September 12, 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html>

mostly-Sunni Baathist party. At the time of the 2003 invasion, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani was the preeminent Shia cleric in Iraq.⁷⁶ He was one of the few senior Shia leaders to survive the Saddam regime and remain in Iraq. Following the U.S. invasion, a political vacuum opened when the Baath party was outlawed by the Coalition Provisional Authority under Administrator Paul Bremer. This gap in authority provided Shia political groups the opportunity to vie for control of the population. Immediately following the invasion, political groups such as the Dawa party and Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (SCIRI), that had gone into exile during Saddam's rule, returned to Iraq.⁷⁷ Unbeknownst to these parties, there was also a local contender anxious to fill the political void.

Muqtada al-Sadr was relatively unknown prior to the 2003 U.S. invasion, although he came from one of the most prominent religious families in Iraq. His ancestry can be traced directly back to the Prophet Mohammad's daughter, Fatima. He was the fourth son of revered Shia cleric Mohammad Sadiq al-Sadr, who had been an opponent to Saddam. Sadiq became a symbol of Shia oppression, but was elevated to the status of a martyr following his assassination by Saddam in 1999. Muqtada benefited from the reputation of his family's name and the credibility he earned thanks to remaining in Iraq after his father's murder. His having remained living among his fellow Shia helped him quickly establish a base of power following the regime's overthrow. But, he lacked his father's religious scholarly credentials. Nor could he match those of the leaders of the Dawa and SCIRI parties. However, what Muqtada lacked in actual religious qualifications, he made up for with fervor and political savvy. The fact that he was not part of the established Shia clergy actually made him more appealing to many impoverished young Shia.

Muqtada had a strategic vision for his movement which he openly disclosed in a 2005 interview with Al Jazeera.⁷⁸ His plan was three-phased. First, it involved

⁷⁶ Canadian Broadcast Corporation News, "Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani: A Profile" Last modified August 26, 2004. Accessed September 16, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/iraq/al-sistani.html>

⁷⁷ Patrick Cockburn, *Muqtada al-Sadr and the Battle for the Future of Iraq* (New York: Scribner Press, 2008), 127.

⁷⁸ Juan Cole, *PBS News Hour* interview with Jim Lehrer, 27 March, 2006, Accessed August 26, 2012 at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/jan-june06/sadr_3-27.html.

mobilizing the disenfranchised Shia population through protests to instill a sense of unity. The second phase entailed military action to be carried out by his Mahdi Army. The third and final phase was political action which he would achieve through joining the Iraqi political process. And indeed, as he envisioned, at the peak of the Sadrist movement, Muqtada was able to rouse the support of the Shia population and hold demonstrations with tens of thousands of protestors at multiple locations.⁷⁹ He fielded a 60,000-man army which was able to effectively maintain control of several Iraqi cities against Coalition and Iraqi forces.⁸⁰ Finally, his Sadrist party was able to win 32 out of 130 United Iraqi Alliance seats in the December 2005 Iraqi parliamentary election.⁸¹

The extent to which Muqtada's name recognition helped his success cannot be underestimated. In fact, he did not start the Sadrist movement, but used his family name to co-opt the Sadrist party brand which dates back to the 1970s when it was established as "a mixture of Islamic revivalism, nationalism, and populism [with] a deep appeal to angry, alienated, but terrorized young Shia men."⁸² To review just a bit more of the family's history, the Sadr family is one of the two dominant Shia families within Iraq. Muqtada is not just the son of Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Sadiq al-Sadr, but also the son-in-law of Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Sadr. Baqir, known as Sadr I, was himself the son of a well-respected high-ranking Shi'a cleric and the ideological founder of Islamic Dawa Party. His lineage, too, reportedly goes back to Muhammad (through the seventh Shia Imam). Following Baqir's execution by Saddam Hussein, the family name was carried on by his cousin, Mohammad Sadiq al-Sadr, known as Sadr II. Sadr II was known for his calls for government reform. He cautiously walked the line between confrontation with and submission to Saddam. The regime was hesitant to eliminate him because he was able to control the Shia masses and they most likely feared an uprising in

⁷⁹ Khaled Farhan, 'Iraqis protest against Najaf bombings', *IOL News*, 13 August, 2004, Accessed August 26, 2012 at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/world/iraqis-protest-against-najaf-bombings-1.219561>

⁸⁰ Thomas E. Ricks and Ann Scott Tyson, 'Intensified Combat on Streets Likely', *Washington Post*, 11 January 2007, accessed August 26, 2012 at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/01/10/AR2007011002581_pf.html.

⁸¹ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 165.

⁸² David Judd, "Inside Sadr's movement," *International Socialist Review*, Issue 60, July–August 2008, accessed September 4, 2012 at <http://www.isreview.org/issues/60/rev-sadr.shtml>.

response to an assassination. Sadiq successfully established a network of preachers and organizers to revive the Shia masses in Baghdad and southern Iraq. The growth of his popularity, among those who often referred to themselves as the “followers of the Vocal Hawza,” developed into a mass popular movement which attracted the poor and deprived.⁸³ This large following also put him in competition with other Shia leaders including Ayatollah Mohammed Baqir al-Hakim who was exiled in Iran.⁸⁴ In February 1999, Saddam had had enough of Sadiq’s quiet independence. Sadiq and his two eldest sons were assassinated on their way home from the Kufa mosque in Najaf. Saddam never claimed responsibility for the killings and even went so far as to execute four “foreigners” for the crime.⁸⁵ The killings inspired a short, unorganized uprising which was quickly suppressed by Iraqi security forces and soon the Shia masses returned to their lives of quiet repression.

Muqtada maintained a low profile following the assassination of his father and brothers. He was wise enough to realize that there was no reward in taking a public stand against Saddam. In fact, he went so far as to send a letter formally thanking the regime for its sympathy. Over the next four years, he worked as editor-in-chief of a Sadrist magazine called *al-Huda*, which had been established in 1997 when the Baathist regime had confidence that the movement was working in its interest.⁸⁶ Although little is officially known of Muqtada’s activities, it is believed that he served as the dean of a religious university set up by his father in Najaf and was responsible for security in al-Thawra (later named Sadr city).⁸⁷ While Muqtada remained under constant surveillance by Iraqi security forces, his positions would have given him access to a large number of

⁸³ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 88.

⁸⁴ Ernesto H. Braam, All Roads Lead to Najaf, *Journal of International and Global Studies*, 2010, accessed August 27, 2012 at <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=6&ved=0CEYQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.lindenwood.edu%2Fjigs%2Fdocs%2Fvolume2Issue1%2Fessays%2F1-21.pdf&ei=HwA8ULyDOuHniwK8hICIBQ&usg=AFQjCNEv2flylw5RHh87kuePibQL8sde2g&sig2=sidrboHF07Ij83POGKcAhg>.

⁸⁵ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 110.

⁸⁶ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 113.

⁸⁷ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 112.

young Shia from poor neighborhoods. This explains to some degree his ability to raise large numbers of volunteers in short order when the opportunity arose in 2003.

Following the regime's fall, Muqtada was quick to take action. His initial success likely had a lot to do with proximity. He was properly positioned within the Shia community to quickly organize supporters as soon as the regime began to disintegrate and while many Shia rivals were still in exile abroad. Tellingly, one religious rival, Sayyid Majid al-Khoei, returned to Najaf from Britain on April 9, 2003, only to be brutally hacked to death by Sadr supporters.⁸⁸ Not only was this not the peaceful transition to a post-Saddam Iraq that most had hoped for, but it marked the start of a violent struggle between Shia factions that would last the next few years.

C. MASS MOBILIZATION AND CIVIC ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THE RESISTANCE

Muqtada wasted no time in activating the latent networks he had developed over the years since his father's death. Again, he was able to quickly activate a web of supporters before any of his rivals had time to react.⁸⁹ By exploiting the Sadr family name, he tapped his father's vast network of charities, schools, and mosques and integrated them with his own significant popular following. This meant most of the resources available to the Shia community were under his tentative control. He immediately focused efforts on establishing a name for himself as a source of stability and leadership for the Shia community. Within a week of Saddam going into hiding, the Sadrist had 50,000 volunteers organized in east Baghdad, performing public services such as collecting trash, directing traffic, and distributing food to hospitals.⁹⁰ This localized version of a Shadow Government gave Sadr the legitimacy and public support that he needed to sustain and build his opposition movement.

⁸⁸ Nimrod Raphaeli, "Understanding Muqtada al-Sadr," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall, 2004, Volume XI, Number 4, pp. 33–42. Accessed September 10, 2012 at http://www.meforum.org/655/understanding-muqtada-al-sadr#_ftnref9.

⁸⁹ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 117.

⁹⁰ *Iraqi Shi'ites under Occupation*, International Crisis Group report, 9, September, 2003, 17.

While material resources were limited and he had established no formal structure of control, Muqtada was in touch with about fifteen religious sheikhs on legitimate matters during the final days of Saddam's rule.⁹¹ This gave him a core of local leaders through whom he was able to generate a cadre of supporters that enabled him to exercise control and communicate his strategic message. He immediately set up Sadrist offices in poor neighborhoods and established committees charged with restoring civil order and social stability. A key action that played to his favor was the reopening of several mosques which had been closed by Saddam. Muqtada also urged Shia to make the Arba'in pilgrimage to Karbala as his father had done before his death, but later canceled for fear of reprisal by Saddam. Muqtada's influence with the people can be seen in the 3,000,000 pilgrims some estimate made the journey.⁹² At this point in time (April, 2003), Muqtada was not openly seeking a political role himself, but was supportive of the Dawa party under the leadership of Ayatollah al-Ha'eri in Iran.

Mass looting was rampant after Saddam's fall. This led to a breakdown in the infrastructure as utilities were disrupted by thieves stealing power transformers, light fixtures, and such. The rampant looting also posed an ethical dilemma for many who viewed it amoral. While Sadrist clerics did manage to recover stolen property through amnesty programs set up to restore most basic services, Muqtada was less decisive about the issue of looting itself. In an effort to co-opt the looters but not alienate the clerics, he issued the al-Hawasim fatwa which allowed looters to hold onto their expropriated items as long as they made a donation of one-fifth of the value to their local Sadrist office.⁹³

The competition for control among the Shia began quickly. The first sign of a disjointed Shia front was the murder of al-Khoei. A further division between factions surfaced when angry Sadrist mobs besieged Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani's house and unsuccessfully demanded his return to Iran.⁹⁴ What role Muqtada himself played in this action is unknown, but it pointed to fractures within the Shia community. Within weeks,

⁹¹ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 127.

⁹² Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival* (Norton Press, New York, 2006), 18–19.

⁹³ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 130.

⁹⁴ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 131.

Mohammed Bakir al-Hakim of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq returned to Iraq from Iran. In July, the 25-member Iraqi Interim Governing Council (IGC) was formed as the United States tried to develop an interim authority that would have legitimacy in Iraq and abroad, appease the population, and deflect criticism from the occupation forces.⁹⁵ The Sadrists were noticeably excluded from any representation in this new governing body. Muqtada would benefit from this exclusion as he craftily seized the narrative, pitting the illegitimacy of the new regime against his benevolent and effective popular movement.

D. LASHING DEEDS AND WORDS TOGETHER

Muqtada used several narratives to structure his opposition to rival Shia groups. His struggle to win “the battle of the story” is a case study in how resistance movements contend with the government for the people’s opinion. He shrewdly used the four basic framing strategies that social movement theorist and Islamic radicalization scholar Quintan Wiktorowicz identifies as relevant to the credibility of popular intellectuals. They are: vilification, exaltation, credentialing, and “decredentialing.”⁹⁶ Muqtada opposed the IGC and publicly vilified the Council on the basis that it was appointed by an illegal, external governing body that had no authority over the people of a sovereign nation. He vilified SCIRI, Dawa, and other secular Iraqi parties as supporters of an illegitimate occupation force. In direct opposition to these parties, Muqtada elevated his Sadrist movement, exalting it as the embodiment of Iraqi independence and nationalism. By attacking the credibility of members of the IGC and magnifying his own organization’s legitimacy, he effectively “decredentialized” his rivals while “credentializing” his own movement.

To add to his narrative, Muqtada tied the argument against his Shia opponents to historical events which highlighted perceived past transgressions against the Shia

⁹⁵ “Governing Iraq,” *International Crisis Group*, 25 August 2003, Accessed September 12, 2012 at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/iraq-iran-gulf/iraq/017-governing-iraq.aspx> . 4, 22.

⁹⁶ Quintan Wiktorowicz, ‘Framing Jihad: Intramovement Framing Contests and al-Qaeda’s Struggle for Sacred Authority’, *International Review of Social History* 49 (2004): 159.

community, such as the 1991 Shia intifada, in which the SCIRI and Dawa parties failed to enter Iraq from Iran in support of the popular uprising against Saddam. This reminder reinforced the argument that these parties did not stand for the interests of Iraqi nationalists, but instead represented foreigners trying to seize the opportunity to exert influence within Iraq. The bridging of these arguments fit well with the logic of the poverty stricken and uneducated masses, especially since it described clear pattern of disassociation by elite Shia organizations. In Muqtada's view these unreliable opportunists included Sistani, who had failed to step forward to take an active role in the 1991 rebellion.

Muqtada drew distinctions not only with opposing Shia factions, but also with Sunnis. While there had long been tensions between Sunni and Shia in Iraq, Saddam had controlled the animosity between the groups. Muqtada used this long-established rivalry to further solidify his message that he and his followers belonged to a community that had been oppressed and they needed to seize this opportunity to rise up and assert themselves as a revolutionary movement that was entitled to govern Iraq.

The primary grievance used by the Sadrist movement was the occupation of Iraq following Saddam's fall. The group took the clearly expressed position that all foreign occupational forces must leave Iraq immediately and let Iraqis rebuild their country on their own. Muqtada was openly defiant. AS he put it, "the smaller devil has gone but the bigger devil has come."⁹⁷ To further drive home his point, he instilled a sense of passion among his supporters by drawing the association between the United States and Israel. This well-crafted linkage gave weight to his call to resist the Coalition as it was an alliance made up of Iraq's common enemies, come to occupy the country.

With the widespread belief among Iraqis that the Coalition forces were there to occupy their homeland, resistance was the logical next step. Muqtada was able to coalesce his supporters around his call for Shia independence under his Sadrist movement even as they opposed other Shia groups whom he accused of cooperating with the Coalition. Within two months of Saddam's fall, Muqtada had amassed a following that

⁹⁷ Richard D. Camp, *Battle For The City of the Dead: In the Shadow of the Golden Dome, Najaf, August 2004* (Zenith Press, Minneapolis, 2011), 24.

consisted of most of the Shia in central Iraq. The SCIRI and Dawa parties were branded traitors for aligning themselves with the U.S.-led occupation. Still, even Muqtada was able to maintain control of his followers and deter any large-scale violence as he stoked hostility among Shia.

E. BUILDING COMPLEXITY IN THE COALITION

While Muqtada initially used his disassociation from Iran to his advantage while accruing popular support and portraying his opponents as pawns in a larger Iranian scheme, he soon realized he needed money and resources. In June 2003, he began talking about creating his own militia. To do so, he would need support. Out of necessity, he took the calculated risk of losing credibility as an independent nationalist leader by quietly reaching out to Iran for funding and supplies.⁹⁸ It was with this support that he was able to start laying the groundwork for what would later become the biggest armed group opposed to the Coalition occupational forces.

Muqtada's greatest strength was his resonance with the masses of poor Shia, long oppressed under the Baathist regime. He possessed the ability to organize protests and demonstrations that drew tens of thousands of people. He used his Friday prayer sessions to whip up religious fervor for his vision of a Sadrist-led independent, nationalist Iraq. He followed his father's example by delivering the message that the poor had been disenfranchised by the establishment and property-owning elite, a message that reverberated with the majority. Over the course of several months, his movement gained enough momentum to warrant the attention of top Coalition leaders. CPA Administrator Paul Bremer later reflected on his thoughts that "Muqtada al-Sadr has the potential of ripping this country apart."⁹⁹

F. SHADOW GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT

To further legitimize the Sadrists as a source of social stability, Muqtada publicly declared his establishment of a Shadow Government. In October 2003, he held a

⁹⁸ Cockburn, *Battle for the Future of Iraq*, 134.

⁹⁹ L. Paul Bremer with Malcolm McConnell, *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 122.

conference at which he proclaimed the creation of an alternate Iraqi government, to include Ministries of interior, finance, justice, information, and foreign affairs. The Ministers, drawn from among his most loyal supports, immediately opened offices to begin executing their administrative responsibilities. Muqtada's power base was in the impoverished slums. His movement used civic action to win the loyalty of the Shia community by providing welfare services in poor neighborhoods. Kurdish journalist and experienced Iraq observer Nir Rosen wrote, "At one time the Sadrists were probably also the largest humanitarian organization in Iraq, providing sustainable assistance to more Iraqis than anybody else."¹⁰⁰

In the absence of a functioning public judicial system, the Sadrists implemented rule of law by standing up local courts, such as the rudimentary facility run out of Hikma mosque in Sadr city.¹⁰¹ Sadr's magistrates provided a sense of order in an otherwise lawless time. However, while offering a level of protection to some, their assertions of authority did trigger dissatisfaction on the part of the secular political parties and deepened the division between the Sadrists and other opposing Shia organizations.

G. SPREADING THE WORD

The Sadrist revolutionaries had several avenues by which they were able to spread their message of revolt and further add to their air of legitimacy. Friday prayers were the primary vehicle by which Muqtada communicated with his followers. He carefully scripted his sermons in advance and distributed copies to mosques for transmission at the weekly prayer gatherings. Another effective technique was the Sadrist newspaper, *al-Hawza*. The publication was so widely seen as a source of information for the revolution that the CPA had it shut down in March 2004.¹⁰² This action only reinforced the movement's claim to victimhood, and strengthened its arguments about foreign and

¹⁰⁰ Nir Rosen, *Aftermath* (New York: Nation Books, 2010), 338

¹⁰¹ *Iraqi Shi'ites under Occupation*, 17.

¹⁰² Bremer, *My Year in Iraq*, 317.

internal repression. Muqtada capitalized on this opportunity to prove that the occupation was illegitimate by not only crafting a message of repression, but comparing the Coalition to Saddam's regime.

While Muqtada effectively used civic action to gain substantial momentum, effectively mobilized the populace, and established a Shadow Government, he was premature in shifting his efforts toward a war of mobilization. By March 2004, he had a sizeable militia which he was using to maintain security and enforce the Shadow Government's authority within Sadrist-held areas. While the militia was originally established to employ "peaceful means" of resistance against the occupation, he did not rule out armed attacks.¹⁰³ Open warfare between the Mahdi Army and Coalition forces finally broke out on April 4, 2004 when Muqtada's forces seized and held terrain across southern Iraq. This Sadrist revolt was short lived, as Coalition forces launched an offensive in late April that ended any hope he may have had of achieving a decisive military victory. The defeat of the Mahdi Army, combined with a political agreement between the Coalition authority and other Shia leaders, effectively staunches Muqtada's ability to attain a monopoly of Shia support.¹⁰⁴

H. CONCLUSION

While the Mahdi Army is easily seen as a failure when viewed as a military force, Muqtada did effectively use the militia to support the establishment of a political base that would endure among the poor and disenfranchised Shia. His movement won almost 25% of the parliamentary seats in the 2005 elections. By effectively building on existing social movement networks built 20 years earlier by his father-in-law, Muqtada made up for his shortcomings in experience and scholarly credentials. His confidence and understanding of how to win his people's support brought in allies from the broader Shia community and his effective administrative skills kept them there through the tough and often violent times.

¹⁰³ Mahan Abedin, "The Sadrist Movement," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, no. 5, July 7, 2003.

¹⁰⁴ Jeffrey White and Ryan Phillips, "Muqtada al-Sadr's Continuing Challenge to the Coalition (Part I): The U.S. Military Response," *Policy Watch*, no. 873, June 7, 2004.

Although Muqtada gained significant political capital by winning the support of the Shia community and asserting himself as the leader of the oppressed, and then squandered it by moving too quickly into the mobilization phase of his insurgent campaign, he did win and retain a seat at the bargaining table. Unconventional Warfare practitioners can take many lessons from his successes and failures, but perhaps the most significant learning point is how to employ civic actions to win the support of the population. From a UW point of view, Muqtada al-Sadr coordinated three distinct but inseparable lines of effort: Shadow Government, Mass Movement, and Guerrilla Warfare. His humanitarian, administrative, and bureaucratic efforts added up to a base of massive popular support. Where this existed, it enabled him to build a substantial army, worthy of external support and very troubling to the Coalition and its Iraqi partners. If only Sadr had had the benefit of a more mature, objective mentor, the Sadrist movement might have avoided its rush to military action and achieved even more than it did.

V. THE TALIBAN’S USE OF CIVIC ACTION IN SUPPORT OF ITS INSURGENCY

When a country is being subverted it is not being outfought; it is being out-administered.¹⁰⁵

—Bernard B. Fall

A. INTRODUCTION

Conventional wisdom tells us that the goal of an insurgency is to win the support of the population. According to the U.S. Army’s Counterinsurgency manual, “The primary struggle in an internal war is to mobilize people in a struggle for political control and legitimacy. Insurgents and counterinsurgents seek to mobilize popular support for their cause.”¹⁰⁶ In order for an insurgent organization to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the population, it helps to demonstrate that it has the capacity to govern within its occupied territory. Therefore, addressing the population’s grievances is one of the primary objectives of a wise insurgent organization and requires sufficient attention, support, and resources.

B. HISTORY

While the Taliban was an insurgent organization from its earliest days, it was not always the influential force that it is today. Its rise to power can be seen almost as a heroic tale if viewed through the lens of the underdog. Its origins can be traced back to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989. Afghanistan was in a state of instability after a decade of war and being held together by a crumbling communist regime headed by Mohammad Najibullah. Warlords ended Najibullah’s rule in April 1992, then continued to fight a series of battles for their piece of power in the fractured country. Despite the presence of strong leaders such as Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Islamic State of Afghanistan established under the 1992 Peshawar Accord

¹⁰⁵ Bernard B. Fall, “The Theory and Practice of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency,” *Naval War College Review*, April (1965): 34.

¹⁰⁶ Department of the Army, *Field Manual 3–24 Counterinsurgency*, 1–8.

was not able to maintain control. In the years of turmoil that followed Najibullah's fall, the situation can be best described as a state of "complete anarchy."¹⁰⁷

C. THE RISE TO POWER

The Taliban arose as an entity that offered stability and an alternative to the incessant fighting of the warlords. The Taliban movement was reportedly born under the leadership of Mullah Omar, a one-eyed former mujahedeen fighter, in 1994 in the city of Kandahar.¹⁰⁸ Beginning with a group of fewer than 50 armed madrassa pupils, he used charisma and religious ideology to motivate a rag-tag band of religious students to embark on a mission to disarm rival militias, enforce Islamic laws, and retain all areas which they "liberated."¹⁰⁹ The organization was governed by a strict and anti-modern ideology which combined Sharia with the traditional tribal Pashtunwali code.¹¹⁰ The Taliban's brand of social order was welcomed at first, but eventually alienated a large segment of the population through an increasingly extremist dogma that outlawed such things as music, kite flying, required all males to wear beards, and restricted the liberties of women.

Over the course of the next two years, Mullah Omar and his Taliban did what they had originally set out to do. They occupied and held terrain, took power from the local warlords, and implemented Sharia. By April 1996, the Taliban had taken control of a large portion of the country, including the capital of Kabul. While a World War I-like stalemate existed with the warring factions, Mullah Omar delivered what Ahmed Rashid describes as a "political masterstroke" when he wrapped himself in the Cloak of the Prophet Mohammed and assumed the right to lead not just all Afghans, but all Muslims.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2010), 253.

¹⁰⁸ Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2000), 17–18.

¹⁰⁹ Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon, Afghanistan 1994–1997* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), 26.

¹¹⁰ Rashid, *Taliban*, 4.

¹¹¹ Rashid, *Taliban*, 42.

From this point, the story of the Taliban takes a turn for the worse. While they had amassed a large following, removed the Islamic State of Afghanistan from the seat of power, and held most of the terrain, they were about to cut short the honeymoon period by enforcing their extreme interpretation of Sharia. Shortly after seizing control, the Taliban began to alienate themselves from most Afghan communities. When the Taliban took control of an area, they imposed a Taliban governor to rule it. This disrupted the local equilibrium, a delicate balance maintained through a traditional tribal system that had been in place for centuries. They also perpetrated atrocities against the population and destroyed ancient cultural monuments.¹¹²

D. THE FALL

While many human rights watch groups attempted to call attention to the violence taking place under the Taliban's rule, it was still largely ignored by the western world. Where the Taliban did make a fatal mistake was with the decision to grant sanctuary to Islamist extremist organizations, brought together by al-Qaeda. The 9–11 attacks on the United States finally brought the world's attention to Afghanistan. The Taliban made the grave decision to continue to provide al-Qaeda safe haven following the 9–11 attacks, which brought down on it the wrath of the United States and partner nations. Rather than mounting a massive invasion, the United States and its allies went with a smaller force package, and relied on arming and supporting the Taliban's traditional enemies. By December 2001, the Taliban had been ousted from power and was on the run. A U.S.-dominated international committee installed a liberal democratic government under the leadership of Hamid Karzai.

E. RISE FROM THE ASHES

Although the Taliban was ousted from power, it was never eliminated. One can argue that the organization was defeated, but the ideology was never extinguished. Since its removal from power, the Taliban has remained a thorn in the side of both the Karzai administration and the U.S.-led Coalition. While some would argue that the Taliban has

¹¹² Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 262.

splintered into aligned groups each of which pursues its own goals with intermittent cooperation or direction from Mullah Omar and traditional leaders, several themes remain consistent. Among them are the demands for: withdrawal of all foreign forces, establishment of law and order in accordance with Sharia, the legitimate exercise of power through an Islamic government, nationwide conformity with perceived Islamic social rules, and peace and security.¹¹³ The Taliban has successfully framed its objectives via existing religious, historical, and cultural values in order to maintain a collective identity among its supporters and to restore its legitimacy.

F. EXPLOITING ADVANTAGES

While the Taliban has not achieved a decisive victory in Afghanistan by any definition, it has managed to conduct a protracted war against Afghan and Coalition forces. It continues to maintain a significant presence within Afghanistan and the Pakistan border area. Although it is no match militarily for a head-to-head fight with Coalition forces, it does enjoy several advantages. The degree to which it has failed to use these advantages effectively in a decisive manner may reflect a lack of both strategic coordination and conceptual understanding of how to leverage its advantages against the government in a significant manner.

The Taliban's inherent understanding of the population and the cultural dynamics of Afghanistan give it a distinct home field advantage over foreign troops when it comes to gaining the support of the population and achieving information superiority. On several occasions, the Taliban has exploited this gap in capabilities through the use of propaganda against the Afghan government and Coalition forces. It has employed an effective information campaign, labeling the Karzai administration as a corrupt and ineffective puppet regime controlled by foreign powers. A 2010 survey conducted in Kandahar Province showed that 63 percent of respondents agreed that systematic corruption makes them look for alternatives to the current government.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ United States Institute of Peace, *Dangerous Liaisons with the Afghan Taliban*, Special Report 256, October 2010.

¹¹⁴ Paul K. Davis et al., *Understanding and Influencing Public Support for Insurgency and Terrorism* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2012), 79.

The Taliban has employed the technique of socialization to gain participation of social and tribal networks, building narratives that support its movement and survival. These narratives build and solidify identities and shape individuals' cognitive frames. The Taliban has been able to define a set of options that includes it as a viable option for governance. It has created a perceived reality in which it is able to frame its insurgency in such a way that the populace sees it as a legitimate alternative to the Karzai government.¹¹⁵ For example, the Taliban has successfully labeled the struggle against the Karzai administration as a competition between tribal factions. This message resonates with the Afghan populace as there is a tradition of rivalry between the Ghilzai and Durrani tribes dating back to the 18th century.¹¹⁶ As a 2012 RAND report points out, "President Karzai's Popalzai nepotism has alienated the rival Ghilzai tribe."¹¹⁷ The Taliban use the issue of tribal differences to proffer emotionally and symbolically laden messages which gains support from and mobilizes followers, and attracts fence sitters.¹¹⁸

G. MOBILIZING THE MASSES

The Taliban has exploited the fear of under-representation in the government to its advantage. It has spread the message among Pashtun tribes that any indifference on their part will result in the establishment of a non-Pashtun, secular Afghan government.¹¹⁹ It has portrayed Karzai's appointment of outsiders to serve as district governors and the government's failure to hold promised district-level elections as further evidence that the central government is inept and corrupt.¹²⁰

The Taliban has also galvanized a strong popular opposition to foreign intervention by highlighting the similarities between the 1979 Soviet invasion and the

¹¹⁵ Florence Passy, "Social Networks Matter. But How?" in *Social Movements and Networks*, ed. Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 23–24.

¹¹⁶ Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 12.

¹¹⁷ Davis, *Understanding and Influencing Public Support*, 80.

¹¹⁸ Sydney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 142.

¹¹⁹ Syed Saleem Shahzad, "Taliban Take to the Mountains," *Asia Times Online*, 6 October 2001, Central Asia section, Accessed October 21, 2012 at <http://www.atimes.com/c-asia/CJ06Ag01.html>.

¹²⁰ David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 51.

2001 U.S.-led Coalition invasion. This message resonates with the population as people are still haunted by the memories of the Soviet occupation coupled with the common belief among almost all Afghans that the expulsion of the Soviets was the result of a legitimate and successful jihad.¹²¹

Parallels between the Soviet and U.S. invasions can be easily drawn when viewed through the eyes of the Afghan population. Both invasions inserted into the country a large number of troops, in several instances using the same bases. Both the Soviets and the Americans quickly installed a new leader in Kabul who was supportive of their type of government. Both countries attempted to rebuild the National Army in its own image. Instead of recognizing and addressing the grievances of Afghan freedom fighters, both invading forces labeled them “terrorists.” Both relied heavily on air power to fight guerrilla forces. Finally, and most obvious to most Afghans, both largely ignored or disregarded cultural taboos and paid no respect to the pride of the people.¹²²

Taliban information campaigns have had significant success in persuading the population to side with it against the Karzai government and Coalition forces. In contrast, Coalition information operations have not seen the same effects. This may be due in large part to the Taliban’s ability to maintain a persistent presence in villages where Coalition and government forces only make sporadic appearances.

H. SHADOW GOVERNANCE

While a military victory against Coalition forces is not a realistic goal for the Taliban, it has made some gains in demonstrating legitimacy and earning popular support. It has dedicated considerable effort toward maintaining a persistent presence across the country. In many areas it has been able to create the perception that it is the best available option in terms of governance and has demonstrated the ability to provide security and services to the people by maintaining a presence in villages despite Coalition and Afghan government patrols. It has established a Shadow Government system to serve

¹²¹ Davis, *Understanding and Influencing Public Support*, 89.

¹²² Thomas Johnson, “Afghan ‘Character’ & Anti-Soviet Jihad” (lecture, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 12 October, 2012).

as a viable alternative to the legitimate Afghan government. At a national level, Mullah Omar has built the framework of a Taliban government structure which appears ready for the collapse of the Karzai administration.¹²³ The reach of his organization is extensive, “in 33 out of 34 provinces, the Taliban has a Shadow Government,” said a senior official with NATO’s military intelligence in Kabul.¹²⁴ The structure appears to be a well connected system maintained through a hierarchy of appointed governors at the provincial and district levels. The integrity of the organization seems to have grown in significance due at least partially to successful efforts on the part of the Taliban to institutionalize its process of appointments.¹²⁵

The Taliban has several issues with which it can win public support. Among these is the of corruption of the Karzai government from the top-down, strong Afghan opposition to foreign occupation, the lack of economic opportunity, poor public safety and security, and weak governance by the central government.¹²⁶ In order for a Shadow Government to be recognized as legitimate, it must be able to provide justice, security, and social services to the people.¹²⁷ The Taliban has done just this by focusing its governance efforts from the village to the provincial levels. At the district and provincial levels it has appointed its own governors, police chiefs, and judges, who function in parallel, yet operate separately from Afghan government institutions. At the village level, local Taliban groups control the intelligence structure and direct orders to village cells acting in a semi-independent manner as recruiting hubs.¹²⁸

¹²³ Karim Talbi, “Shadow Taliban Government Rules Afghans’ Lives,” *AFP*, 26 January 2010, Accessed October 13, 2012 at <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5gWl9u3ZojrsONNK4l9tiX5TViJyA> .

¹²⁴ Talbi, *Shadow Taliban Government Rules*.

¹²⁵ Antonio Giustozzi, “Hearts, Minds, and the Barrel of a Gun,” *Prism* 3 No 2 (2012): 71.

¹²⁶ Davis, *Understanding and Influencing Public Support*, 71–72.

¹²⁷ Robert Leonhard and Summer Newton, “Shadow Government” in *Undergrounds in Insurgent, Revolutionary, and Resistance Warfare*, ed. Robert Leonhard (Ft Bragg, NC: United States Army Special Operations Command, 2012), 135.

¹²⁸ Stefanie Nijssen, “The Taliban’s Shadow Government in Afghanistan,” *Civil-Military Fusion Centre* (2011), September 2011, Accessed October 10, 2012 at <https://www.cimicweb.org> .

One issue the Taliban faces in asserting its authority politically is that its influence disrupts the equilibrium found within the tribal system.¹²⁹ Traditionally, there has been a delicate three-way balance of power between the tribal elder council (Khans), religious leader (Mullah), and government representative (Malik). When the Taliban “infects” a village, it destroys the symmetry of the tribal system and bring disorder to the community.¹³⁰ It then uses intimidation and fear tactics to mitigate resistance and assert control over the population and impose its own Shadow Government in place of the tribal system.

The key to the Shadow Government establishing legitimacy is its ability to provide public services, especially rule of law. David Kilcullen writes that “dispute resolution is the public service that tribal and community leaders I have asked about this issue most ardently wish for.”¹³¹ The Taliban has shown significant ability over the government in this area. Despite the harshness of its strict interpretation of Sharia, Afghans still find it preferable to the slow and corrupt government run court systems.¹³² The Taliban has exploited this weakness to its advantage by setting up a system of mobile courts which are seen as fast, fair, efficient, and effective by residents within Taliban areas of occupation.

Through the use of these mobile courts, the Taliban has demonstrated its ability to deliver speedy and “impartial” justice where the government has failed to do so.¹³³ An example of where the government’s shortcomings are creating an opportunity for Taliban expansion in the area of governance is in dispute resolution. Haji Sher Mohammad, of the Zhari district near Kandahar, has said “If I have a legal problem, the Taliban will rule in an hour according to our customs and Islam. If I take it to the government, in six months

¹²⁹ Thomas Johnson, “Afghanistan—History and Cultural Overview” (lecture, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 3 October, 2012).

¹³⁰ David Kilcullen hypothesizes a four-stage cycle which he refers to as the “Accidental Guerrilla Syndrome.” The four stages are Infection, Contagion, Intervention, and Rejection.

¹³¹ Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, 47.

¹³² Robert Reilly, “Shaping Strategic Communication,” in *Afghan Endgames*, ed. Hy Rothstein and John Arquilla (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 180.

¹³³ Reilly, *Shaping Strategic Communications*, 180.

nothing will have happened. Then whoever pays the most will win.”¹³⁴ In certain cases, the Taliban has gone further in demonstrating impartiality by delivering verdicts against its own commanders in favor of civilians.¹³⁵

Beyond establishing courts to provide rule of law, the Taliban has followed through with its promise to provide security to local villages. Its own fighters serve as a police force which enforces laws, carrying out court sentences, and provides security for people and property. This is a significant gain for the Taliban Shadow Government as it adds to its aura of legitimacy. Gul Mohammad, a resident of Kandahar province, says that the Taliban has its own police force and that they “have everything they used to have when they were in government.”¹³⁶ Since perception is reality, the Taliban seems to be earning a substantial place as the legitimate government in the eyes of the people.

Another way that the Taliban Shadow Government has gained political credibility at the village level is by exploiting ethnic differences between the local tribes and the Karzai administration’s appointed governors. The Taliban has seized this opportunity by “posing as the defenders of the local tribes against misrule by unrepresentative appointed provincial and district governors, and seeking alliances with dispossessed and disenfranchised tribal brokers.”¹³⁷ In some cases, the Taliban has executed the president’s appointed governors in order to create a void in which it can exert its authority.

While the Taliban operates on a limited budget, it uses an efficient strategy to maximize its effects despite its limited means. In spite of a lack of funding, the Taliban is able to earn recognition for civic action. It has adopted the tactic of co-opting state sponsored schools, thereby controlling the teaching curriculum and earning legitimacy thanks to providing these public services.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Ben Farmer, “Life under the Taliban,” *The Telegraph*, 21 June 2010, world news.

¹³⁵ Reilly, *Shaping Strategic Communications*, 180.

¹³⁶ Nijssen, *Taliban’s Shadow Government in Afghanistan*.

¹³⁷ Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, 51.

¹³⁸ Giustozzi, *Hearts, Minds, Barrel of Gun*, 76.

In several instances, the Taliban has effectively used other forms of civic action to support the insurgency and stay relevant with the population. Its use of population and resource control measures is a cost effective and high impact way to show its ability to control the area while providing for the populace. By exercising control over both the population and limiting the availability of resources, it is able to demonstrate its legitimacy as the governing authority within areas it holds. These population and resource control techniques ensure that its own fighters receive support and recruits while denying support and recruits to the Karzai government and the U.S.-led Coalition.

The Taliban's control of the population through the use of intimidation has been crude but somewhat effective to date. While it is best to win the support of the population through addressing grievances, the Taliban has effectively achieved control, which is its desired end state. By demonstrating that it is able to maintain a monopoly, or at least exhibit the greater degree of control, over violence within villages it is able to establish a sense of legitimacy and authority. By systematically targeting any challengers to its power, it reinforces this perception of power.

Provision of social services is one area where there is little data available. Antonio Giustozzi believes this is due to the fact that the Taliban operates on a limited budget and has developed a system of funneling what little money it has for social services through the madrassas. "The Taliban do not provide aid directly except to madrassas [sic], but they hope by regulating Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) access to cast a development-friendly image."¹³⁹ In recent years, the Taliban has achieved success in the provision of public services through its opening of private schools and distributing supplies in areas under its control. Recently, this has expanded to include schools for girls in at least six provinces.¹⁴⁰ A 2012 monograph from the RAND Corporation associates a rise in popular support for the Taliban with its ability to provide social services to the populace.¹⁴¹ Evidence suggests that the Pakistani Taliban has done the same thing over

¹³⁹ Antonio Giustozzi, e-mail correspondence with the authors, Monterey, CA, 09 October 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Giustozzi, *Hearts, Minds, Barrel of Gun*, 75.

¹⁴¹ Davis, *Understanding and Influencing Public Support*, 81.

the years, exploiting floods and earthquakes to co-opt and control the flow of NGO relief supplies and efforts to its advantage. It would seem that the Afghan Taliban is doing much the same.

One technique of resource control that the Taliban uses is to tightly restrict the access of NGOs into areas it controls. By restricting access, it becomes the de facto approval authority for humanitarian and infrastructure improvement projects. This has multiple benefits for the Taliban. First, it signals to the populace that the Taliban is the authority figure outsiders have to deal with. This reinforces its legitimacy and proves it has power in the area. Second, when it allows in NGOs to conduct projects, it is seen to be providing jobs for its supporters. Third, this gives it a small source of income by charging taxes on the projects. Lastly, by rejecting access to any NGOs connected to the government or Coalition forces, it limits the government's span of influence.¹⁴²

Another example of resource control is the Taliban's dominance of the country's number one export product, opium. According to United Nations reports, 90 percent of the world's opium supply comes from Afghanistan and cultivation rose by 61 percent in 2011.¹⁴³ Under Taliban rule (up until 2001), poppy farming was outlawed in Afghanistan. But, in the face of weak governance, economic hardships, and general instability, output has since expanded greatly across the country. Viewing opium as a source of revenue and a means to exert control over a thriving economic industry, the Taliban has reversed its stance and turned the once forbidden trade into a full-blown business in order to generate funds to support itself. This has proven to be a lucrative venture and resulted in the expansion of its control.

Research shows that the Taliban imposes as much as a full ten percent tax on poppy farmers' profit.¹⁴⁴ The entire trade is well organized and managed, which lends it the appearance of legitimacy and prevents corruption. Local Taliban commanders are

¹⁴² Giustozzi, *Hearts, Minds, Barrel of Gun*, 77.

¹⁴³ Tom A Peter, "Afghanistan Still World's Top Opium Supplier, Despite 10 Years of U.S.-led War," *Christian Science Monitor*, 11 October 2011, World section.

¹⁴⁴ David Mansfield, "Responding to Risk and uncertainty," *A Report for the Afghan Drugs Inter Departmental Unit of the UK Government*, Consulate Document, July 2008.

responsible for keeping track of how much farmers and other members of the local community earn.¹⁴⁵ The village-level Taliban commander will even hand out written receipts for the amount of opium collected. This is in sharp contrast to the common perception among Afghans that the Karzai government is endemically corrupt.¹⁴⁶ Gretchen Peters writes that in multiple cases where farmers have complained to the Taliban leadership of being overcharged, commanders responded by punishing the subcommanders. This practice of running a large-scale illicit industry is reminiscent of American bootlegging of liquor in the late 1920s, except the money collected funds an insurgency instead of mafia criminal families.

I. THE BATTLE FOR POPULAR OPINION

Drugs aside, the Afghan Taliban has occupied the moral high ground as it wages a protracted campaign against the government. In recent years, it appears anxious to not overstep the limits of acceptable violence in the eyes of the populace. It has even gone so far as to publicly release its own rules of engagement to reinforce its legitimacy.¹⁴⁷ In contrast, the Pakistani Taliban has failed to seize several opportunities to make itself seem more legitimate. An example of a missed opportunity to capture a stake in the political domain was the October 2012 anti-U.S. drone protests led by Imran Khan, a Pakistani cricketer-turned-politician.¹⁴⁸ The planned 230-mile long peace march gained widespread international attention. There were an estimated 15,000 participants from the Waziristan area joined by 30 American citizens who flew in from the United States.¹⁴⁹ This was a prime opportunity for the Pakistani Taliban to use publicity to gain political support by co-opting the anti-American messaging and providing security for the

¹⁴⁵ Gretchen Peters, How Opium Profits the Taliban, *Peaceworks* No. 62 (2009): 17.

¹⁴⁶ Davis, *Understanding and Influencing Public Support*, 79.

¹⁴⁷ "Taliban Issues Code of Conduct," *Aljazeera*, 28 Jul 2009, Central & South Asia section, Accessed October 23, 2012 at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/07/20097278348124813.html> .

¹⁴⁸ Sailab Mehsud and Irfan Mughal, "Taliban Decline to Provide Security to 'Secular' Imran," *Dawn.com*, 6 October 2012, Pakistan section, Accessed October 18, 2012 at <http://dawn.com/2012/10/06/taliban-decline-to-provide-security-to-secular-imran/> .

¹⁴⁹ Mahvish Ahmad, "Code Pink Joins Pakistani Political Party in Anti-drone Protest," *Christian Science Monitor*, 8 October 2012, Asia section, Accessed October 18, 2012 at <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2012/1008/Code-Pink-joins-Pakistani-political-party-in-anti-drone-protest> .

marchers. Instead of capitalizing on this event to increase its popular support and legitimacy, however, the Pakistan Taliban opposed the march and issued threats against the procession.¹⁵⁰ Less than a week later, it further alienated moderate fence sitters when it attempted to assassinate Malala Yousafzai, a 14-year-old girl who had achieved notoriety for voicing her opposition to the Taliban on the Internet. This attack resulted in widespread protests in Pakistan.¹⁵¹

Despite the Afghan Taliban's missteps in exploiting political opportunities, it still has significant momentum and it is widely believed by the Afghan populace that it will win in the end.¹⁵² While serving as Commander of International Security Forces in Afghanistan, GEN Stanley McChrystal stated "[w]e face not only a resilient and growing insurgency; there is also a crisis of confidence among Afghans—in both their government and the international community—that undermines our credibility and emboldens the insurgents. Further, a perception that our resolve is uncertain makes Afghans reluctant to align with us against the insurgents."¹⁵³

A January 2010 poll of Afghan civilians revealed that almost a third of the respondents believed that the Taliban had actually grown stronger throughout 2009.¹⁵⁴ In addition to the growing public perception of Taliban strength, the Taliban knows that with the pending withdrawal of significant NATO forces from Afghanistan, its best option for the future is to continue to maintain and increase its popular support. This can be accomplished at a small cost by demonstrating resistance against the invader as well as offering support to needy Afghans.

¹⁵⁰ Saeed Shah, "Anti-Drone March in Pakistan Aborted after Taliban Threat," *The Wichita Eagle*, 7 October 2012, News section, Accessed October 24, 2012, <http://www.kansas.com/2012/10/07/2520229/anti-drone-march-in-pakistan-aborted.html> .

¹⁵¹ Richard Leiby and Michele Langevine Leiby, "Taliban Says It Shot Pakistani Teen for Advocating Girls' Rights," *Washington Post*, Accessed October 24, 2012 at http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/taliban-says-it-shot-infidel-pakistani-teen-for-advocating-girls-rights/2012/10/09/29715632-1214-11e2-9a39-1f5a7f6fe945_story.html .

¹⁵² Davis, *Understanding and Influencing Public Support*, 84.

¹⁵³ Stanley A. McChrystal, *Commander's Initial Assessment*, 30 August 2009, Accessed October 24 at 2012: http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf .

¹⁵⁴ Langer Research Associates, "Afghanistan: Where Things Stand," Accessed October 23, 2012 at www.langerresearch.com/uploads/1116a1Afghanistan.pdf ., 7–11.

“Overall, U.S. information efforts did not succeed in convincing most residents of contested areas to side decisively with the Afghan government and its allies against the Taliban. Even when PSYOP messages were delivered well, their credibility was undercut by concern that the Afghan government would not be able to protect civilians from the Taliban after a U.S. and NATO force withdrawal.”¹⁵⁵

J. BUILDING NETWORKS

The Taliban continues to gain significant influence and develop complex networks of influence at the village level. It accomplishes this by getting the support of key village-level leaders and weaving itself into the social fabric of the village. The tactic which the Taliban uses most successfully is a staged infiltration method. In the first phase, a Taliban religious representative (Mullah) enters the village and attempts to win village support via a religious appeal. If this is successful, a small cadre of Taliban fighters will enter the village to strengthen popular support and begin establishing a base of operations. If the Mullah is not able to gain the support of the village, the Taliban fighters will employ coercive measures and intimidation tactics, such as night letters and making examples of people who do not cooperate, in order to force the village to support the insurgency.¹⁵⁶ By emplacing its own members, the Taliban is able to assess the state of affairs in a target village and enter the social system through the least invasive means possible. Once it has established a place within the village’s social structure, it exploits existing tribal and familial ties in order to expand its influence and build alliances.¹⁵⁷ This system of network development gives the Taliban a distinct advantage over Coalition forces because it is able to leverage its ethnic and regional ties to the locals in a way that is not possible for any foreigners.

The development of village networks has the added value of supporting the Taliban’s guerrilla activities. The Taliban’s supply and logistics capabilities are limited

¹⁵⁵ RAND Corporation, *Assessing Military Information Operations in Afghanistan, 2001–2010* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp, 2012), 1.

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Johnson, “Taliban Tactics” (lecture, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 31 October, 2012).

¹⁵⁷ Mark Sexton, “How the Taliban Take a Village,” *Center for Army Lessons Learned Newsletter* 10–64 (2010): 2, Accessed October 11, 2012 at http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/10–64/ch_1.asp.

because Taliban fighters tend to travel lightly and rely more on foot trails than road networks. They have overcome this limitation by establishing bases of support within Afghan villages. By using these bases as hubs of operation, the guerrillas are able to employ “flying columns” that move relatively quickly by foot from Pakistan into Afghanistan without the added burden of logistics trains to support them.¹⁵⁸ These village networks also provide the intelligence and close reconnaissance necessary for targeting to minimize collateral damage and disruption for the civilian populace. The Taliban relies heavily on the use of part-time guerrillas from the villages to serve as guides and supplemental manpower.¹⁵⁹ The Taliban is able to consolidate troops and supplies at key locations in order to quickly amass forces when it does decide to launch attacks.

K. CONCLUSION

While the Taliban is limited by monetary constraints and an apparent lack of understanding of how to fully leverage its political opportunities, it has wisely used civic action to support its insurgency in many respects. It has made significant gains in its ability to exploit existing networks to its advantage. This, coupled with ethnic divides between villages and the government, has given the Taliban an edge in the war of public opinion. The Taliban’s use of Shadow Governments to provide the aura of legitimacy through the implementation of security, justice, and rule of law has earned it significant credibility as an alternative to the Karzai administration. By reinforcing this view through the implementation of population and resource control measures and the provision of social services, the Taliban stands a good chance of holding a significant percentage of popular support until the 2014 withdrawal of foreign forces.

¹⁵⁸ Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, 58 & 84.

¹⁵⁹ Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, 84.

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VI. UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE CIVIL AFFAIRS OPERATIONS

The preceding four chapters provide examples of tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) that support revolutionary warfare and contribute to strategic success. These TTPs help resistance movements gain traction within existing populations and thus build cooperative coalitions. To varying degrees, resistance leaders were able to entice individuals and pre-existing networks to form coalitions. The case studies presented here are not isolated. Studies have shown that numerous successful insurgencies gained lasting public support in the face of opposition using coalitions to support Guerrilla Warfare, Shadow Government and Mass Mobilization efforts. Over time, insurgent organizations such as the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the Maoist rebels in Nepal have been able to: build cohesive coalitions through neutral or seemingly-neutral civic groups, motivate radical groups to protect the core of a resistance coalition, build effective and influential leadership, and generate internal resources.¹⁶⁰ By building up the overall effectiveness of the coalition and deepening and broadening public support for it, insurgents have been able to bring political and military power to bear on the opponent.

Each of the discussed cases also provide examples of tactical lessons to be learned, and ways for Civil Affairs and other U.S. government representatives to use civic action to strengthen leaders, build popular support, and sustain a guerrilla force. More importantly, there are operational and strategic lessons that can be applied to planning and executing a UW campaign. These lessons demonstrate simple (but not easy) ways to understand the UW operational environment. They suggest ways to implement civic action programs that will effectively strengthen all three LOEs in a manner that ultimately leads to a resilient coalition.

In each case, we can tie tactical civic action to strategic operations that led directly to the development of a coalition. Most successful resistance or insurgency

¹⁶⁰ Paul K. Davis, Eric V. Larson, Zachary Haldeman, Mustafa Oguz and Yashodhara Rana. *Understanding and Influencing Public Support for Insurgency and Terrorism* (Santa Monica, California, USA, Rand National Defense Research Institute, 2012)

movements gather their strength from robust Shadow Government and Mass Base organizations. These organizations are what enable and sustain the Guerrilla Warfare component through to transition. Taking the lessons learned from our case studies, shown in Table 1, we can now recommend ways to use Civil Affairs capabilities to enhance the Shadow Government and Mass Base aspects of resistance movements. In this way, a UW campaign will make better use of CA's ability to take advantage of grievances, and exploit and reinforce social structures, transfer those structures to the new government after Transition, and enable the new government to use those structures to build legitimacy and political strength.

	Shadow Government	Mass Base	Guerrilla Warfare	Prohibitive Failures
Ed Lansdale	+Connected armed forces leaders with populace^L +Used existing media to bridge narratives^L +Co-opted opponents' themes (Land for the Landless!)^{L,IR} +Organized public meetings^{N,L} +Built leaders from those with existing clout^L +Mentored and maintained SG leader's morale^L	+Relied on existing social structures^{N,IR} +Connected people directly to AFP leaders^L +Facilitated public meetings^{N,L,IR} +Used land reform to improve well-being^{L,IR} +United civic orgs and politicians to support leader and facilitate elections^{N,L,IR} +Instituted education campaigns to spread supportive ideology^{L,IR}	+Connected armed forces with local populace^L +Bolstered armed forces' reputations with civic actions and messaging^{L,IR} +Coordinated civic action with security efforts^R +Used land reform to deny opponent recruits^{IR}	-None - Strategic Success
Edgar Buell	+Encouraged self-reliance that could carry over post-Transition^{L,IR} +Worked through tribal leaders to influence people^N	+Used "civil recon" to accurately identify people's needs^{IR} +Used relief operations to unburden population from supporting guerrillas^{IR} +Provided alternative to opponent's schools^{IR,N} +Used local personal contacts to influence population^L	+Used relief supplies to immediately relieve guerrillas^{L,IR} +Used medical and agricultural improvements to improve recruiting pool, health and morale^{L,IR} +Followed combat operations with emergency humanitarian assistance^{L,IR}	-None—Tactical Success

	Shadow Government	Mass Base	Guerrilla Warfare	Prohibitive Failures
Muqtada al-Sadr	+Operated charities, schools, mosques, public services to provide help and as messaging platforms^{N,IR} +Established ministries; interior, finance, justice, information, foreign affairs^{L,IR} +Opened administrative offices where public could resolve issues^{L,IR}	+Tied Mass Mobilization to the strategic plan^{IR} +Coopted existing networks into the movement^{N,IR} +Worked through tribal and religious leaders for C2 and strategic messaging^{N,L} +Vilified and "Decredentialed" government and other opponents^L +Exalted and "Credentialed" resistance movement^L	+Eliminated rivals^R +Used government discrimination to build recruitment^{IR} +Gained external support for funding and supplies^L	-Failed to gain support of diverse political parties -Prematurely entered Employment phase -Failed to end "amoral" looting after U.S. invasion
Afghan Taliban	+Provide uncorrupt alternate governance^L +Establish quick, impartial mobile courts^L +Provide security at village level^{L,IR} +Provision of private schools, co-opt state schools^{N,L,IR} +Control opium industry and aid resources^{R,IR} +Control population through intimidation^{R,IR}	+Exploit ethnic, tribal, familial ties^{N,IR} +Frame messages in religious, historical context^{IR} +Effective information operations to delegitimize current administration^L +Use persistent presence to develop social networks and alliances^{L,IR}	+Use village networks for intelligence and logistical support to guerrillas^{N,L,IR,O}	-Fail to exploit opportunities to enter political arena +Shadow Government offsets traditional tribal system

Table 1. TTPs used successfully in each of the four cases. Superscript N,R, L, and IR indicates whether each supported N) using neutral organizations, R) using radical groups to protect the core, L) building leaders and organizations that could survive without them, or IR) internal resource generation.

A. CLARIFYING DOCTRINE

The focus of current Civil Affairs UW doctrine is on the technical application of the five core tasks of support to civil administration (SCA), populace and resources control (PRC), foreign humanitarian assistance (FHA), nation assistance (NA), and civil information management (CIM). This is adequate as a general guide. These are the tasks that a CA unit can be expected to perform in a generalized combat or peace-keeping/peace-enforcement operation. However, the doctrine that describes and defines these tasks falls short by not recognizing the importance of a nuanced and trust-based

strategic plan to identify, develop, and motivate the people and organizations which can best build capable and willing civil, political, and logistical infrastructure in a semi- or non-permissive UW environment. It also fails to either address functional implementation of such a plan or emphasize diverse solutions to complex problems.

Civil Affairs Operations are defined in Joint Publication 3–57 Civil-Military Operations as:

Civil Affairs Operations (CAO)—Those military operations conducted by civil affairs forces that (1) enhance the relationship between military forces and civil authorities in localities where military forces are present; (2) require coordination with other interagency organizations, intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, indigenous populations and institutions, and the private sector; and (3) involve application of functional specialty skills that normally are the responsibility of civil government to enhance the conduct of civil-military operations.

The focus here is on the range of possible activities that can be taken to mitigate civil-military friction, address grievances, and build capacities. This definition is useful, and it does guide planners and operators to accomplish the tasks that can help to overcome some of the key difficulties of mobilization, like providing civil-military assistance to help groups of individuals who share similar grievances or ideologies. However, it does not describe how to turn these individuals and groups into organizations that can act as a coalition which works toward the overall mission of the campaign. This doctrine also leaves the “why” out of the tasks and largely overlooks the development of SG, MM and GW as CA capabilities available to a UW Task Force. Failure to address how to turn individuals into a coalition using CAO will sell CAO short when it comes time to plan and execute a UW campaign.

Clarifying the differences between typical CAO and Unconventional Warfare CAO will provide planners and operators alike a more precise understanding of the complexity of conducting CAO in a UW environment. It will also broaden the UW Task Force’s range of possibilities for using CA-like activities to strengthen the campaign. There should be some clear delineation between typical CAO that consists of the five core tasks and that which exceeds these parameters. Such tasks call upon more specific

capabilities to develop and motivate a Shadow Government, coordinate and strengthen Mass Mobilization efforts, as well as tactically and operationally support the Guerrilla Warfare efforts. CAO that exclusively support a UW campaign might be better defined as follows:

Unconventional Warfare Civil Affairs Operations (UCAO)—Those Civil Affairs Operations conducted by Civil Affairs Forces that (1) identify, exploit, and reinforce common grievances and social structures that can contribute to the organization of the Guerrillas, the Mass Base and the Shadow Government; (2) operationalize plans to transfer those structures to the new government after Transition; and (3) enable the new government to use those structures to alleviate grievances in order to build legitimacy and political strength.

The focus here is on the targeted application of civic activities to build political and social power that can strengthen a resistance, undermine the existing government, and be transferred to the legitimate government after transition. This definition provides a concise description of the lines of effort that a UCAO plan should strengthen and a long-term, strategic vision of the plan from “left of beginning” through Transition. There is one additional shortcoming in existing doctrine that this definition exposes; CA Doctrine should be enhanced by refining and bolstering CA persistent engagement programs to significantly enhance a UW campaign. Focusing the efforts of CMSEs and similar mission teams toward setting the stage for UW in strategically important locations will accomplish this. This includes refining Named Areas of Interest (NAI) and Targeted Areas of Interest (TAI), identifying and understanding important populations, establishing contacts with contractors and business organizations that can be used to activate a resistance, and other activities. Such activities can be done with little deviation from normal CMSE activities. In countries where there is no CMSE or persistent SOF engagement program at all, programs in adjacent countries and regions may be able to achieve some of this “left-of-beginning” work for a UCAO campaign. In regions where there is no CMSE or persistent engagement presence, data-mining, reaching out to expatriate and refugee populations, and other forms of indirect preparation may be

necessary, if not sufficient. It will be necessary to devise alternative methods for battlefield preparation in advance of a UCAO campaign in these instances, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

B. EXPANDING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT UNCONVENTIONAL CIVIL AFFAIRS IS

Drawing from the cases discussed, we can see that CA can do very specific things to influence each of the LOEs in a UW campaign. Specific applications of CAO can be used for

1. Cohesive coalition building through neutral civic groups,
2. Mobilizing radical groups to protect the core of a resistance coalition,
3. Leadership building
4. Internal resource generation.

When taken individually, one can see how existing CA doctrine, bolstered by the expanded definition and scope of UCAO, can and does support each of these subtasks within the greater realm of UW. Together, these form what we will refer to here as Civil Network Development: taking individuals and organizations, applying UCAO where it fits, and building a coalition of popular support that can feed the overall campaign.

1. Building Complexity through Neutral Subgroups

The cases we have discussed illustrate how adept organizers have used tactical civic action to strengthen broad resistance campaigns. They relied on existing social, tribal, and political networks to build resistance infrastructures. Building on these cases and taking some lessons from the experiences of resistance movements that became revolutions we can make recommendations for the types of organizations that a CA practitioner might align with and employ in a UW campaign.

Social Movement theorists have shown that “complexity” in a resistance network can overcome some of the difficulties of organizing a revolution, especially under a totalitarian or authoritarian regime. A network can be considered complex if it has a

large population (domain), many and diverse subgroups in the network structure (cliques), overlapping individual memberships, and numerous intermediaries (brokers) who can bridge the socio-political gaps between cliques.¹⁶¹ A resistance network built with this kind of complexity will be better equipped to support itself, to build coalitions among a diversity of subgroups, to reduce friction between hostile subgroups, and to divert and resist state repression. It can also, through neutral organizations, provide the fertile ground necessary to build and grow radical organizations, leaders and internal resource generation capabilities.

Grievance groups, militant movements, refugee populations and labor groups are likely under heavy surveillance by the repressive regime. Using benign organizations as brokers and as a means to connect and motivate disparate groups into a usable coalition is a way to overcome this obstacle. Borrowing lessons from years of research in the field of Social Movement Theory, some fundamental requirements emerge for building a strong coalition of heterogeneous groups to strengthen a resistance. Inclusion of civic organizations can bridge gaps between groups that may be ideologically opposed or might not otherwise knowingly cooperate. These may include religious groups, business bureaus or chambers, or broadly inclusive human rights or education lobby groups. Groups like these can combine existing but separate and even disenfranchised organizations into a more complex and broadly appealing coalition.

Civil Affairs operators can conduct CAO in ways that makes use of this concept in numerous ways. They can strengthen existing neutral groups with funding and resources in advance of Phase III to increase their capacity to act as connectors and organizers themselves. They can organize community meetings and assist in the planning and execution of organization- and coalition-sized civic actions that those in the meetings determine will be useful. They can apply CAO to generate rally points where groups with differing grievances and ideologies but common vulnerabilities can meet and interact, steering these groups toward cooperation and a broader common goal than each would

¹⁶¹ Maryjane Osa. "Linking Organizations Through Activists in the Polish People's Republic," in Mario Diani and Doug McAdam. *Social Movements and Networks; Relational Approaches to Collective Action* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). 101.

achieve on its own. They can then act as ideological and operational mentors, focusing the disparate groups' dissatisfaction toward the “far target” rather than each of their “near targets.”

2. Mobilizing and Enabling Radical Groups to Protect the Core

Given a broad coalition of diverse networks, radical groups may be used as a diversion, to deflect state repression away from the key players in the coalition and buy time for the movement to build popular support that can be translated into political and military influence. With such a framework, it will be far easier to expand leadership building and internal resource generation efforts to further strengthen the coalition. It may be necessary to establish a central committee or several coordinating committees to provide guidance and motivation to the numerous organizations. Such committees might or might not be staffed by members of the intended transition government. In either case, they can serve as injection points, providing solutions to disenfranchised populations and alleviating grievances after Transition to assist in demobilization. Presumably, each committee and subcommittee would be well-versed in the Leader's myths and methods to be able to carry on if he is removed from active participation.

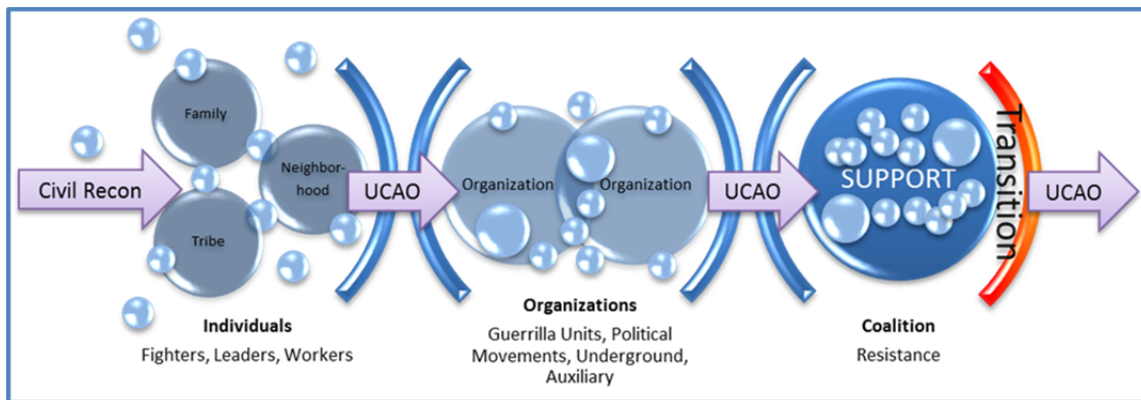


Figure 2. A model for effective Civil Network Development. Efforts must gather individuals into existing organizations; organizations into a coalition; and the coalition into a supporting arm of the Campaign.

Again, there are specific things that CA operators can do to strengthen and operationalize this concept during the campaign. For instance, they can provide

humanitarian assistance and disaster response by, with, and through the radical group to the affected populations that make up its recruiting pool. CA operators can mentor and guide radical leaders in the methods of violent and non-violent protest and other public actions. Examples of non-violent action might include symbols and statements, assemblies, marches, processions, boycotts, economic noncooperation, strikes, slow-downs, civil disobedience, and blockades.¹⁶² CA can provide tactical CAO to GW and radical group encampments and population centers in order to alleviate the difficulties of daily life and to free military-age males and others to do the work of the resistance. Additionally, CA operators could mentor radical groups and paramilitary organizations in self-restraint and careful consideration of timing in operations; encouraging them to act when action is appropriate and will support the campaign and to not act when it will not.

3. Building Leaders, and Organizations that Survive Without Them

It is easy to get caught in the trap of “doing Civil Affairs” where the need seems greatest. CA soldiers must be aware of the simple value of CAO and the complex echoes that each operation can produce. Civic action is a simple means to accomplish complex, people-centered tasks. The fact that civic action attracts personal appreciation is important. People are thankful and may reciprocate when given assistance. The fact that civic action is itself an end is important to understand, too. The mere act of executing a civic action program connects the resistance to the population; exposing one to the other in a positive and legitimizing manner. In order to capitalize on tactical-level civic action and make the secondary and tertiary effects positively impact the resistance, each organization and the broad coalition must have effective leadership. Michael Freeman argues, based on numerous case studies, that an organization’s leader inspires members and/or manages the organization by providing operational direction. He further argues that if leaders are the sole providers of these functions and subordinates are not developed

¹⁶² For descriptions of these and other types of non-violent action, as well as bibliographic suggestions for each type, see MacCarthy, Ronald M., and Gene Sharp. *Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide* (New York, N.Y., [etc.]: Garland, 1997); 492–546.

A detailed, but not descriptive, list of possible non-violent actions can be found at <http://www.peacemagazine.org/index.php?id=2083>, accessed November 1, 2012. This list, adapted from Gene Sharp, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action* (Boston 1973) provides a list of many types of actions but does not explain them.

who can carry on those roles, then simple and effective leadership targeting will weaken or destroy the organization.¹⁶³ In an American-supported UW campaign, the Guerrilla Force leaders will likely be trained and mentored by U.S. Special Forces. The task of identifying candidates to receive Civil Network Development training and mentoring, as well as the task of training effective top- and mid-level Mass Base and Shadow Government leaders should fall on the Civil Affairs soldiers involved in the campaign. They have the training, connections, and the physical and professional proximity necessary to do so.

In order to bolster organizations and their leaders, CAO must be targeted to help the leaders strengthen their particular roles, whether it be “[inspiring] members of the organization and/or [managing] that organization by providing operational direction.”¹⁶⁴ CA soldiers should assist in building and strengthening the legend of charismatic leaders through tactical CAO that reinforces their status as the provider, protector, and guide to a better future. CA soldiers should reinforce the “routinization” of a charismatic leader’s ability to inspire so that it outlasts him. This includes spreading tactical CAO in the leader’s name using his symbols, myths, rites, rituals and ceremonies, and empowering and inspiring loosely-connected individuals and organizations to do the same. Similarly, CA operators should train and mentor subordinate organization leaders who can carry on the central leader’s message. The goal here should be to “institutionalize” the message and the actions of the inspirational and operational leader who began and/or grew the organization. In this way, the group will be less vulnerable to leadership targeting and will stand stronger in the face of suppression. As mentors to Mass Base and Shadow Government leaders, CA operators should provide alternatives to ill-conceived violent actions. This is most important when some member of the coalition is planning to kinetically target some population or infrastructure that might be better engaged through non-violent means or civic action. Persuading a petroleum-workers union to strike rather

¹⁶³ Michael Freeman, *A Theory of Terrorist Leadership (And Its Consequences for Leadership Targeting)*, Unpublished paper written at Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2012

¹⁶⁴ Freeman, *Terrorist Leadership*.

than destroy an oil pipeline is one possible example. This type of alternative action can achieve the desired result, preserve the infrastructure, and maintain public support for use post Transition.

4. Generating Resources Internally

The organizations that make up the coalition, and the coalition itself, must be capable of generating and mobilizing resources internally. External support will likely be a key part of the campaign, but for legitimacy and strength the resistance should be able to provide for itself to some extent. Resource mobilization efforts “aim to preserve and expand organizational resources, such as money, meeting places and other facilities, labor, and communications technology, and to exploit or develop social networks and other types of mobilizing structures that can help to further the growth and objectives of the group in organizing, directing, and mobilizing contention.”¹⁶⁵ These are efforts that can be facilitated from the outside, but are better done from within the organizations and coalition by legitimate members. Again, Civil Affairs personnel are inherently well-placed to bridge the gap between those who can provide this type of support, those who can protect them, and those who can make use of them. This is one aspect of a campaign where Civil Information Management can significantly enhance UCAO efforts. Gathering and analyzing information about local taxation norms, logistical resources, transportation routes and infrastructure, storage facilities, meeting places, and so on will provide the resistance with the tools it needs to make better use of its internal resources. The more effectively a resistance uses its internal resources, the fewer external resources will be needed. This adds legitimacy and moral strength to the resistance while allowing the supporting external element to maintain its clandestine or low-profile character.

CA operators should focus internal resource generation efforts to build and grow organizational resources from within and link the coalition to local and regional sources that build legitimacy and internal strength, to include funding, physical infrastructure, witting and unwitting workers, and communication networks. The coalition should also use existing social networks and mobilizing structures to identify, recruit, organize, and

¹⁶⁵ Davis, et al. *Public Support for Insurgency and Terrorism*. 20.

mobilize a Mass Base in support of the overall campaign. Civil Affairs soldiers can analyze existing resources, identify shortages and gaps, and work to supplement local efforts with external funding and resources where necessary. They can work through existing education, civic, relief, religious, and social organizations to make use of existing infrastructure for meeting places, communications centers, and planning facilities. They can then tie local organizations to provincial and regional organizations for sharing of resources and methods of resource generation.

C. **UPDATING OUR DOCTRINE**

The following by-phase description of UCAO overlays existing UW-specific CAO doctrine¹⁶⁶ with what we have discerned through our research. It also adds a “Phase 0” that includes the possibility of some persistent engagement presence, but does not depend on it. This Phase 0 is just as important where there is no persistent engagement program, but as previously stated the methods involved might vary based on the access that CA operators have to relevant populations and information. (*Italics indicates a new addition*)

- *Phase 0: (Responsibility: Regionally-aligned BN CAPT and BN CLT, CMSE, TSOC J9, Theater CMSE)*
 - *Providing broad civil considerations analysis of the host nation and regional neighbors identified as security concerns to identify potential civil vulnerabilities, grievances, and weaknesses within civil society that may be leveraged by an interested party to generate mobilization of the population.*
 - *Identifying internal and external actors that impact the civil environment in potential target areas, neighboring friendly nations, and around the world through diaspora and refugee populations.*

¹⁶⁶ The existing doctrine here can be found, with some variation, in Training Circular 18–01 (2011), *Special Forces Unconventional Warfare*, FM 3–05.130, *Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare* (2008), FM 3–05.40, *Civil Affairs Operations* (2006), and Army Techniques Publication 3–05.1, *Unconventional Warfare* (Final Draft, August, 2012).

- *Identifying potential government-in-exile or Shadow Government representatives.*
- *Identifying and contacting possible connector organizations that can serve as neutral collaboration and recruiting points for elements of the guerrilla, Shadow Government, and Mass Base organizations.*
- *Identifying commercial, humanitarian, and third-country logistical networks that could be exploited to provide materiel or transportation support to a potential UW campaign.*
- *Phase I: (Primary responsibility: UWTF CA Element)*
 - *Providing detailed civil considerations analysis of the Joint Special Operations Area to identify potential civil vulnerabilities, grievances, and weaknesses within civil society that may be leveraged by the insurgency to generate mobilization of the population.*
 - *Identifying foreign humanitarian assistance funding sources.*
 - *Identifying specific narratives used by potential resistance members that can be strengthened with CAO.*
 - *Identifying existing social movement organizations and possible means to motivate them to action.*
 - *Initiating CA support coordination with any government-in-exile or Shadow Government representatives if established.*
 - *Initiating transition planning by developing a disengagement concept and identifying the CMO end state.*
 - *Coordinating with internal and external parties (diaspora, refugees, exiles) to initiate planning and implementation of quick, high-impact projects to immediately establish engagements with target populations.*

- Phase II: *(Primary responsibility: UWTF CA Element)*
 - Integrating with the pilot team-planning cell.
 - Identifying sources of foreign humanitarian assistance, to include intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations.
 - Preparing to insert with the pilot team, if required, to support initial assessments.
 - *Training and mentoring leaders and elements of the Shadow Government and Mass Base organizations that can be accessed prior to infiltration.*
 - Preparing to provide detailed CAO or CMO analysis of pilot team assessments.
 - Identifying quick, high-impact projects based on pilot team assessments.

- Phase III: *(Primary responsibility; UWTF CA Element)*
 - Validating CA inputs to the intelligence preparation of the environment.
 - Identifying and liaising with key leaders within the indigenous population who may influence the CAO/CMO plan.
 - *Establishing proxy or surrogate CAO implementing partners within existing organizations, Shadow Government, and Mass Mobilization networks of influence.*
 - Preparing to insert with the SF detachments if required.
 - Conducting key leader engagement.
 - *Establishing coordinating committees to act as a link between indigenous organizations and the overall coalition.*

- Phase IV: *(Primary responsibility: UWTF CA Element)*
 - Refining CA input to intelligence preparation of the environment.
 - Facilitating the buildup of the resistance force *with targeted CAO and mentorship.*
 - Initiating CAO (foreign humanitarian assistance, nation assistance, and populace and resources control).
 - *Advising proxy or surrogate CAO implementing partners to implement CAO that assists in strengthening resistance, winning support, and denying population and resources to the government.*
 - *Strengthening resistance narratives with targeted HA/DR and PRC efforts.*
 - *Facilitating the employment of social movement organizations to create limited disruption, undermining government legitimacy.*

- Phase V: *(Primary responsibility: UWTF CA Element)*
 - Validating measures of effectiveness.
 - Monitoring or assessing effects.
 - Executing CAO.
 - *Mentoring social movement organizations, Shadow Government, and Mass Mobilization elements to sustain morale and ensure ongoing effectiveness.*
 - *Advising resistance elements to use restraint in targeting, emphasizing the use of non-kinetic means of target neutralization in order to preserve infrastructure for Phase VII.*

- Phase VI: *(Primary responsibility: UWTF CA Element)*
 - Mitigating impact of combat operations on the indigenous civilian population.
 - Surging foreign humanitarian assistance.
 - Preparing to execute planned populace and resources control (dislocated civilian operations).
 - *Encouraging dislocated civilian populations to support resistance, add strength to civil disturbances, or at least remain neutral.*
 - Deconflicting intergovernmental and nongovernmental organization operations supporting unity of effort.

- Phase VII: *(Responsibility: UWTF CA Element, Follow-On CAO/CMO-capable forces and Interagency)*
 - Executing support to civil administration operations to advise and assist the new or provisional government.
 - *Focusing CAO to address key grievances of civil population and strengthen the reputation of the new or provisional government.*
 - *Assisting with resistance demobilization through economic, humanitarian, educational, medical, and other relief operations.*
 - Supporting post-hostility institutions to foster legitimacy and transparency of government.
 - Supporting the interagency execution of strategic and operational stability operations.

For simplicity's sake, the following table may be useful in describing the general types of UCAO activities that can make the difference in each phase. The tactical details are left out of this table, but the general concept of how UCAO can strengthen the campaign remains. Again, this builds on existing doctrine and adds to it based on what our research has shown to be useful.

Unconventional Civil Affairs Concept of Operations for Unconventional Warfare
Phase 0 (Persistent Engagement): Establish a base of knowledge and personal contacts inside of and external to the potential target country that can be leveraged in the event of a UW campaign.
Phase I (Preparation): Conduct an area assessment from a Civil Affairs perspective. Concentrate particularly on a PMESII systems analysis that can inform operations intended to build and maintain social movement, as well as guerrilla, underground and auxiliary strength with carefully targeted CAO. Identify the Social Movement Organizations with the potential for mobilization toward campaign objectives and mission.
Phase II (Initial Contact): Establish contact with the resistance and expand contacts with civil and commercial organizations that can strengthen the campaign. Conduct civil reconnaissance and humanitarian/civil-military operations in safe havens, refugee camps and IDP camps when possible to gain access and identify persons of influence, persons capable of providing relief supplies to populations and organizations that could strengthen the resistance.
Phase III (Infiltration): Train and assist resistance and civil disturbance organizations to conduct civil-military operations and effective political activities. Advise and assist the shadow government in order to expand popular support for the resistance. Establish coordination backbone for emerging coalitions of social movement organizations.
Phase IV (Organization): Conduct civil-military operations and advise and assist shadow-government, proxy or surrogate CAO implementing partners and social movement organizations to reinforce narratives with targeted CAO and erode popular support for the government.
Phase V (Buildup) and Phase VI (Employment): Increase domestic support for the resistance groups by providing civil-military operations training and humanitarian assistance to diaspora and refugee populations; provide clandestine civil-military operations and humanitarian assistance support to resistance elements as they increase clandestine reach into new populations to increase legitimacy of the resistance; monitor and assess effects and conduct consequence management in order to establish credibility of the shadow government. Mentor and assist the various movement organizations to increase effectiveness and maintain morale.
Phase VII (Transition): Promote the new government's legitimacy through civil-military operations designed to alleviate broad grievances and address the needs of the organizations employed under the resistance; transition from a UW task force to a security force assistance organization; increase support to civil administration.

Table 2. A by phase, generalized description of UCAO.¹⁶⁷

D. CONCLUSION

As the history of revolution and counter-revolution indicates, Shadow Governments and a Mass Base of support are supremely important to the longevity and success of a resistance. These components allow the Guerrilla Warfare effort to grow and succeed. The responsibility for synthesizing what can be learned from studying civic

¹⁶⁷ Original table taken from Army Techniques Publication 3-05.1, *Unconventional Warfare* (Final Draft, August, 2012)

action successes like those of Ed Lansdale, Edgar Buell, Muqtada al-Sadr, and even of the Afghan Taliban should fall on the Special Operations element that is oriented toward understanding and interacting with the civil element of a campaign and is “organized, trained and equipped to accomplish the core tasks” of ARSOF. The U.S. Army Civil Affairs branch, specifically the 95th Civil Affairs Brigade, is the natural and appropriate place for the synthesis that needs to occur. Current Civil Affairs capabilities should be maintained and enhanced to conduct the operations and provide the effects listed above. Using CA capabilities to build resistance coalitions, enhance leadership capabilities and organizational strength, and build internal resource generation capabilities will enhance the efficiency and operational autonomy of UW campaigns.

APPENDIX

Below are the results of the survey the authors conducted from September to November, 2012. The results are cross tabulated with MOS for ease of analysis.

1. What is your current position?					
Answer Options	What is your MOS?			Response Percent	Response Count
	18	37	38		
Command	3	2	10	14.4%	15
Staff	10	0	25	33.7%	35
Operational	2	0	52	51.9%	54
<i>answered question</i>		104			
<i>skipped question</i>		0			

2. What is your rank?					
Answer Options	What is your MOS?			Response Percent	Response Count
	18	37	38		
E1	0	0	0	0.0%	0
E2	0	0	0	0.0%	0
E3	0	0	0	0.0%	0
E4	0	0	0	0.0%	0
E5	0	0	0	0.0%	0
E6	0	0	8	7.8%	8
E7	1	1	18	19.4%	20
E8	1	0	11	11.7%	12
E9	2	0	1	2.9%	3
WO1	0	0	0	0.0%	0
CW2	2	0	0	1.9%	2
CW3	0	0	0	0.0%	0
CW4	0	0	0	0.0%	0
CW5	0	0	0	0.0%	0
O1	0	0	0	0.0%	0
O2	0	0	0	0.0%	0
O3	3	0	35	36.9%	38
O4	5	1	10	15.5%	16
O5	0	0	4	3.9%	4
O6	0	0	0	0.0%	0

O7	0	0	0	0.0%	0
O8	0	0	0	0.0%	0
O9	0	0	0	0.0%	0
<i>answered question</i>		103			
<i>skipped question</i>		1			

3. What is your highest education level?					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
High School	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Some College	3	0	21	23.3%	24
Associates	1	0	8	8.7%	9
Bachelors	5	0	32	35.9%	37
Masters	6	1	25	31.1%	32
Post-Graduate	0	1	0	1.0%	1
<i>answered question</i>		103			
<i>skipped question</i>		1			

4. How long have you been in the military?					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
0-2 years	0	0	0	0.0%	0
2-5 years	0	0	1	1.0%	1
5-10 years	2	1	31	32.7%	34
10-15 years	6	0	25	29.8%	31
15-20 years	3	1	22	25.0%	26
> 20 years	4	0	8	11.5%	12
<i>answered question</i>		104			
<i>skipped question</i>		0			

5. Have you deployed? If so, where?					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Where	14	2	86	100.0%	102
<i>answered question</i>		102			

skipped question 2

6. If you have deployed, what was the type of deployment?					
			What is your MOS?		
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Combat	15	2	82	97.1%	99
JCET	12	0	11	22.5%	23
CMSE	0	0	37	36.3%	37
MIST	0	2	1	2.9%	3
Other (please specify)	15				
<i>answered question</i>			102		
<i>skipped question</i>			2		

7. Have you ever received training (classes, briefings, etc.) on the role of Civic Action in support of Unconventional Warfare?					
			What is your MOS?		
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	12	0	71	79.8%	83
No	3	2	16	20.2%	21
<i>answered question</i>			104		
<i>skipped question</i>			0		

8. If so, how recently?					
			What is your MOS?		
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Within last 60 days.	6	0	16	26.8%	22
Within last year.	1	0	31	39.0%	32
Within last 10 years.	4	0	23	32.9%	27
More than 10 years ago.	1	0	0	1.2%	1
<i>answered question</i>			82		
<i>skipped question</i>			22		

9. How many Unconventional Warfare focused training exercises have you participated in? Where and when? (Robin Sage, JRTC, SFWOC, Other, Etc)					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Number of Exercises	14	2	65	98.8%	81
Where	15	2	51	82.9%	68
When	13	2	47	75.6%	62
<i>answered question</i>	82				
<i>skipped question</i>	22				

10. How much do you agree with the following statement: Civil Affairs personnel are prepared to operate through the use of proxies, either in a denied area, a neutral territory, or a third country, in support of a UW campaign.					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
1. Completely Disagree	1	0	6	6.7%	7
2. Disagree	3	1	7	10.6%	11
3. Somewhat Disagree	4	1	6	10.6%	11
4. Neutral	1	0	7	7.7%	8
5. Somewhat Agree	3	0	26	27.9%	29
6. Agree	3	0	18	20.2%	21
7. Completely Agree	0	0	17	16.3%	17
Why? (Optional)	61				
<i>answered question</i>	104				
<i>skipped question</i>	0				

11. How much do you agree with the following statement: Civil Affairs personnel are prepared to assess and recruit civil leaders and facilitators to build and activate resistance networks in preparation for a UW campaign.					
What is your MOS?					
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
1. Completely Disagree	2	1	3	5.9%	6
2. Disagree	4	1	8	12.7%	13
3. Somewhat Disagree	4	0	7	10.8%	11
4. Neutral	3	0	8	10.8%	11
5. Somewhat Agree	1	0	21	21.6%	22
6. Agree	0	0	23	22.5%	23
7. Completely Agree	1	0	15	15.7%	16
Why? (Optional)	56				
<i>answered question</i>	102				
<i>skipped question</i>	2				

12. Select the three most important character traits based on their importance in the selection of Civil Affairs personnel as candidates for operational roles in the UW mission.					
What is your MOS?					
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Trustworthiness	5	0	17	21.2%	22
Creativity	3	0	40	41.3%	43
Honesty	3	0	6	8.7%	9
Flexibility	3	0	37	38.5%	40
Independence	2	0	25	26.0%	27
Interpersonal Skills	8	2	63	70.2%	73
Leadership	2	0	23	24.0%	25
Maturity	10	2	42	51.9%	54
Patriotism	1	0	3	3.8%	4
Physical Fitness	2	0	12	13.5%	14
Organizational Skills	3	0	10	12.5%	13
Persuasiveness	3	2	18	22.1%	23
<i>answered question</i>	104				
<i>skipped question</i>	0				

13. Should special selection criteria apply when selecting Civil Affairs personnel to conduct UW operations?					
Answer Options	What is your MOS?			Response Percent	Response Count
	18	37	38		
No. It cannot be assessed	1	0	0	1.0%	1
No. Any soldier should be able to play their part in UW	0	0	3	2.9%	3
No. Selection into SOF should suffice	0	0	13	12.6%	13
Yes. It should be a physical assessment	0	0	1	1.0%	1
Yes. It should be a mental assessment	1	0	13	13.6%	14
Yes. It should be mental and physical	13	2	47	60.2%	62
Yes. It can be determined through a file review	0	0	5	4.9%	5
Do Not Know	0	0	4	3.9%	4
answered question				103	
skipped question				1	

14. Compared to the following, how important is Civic Action to a UW campaign?				
Answer Options	What is your MOS?			Response Count
	18	37	38	
Guerrilla Force Military Development				
Unimportant	2	2	3	
Less Important	8	0	19	
As Important	5	0	46	
More Important	0	0	15	
Do Not Know	0	0	3	
	15	2	86	103
Auxiliary Military/Paramilitary Development				
Unimportant	1	2	2	
Less Important	6	0	14	
As Important	5	0	52	
More Important	3	0	15	
Do Not Know	0	0	3	
	15	2	86	103
Auxiliary Political Development				
Unimportant	0	0	0	
Less Important	4	2	6	
As Important	5	0	40	

More Important	6	0	37	
Do Not Know	0	0	3	
	15	2	86	103
Underground Technical Development				
Unimportant	0	1	2	
Less Important	8	0	20	
As Important	7	1	32	
More Important	0	0	27	
Do Not Know	0	0	5	
	15	2	86	103
Underground Political Development				
Unimportant	0	0	0	
Less Important	4	2	7	
As Important	7	0	37	
More Important	4	0	37	
Do Not Know	0	0	5	
	15	2	86	103
Logistical Support				
Unimportant	2	2	0	
Less Important	7	0	14	
As Important	6	0	41	
More Important	0	0	29	
Do Not Know	0	0	2	
	15	2	86	103
Monetary Support				
Unimportant	2	2	0	
Less Important	5	0	10	
As Important	4	0	40	
More Important	4	0	31	
Do Not Know	0	0	4	
	15	2	85	102
Intelligence Support				
Unimportant	3	1	1	
Less Important	6	1	14	
As Important	5	0	38	
More Important	1	0	30	
Do Not Know	0	0	3	
	15	2	86	103
Weapons Provision				
Unimportant	3	1	4	
Less Important	7	0	30	
As Important	5	1	34	
More Important	0	0	12	
Do Not Know	0	0	6	
	15	2	86	103
answered question				103
skipped question				1

15. Rank order the five doctrinal core Civil Affairs tasks in order of their importance to UW operations.					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Rating Average	Response Count
Civil Information Management					
First	4	1	39		
Second	6	0	21		
Third	0	0	7		
Fourth	0	0	7		
Fifth	4	1	12		
	2.57	3.00	2.21	2.27	102
Populace and Resource Control					
First	6	0	13		
Second	2	1	16		
Third	3	0	20		
Fourth	3	1	20		
Fifth	0	0	17		
	2.21	3.00	3.14	3.01	102
Support to Civil Administration					
First	2	0	20		
Second	3	1	24		
Third	6	1	23		
Fourth	2	0	11		
Fifth	0	0	8		
	2.62	2.50	2.57	2.57	101
Foreign Humanitarian Assistance					
First	1	1	5		
Second	2	0	16		
Third	4	0	18		
Fourth	6	1	24		
Fifth	1	0	23		
	3.29	2.50	3.51	3.46	102
Nation Assistance					
First	1	0	10		
Second	1	0	9		
Third	1	1	18		
Fourth	3	0	24		
Fifth	8	1	25		
	4.14	4.00	3.52	3.62	102
answered question					102
skipped question					2

16. Select the top 3 of the following elements of Civic Action based on their importance to the success of a UW Campaign.					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Civil Information Management	4	0	27	30.1%	31
Populace and Resource Control	4	0	11	14.6%	15
Support to Civil Administration	2	2	16	19.4%	20
Foreign Humanitarian Assistance	2	2	6	9.7%	10
Nation Assistance	2	0	8	9.7%	10
Civil Reconnaissance	7	0	34	39.8%	41
Key Leader Engagement	2	0	35	35.9%	37
Shadow Government Development	9	0	38	45.6%	47
Mass Mobilization of Populace	3	0	12	14.6%	15
Support to Guerrilla Warfare	1	0	11	11.7%	12
Cover for Action	3	0	13	15.5%	16
Access and Placement	2	2	42	44.7%	46
Advising/Mentoring	2	0	11	12.6%	13
Basic Soldier Skills	1	0	1	1.9%	2
<i>answered question</i>	103				
<i>skipped question</i>	1				

17. In which campaign phases is Civic Action useful to support Unconventional Warfare?					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
None	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Phase 0 (Left of Beginning)	1	0	11	11.7%	12
Phase 1 (Preparation)	3	0	20	22.3%	23
Phase 2 (Initial Contact)	0	0	19	18.4%	19
Phase 3 (Infiltration)	0	0	8	7.8%	8
Phase 4 (Organization)	2	0	17	18.4%	19
Phase 5 (Buildup)	1	0	16	16.5%	17
Phase 6 (Employment)	3	0	14	16.5%	17
Phase 7 (Transition)	6	2	18	25.2%	26
All	9	0	53	60.2%	62
Don't know	0	0	1	1.0%	1
<i>answered question</i>	103				
<i>skipped question</i>	1				

18. Select the top 3 of the following types of personal or professional contacts that are most important to the EXECUTION of a UW campaign.					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO)	2	0	17	18.6%	19
Intergovernmental Organizations (IGO)	3	0	9	11.8%	12
Indigenous Populations and Institutions (IPI)	10	2	45	55.9%	57
Contractor	1	0	0	1.0%	1
Military	3	0	21	23.5%	24
Political	6	0	24	29.4%	30
Tribal/Clan Leadership	8	0	62	68.6%	70
Social Organization Leaders	6	2	44	51.0%	52
Criminal Elements	0	0	3	2.9%	3
Students	1	2	3	5.9%	6
Refugee Populations	1	0	4	4.9%	5
Dissident Leaders	4	0	27	30.4%	31
<i>answered question</i>	102				
<i>skipped question</i>	2				

19. Select the top 3 of the following types of personal or professional contacts that are most important to be established IN ADVANCE OF a UW campaign.					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO)	6	1	27	33.0%	34
Intergovernmental Organizations (IGO)	4	0	16	19.4%	20
Indigenous Populations and Institutions (IPI)	5	1	40	44.7%	46
Contractor	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Military	4	0	19	22.3%	23
Political	6	0	23	28.2%	29
Tribal/Clan Leadership	5	0	50	53.4%	55
Social Organization Leaders	3	0	45	46.6%	48
Criminal Elements	2	0	0	1.9%	2
Students	2	1	3	5.8%	6
Refugee Populations	5	2	12	18.4%	19
Dissident Leaders	3	1	27	30.1%	31
<i>answered question</i>	103				
<i>skipped question</i>	1				

20. Select the top three of the following types of training that are important in preparing Civil Affairs personnel to support an Unconventional Warfare campaign.					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Percent	Response Count
Source Operations	1	0	23	23.5%	24
Interpersonal Skills	7	2	49	56.9%	58
Negotiation Skills	6	2	39	46.1%	47
Elicitation Techniques	2	0	30	31.4%	32
Social Network Analysis	7	0	38	44.1%	45
Civil Information Management	9	1	37	46.1%	47
Civil Assessment	11	1	26	37.3%	38
Surveillance	1	0	6	6.9%	7
Counter-Surveillance	1	0	16	16.7%	17
<i>answered question</i>	102				
<i>skipped question</i>	2				

21. Please provide any comments you might have on the selection, training, education and employment of Civil Affairs or other Special Operations Forces in an Unconventional Warfare campaign. (Optional)					
	What is your MOS?				
Answer Options	18	37	38	Response Count	
	6	0	28	34	
<i>answered question</i>	34				
<i>skipped question</i>	70				

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