



VOLUME 4

2017-2018 CIVIL AFFAIRS ISSUE PAPERS:
CIVIL AFFAIRS: A FORCE FOR
CONSOLIDATING GAINS

Edited by
Christopher Holshek

**PKSOI PAPER
Volume 4
2017-18 Civil Affairs Issue Papers:**

**Civil Affairs: A Force
for Consolidating Gains**

**Presented by
The Civil Affairs Association
In coordination with the
U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center &
School/Special Operations Center of Excellence,
International Peace & Security Institute,
Alliance for Peacebuilding
and the
Foreign Area Officer Association**

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FOREWORD

The 2017 Civil Affairs Symposium saw further growth of a much-needed intellectual platform to advance the Civil Affairs Regiment as a national strategic capability for the consolidation of military gains into political and civil outcomes – or to “secure the victory.”

We are pleased to have the full engagement of the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (USAJFKSWCS)/Special Operations Center of Excellence (SOCoE) to participate and foster Civil Affairs (CA) professional and force development as well as advocate CA among key program and policy stakeholders, including all branches of government.

Starting with the annual fall symposia, including the workshop run by USAJFKSWCS/SOCoE, our unique, crowd-sourced platform provides members of the Civil Affairs Regiment a way to collect and record experience-based insights on topics related to the Regiment’s future. In addition to the report’s key findings and recommendations for schoolhouse use for CA force development and integration, each volume’s captured insights and advice form a source document to enhance policy development related to CA and national defense in collaboration with critical military, interagency, allied, and other unified action partners, whose institutional and operational fates CA increasingly shares.

The issue papers presented at the symposium complete each volume, published at the spring roundtable by the U.S. Army War College with the gracious assistance of the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI).

While the findings, opinions, and recommendations in this volume are representative of the Regiment, they do not represent official opinions. This allows the Issue Papers to serve as an informal vehicle to enable and inform, as well as deepen and broaden the formal processes for CA force and policy development along the lines of doctrine, organization, training, material, leadership and education, personnel, facilities, and policy (DOTMLPF-P).

This increasingly impactful dialogue, now entering its fifth year, is advancing the larger goal of a more comprehensive view and understanding of a highly diverse and increasingly relevant national strategic capability for civil-military transition management, as well as the consolidation of military gains into political and civil outcomes in multiple phases, in particular the human domain. We believe this contextualization will help the Regiment become a more inclusive and expansive learning organization, to the great benefit of its supported commands.

This last annual cycle, however, produced more than intellectual capitalization. We were pleased to announce a formal agreement with the Association of the United States Army (AUSA), as well as a creation of a new Policy & Professional Development Advisory Board to help mainstream Civil Affairs in the broader discussion of the Army and Joint Force.

We will announce more initiatives that help the Regiment and its members at the Roundtable in Washington, D.C. on April 17th 2018 – just before the start of PKSOI's Peace & Stability Operations Training Workshop, being held this year at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, PA.

In addition to the contributions of USAJFKSWCS/SOCO, PKSOI, the U.S. Departments of State and De-

fense, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the various functional and regional commands, the Association also thanks the National Defense University's now defunct Center for Complex Operations, the International Peace & Security Institute, the Foreign Area Officer Association, the Alliance for Peacebuilding, and the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition for their continued partnership at various levels.

A special thanks also goes to Maj. Gen. Kurt Sonntag, Commander USAJFKSWC/SOCoE, Maj. Gen. Darrell Guthrie, Commander U.S. Army Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command (Airborne) (USACAPOC(A)), Col. Charles Burnett, Civil Affairs Branch Proponent Commandant, and many others for their intuitive and impactful contributions and for embracing this annual process.

Most importantly, thanks go out to the many who work behind the scenes to put these programs and products together, in particular to Cols. (ret.) Christopher Holshek and Dennis Cahill for organizing the program and preparing the Symposium workshop report, the writers of this year's issue papers, as well as many others mentioned and unmentioned in this volume - among them Maj. Gen. (ret.) Michael Kuehr, Brig. Gen. (ret.) Bruce Bingham, Col. (ret.) Larry Rubini, Col. Len Defrancisi, USMCR.

Our thanks also go to Mr. R. Chris Browne, PKSOI Publications Coordinator, and Mr. J. Scott Braderman, PKSOI Chief of Research & Strategic Communication, for their diligent assistance every year.

To stay abreast of Regimental developments, see and download additional information, and to join the Association, go to our website at www.civilaffairsas-soc.org.

We invite you to join the growing movement to answer the call to enhance Civil Affairs and its partners during a great time of national and international challenges.

“Secure the Victory!

Joseph P. Kirlin III
Colonel, U.S. Army, Civil Affairs (ret.)
President
The Civil Affairs Association

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Christopher Holshek

“The problems we face are much too complex for one organization to take on,” concluded 2017 Civil Affairs Symposium keynote speaker Maj. Gen. Kurt L. Sonntag, Commander of the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School/Special Operations Center of Excellence, or USAKJFKSWCS/SOCoE – the “schoolhouse” for Army Special Forces, Civil Affairs, and Psychological Operations. “We need everyone’s help in this room to safeguard our future and consolidate our own Civil Affairs gains that have been hard fought and won for so long.”

Although the importance of the Regiment as a critical component of America’s strategic landpower is indeed growing, all three of the Army Special Operations regiments are facing serious challenges in “force structure changes, pipeline production, and recruiting,” MG Sonntag noted in Chicago last November 3rd. “We are currently not meeting our production numbers. The restructuring of the 85th CA Brigade created an imbalanced CA force structure, and our recruitment is down. If something doesn’t change soon, we will short the operational force drastically over the next five years.”

For these and many other reasons, MG Sonntag and many others hailed the Association’s initiative of an annual iterative platform that cultivates the participation of its community of practice and brings the Regiment together with civilian partners and interagency policy stakeholders to foster meaningful and impactful discussions on the future of Civil Affairs. “It is through the exploration of ideas, the articulation of problems, and the examination of solutions that we are able to maintain the relevance of our Regiment,

not only to the Army and our nation, but also to our allies and partners around the world,” explained MG Sonntag.

The issue of the role of Civil Affairs in consolidation activities – across all phases and in particular the human domain – was the main focus of the opening workshop. MG Sonntag noted how timely this event was given how Secretary of Defense James Mattis and National Security Advisor Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster (the 2015 Symposium keynote speaker) see the increased need to consolidate military and security gains into political and civil outcomes.

Prioritizing sustainable outcomes through the consolidation of gains, as Lt. Gen. McMaster explained at the 2015 Symposium, requires the “incorporation of civilian and military assets under a coherent, strategic civil-military conceptual framework that addresses the gulf between people and their system of governance. The framework must be a workable common theory of change between civilian and military operations that can address legitimacy, governance, and social cohesion in a meaningful way for transitional environments.”

This implies a larger and more strategic understanding of consolidation than found in current Army doctrine. As Maj. Shafi Saiddudin explained in his issue paper, consolidating gains is “often narrowly construed to describe post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction operations.” This “encompasses the achievement of political objectives across the entire spectrum of conflict. Consolidating gains begins in what the military describes as Phase Zero, the shape and influence phase of conflict. It is in Phase Zero that political relationships and drivers of conflict and instability are first identified, and civil society is engaged to shape the political environment.”

The theory of change and conceptual framework McMaster referred to found fertile ground in the plenary

discussion of “stabilization” in the draft Defense Department Directive (DoDD 3000.05) referenced in the workshop. The draft DoD Directive provided a more strategic understanding of stabilization and consolidation than the operational concentration of consolidation activities found in current Army doctrine. It describes stabilization as:

...an integrated civilian and military process applied in fragile and conflict affected areas outside the United States to establish civil security, address drivers of instability, and create conditions for sustainable stability. Sustainable stability is a condition characterized by local political systems that can peaceably manage conflict and change; effective and accountable institutions that can provide essential services; and societies that respect human rights and the rule of law.

This reflects the growth of “stabilization” as a unifying concept for consolidation across civil-military and interagency lines. This construct is at home in the U.S. Government’s Stabilization Assistance Review advocating the creation of a Title 10 standing global authority for small-scale military support to interagency stabilization campaigns in the Defense Support to Stabilization Fund, as well as among NATO and United Nations partners. While highly encouraged, civilian representatives from the State and Defense Departments and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) emphasized that military consolidation activities must clearly support the larger interagency stabilization framework in order to ensure effective civil-military transition, especially

considering that critical capabilities to mitigate drivers of conflict and instability are largely non-military.

In any case, the Symposium agreed that Civil Affairs is the ideal force for civil-military coordination of both stabilization and consolidation. Among the most important general takeaways from the workshop discussion was the need to identify specific CA tasks in support of Joint and Army consolidation tasks and with a view to stabilization. These consolidation tasks are framed by Required Capabilities 12-17 to Employ the Integrated Force and Secure Gains in the July 2017 *Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning* as well as in Chapter 8 of the October 2017 *Army Operations* manual, FM 3-0.

“To be successful on the modern battlefield,” Capt. Jarrett Redman and Sergeants 1st Class Sean Acosta and Valor Breez wrote in their issue paper, “the American military requires a force that can map the connective tissue between friendly, neutral, and enemy networks and provide the combatant commander with a detailed understanding of which nodes to engage and how to engage them. The Civil Affairs Regiment is uniquely suited to fill this role to map networks and influence human behavior through political, economic, and governance levers because it has long served in the human domain around the world.”

In order to realize this potential, however, Civil Affairs must be understood as a “national strategic capability to consolidate military activities into political gains during the transition from war to peace, and from military to civilian lead, while engaging partners and other players in the ‘human geography’ to effectively contribute to national interests and policy objectives,” as concluded at last year’s Symposium. This is largely conducted through Civil-Military Operations, a Joint Force Task supported by Civil Affairs Operations.

In addition to Mattis and McMaster, more in Washington are beginning to realize the importance of

CA's comparative capabilities – if not of CA itself. As new Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategy, Dr. Nadia Schadlow explained in her latest book, *War & the Art of Governance*, “to wage war effectively, civilian and military leaders must operate as successfully on political battlegrounds as they do on the physical. As the challenges in Iraq and Afghanistan revealed, and as current operations in Africa and Syria are proving again, integrating those efforts across those battlegrounds is essential to success in war.”

“Being the best warfighter in the world is not enough,” added the Center for Strategic & International Studies Burke Strategy Chair Dr. Anthony H. Cordesman in the March 2017 edition of *Military Review*. “Neither is treating stability operations and civil-military affairs as a sideshow.” In addition to greater focus on “successful civil-military operations as being as important for success as combat,” he even calls for a “revolution in civil-military affairs if [the U.S.] is to be successful in fighting failed-state wars that involve major counterinsurgency campaigns and reliance on host-country forces.”

CA's overall value, however, goes beyond the consolidation of political-military gains for post-conflict stability operations. CA is the force of choice for consolidating gains in a way that helps the larger Joint Force and Army (as the Service lead for peace & stability operations) take on the political-military challenges identified by national strategic leadership across the full range of operations. Civil-military principles in support of good governance in “gray zone” unconventional warfare are applicable to all situations, as noted in Lt. Col. Steve Lewis's paper.

When appropriately leveraged by Joint Force Commands at regional levels, this diverse force – including active and reserve component, special operations and conventional force CA units, and

Army and Marine personnel – can help JFCs plan and integrate civil-military operations, military engagement, and other activities in support of political-military strategies for conflict prevention, decisive action, and post-conflict stabilization in the multiple domains, but especially in human interaction. CA can help enable and enhance national interagency and international efforts to: conduct irregular warfare and peace and stability operations; support humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations; counter violent extremism and dark networks; and perform security cooperation and assistance to support political-military objectives per Army and Joint Operations doctrine and the Joint Concept for Human Aspects of Military Operations, and also in closer coordination with international, regional, and civilian partners in the Joint, Interorganizational, and Multinational Environment.

Especially with respect to civil-military integration, CA can make immense contributions to fill critical civil-military interagency gaps in stabilization and consolidation. In that regard, among the main findings of the workshop held on November 2nd was that the schoolhouse must develop and articulate CA consolidation tasks in concepts and doctrine.

The schoolhouse can also find validation in plenty of concrete examples of CA's role in stabilization and consolidation in current and emerging operations, let alone from history. One example CENTCOM CA Division Chief Col. Tony Thacker gave as he opened the plenary session are the campaigns to liberate Manbij and Raqqa in Syria. CA teams, along with USAID Office of Transitional Initiatives teams and other unified action partners, such as peacebuilding and civil society organizations, are helping local councils enact arrangements to “provide security, services, and an administrative structure that can establish conditions”

for a federal self-governed region that was previously under the control of ISIS.

AFRICOM Command Special Assistant Maj. Gen. Kenneth “Ritche” Moore provided additional examples in how deployed active and reserve CA teams are helping partner nations mitigate the threats posed by violent extremism, as well as build counterpart civil-military operations capacity, particularly under Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa. As did MG Sonntag, MG Moore stressed that CA is most effective when part of a greater, coordinated effort – especially as an SF, CA, and PSYOP multi-functional team. CA, MG Moore added, is unique to the Joint Force in its natural ability to operate in partner nation, interagency, and multinational settings, which is critical to stabilization in Africa.

Often operating adaptively in small groups with minimal guidance, CA teams “created success where success wasn’t even defined,” explained MG Sonntag. “Small CA teams can operate effectively in the complex, nebulous environment of the gray zone. CA teams are tailor-made to conduct assessments, create connections, and be trusted advisors,” explained Lt. Col. Steve Lewis in his paper, “this will enable CA teams to have a tremendous effect in support of good governance and consolidate gains in the gray zone.”

The Symposium participants agreed CA is a long way from being fully capable of conducting either stabilization or consolidation of gains activities. It’s not enough to recognize the conceptual developments and values-added of CA to either the Joint Force or the interagency. The issues that encumber the development of CA as a force for consolidating gains lies mainly in its readiness to perform its mission. Many of its organizational challenges must be met well beyond CA’s own institutions and commands. As Lt. Col. Arnel David and Ms. Eliza Urwin revealed

in their issue paper: “The Army and Marines should strive even more to select the best officers and NCOs across the force into the Civil Affairs Regiment. Senior DoD and Service leadership must ensure CA forces are properly resourced, trained, and value-added to the military and nation. Senior leaders need to set aside parochial endeavors to consider the best solutions for the branch to ensure its continued existence.”

In order to facilitate both a broader and deeper discussion of the future of Civil Affairs, the Symposium, *Issue Papers*, and Roundtable form an adaptive vehicle to capture and concentrate these insights and inputs, in service to the Regiment and the schoolhouse. In a letter sent just prior to the Symposium, Civil Affairs Commandant Col. Charles R. Burnett thanked the Association for collecting the Regiment’s findings and recommendations with respect to doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership & education, personnel, facilities, and policy – or “DOTMLPF-P” – in the *2016-17 Civil Affairs Issue Papers*. In just about every area, the schoolhouse is seriously considering these inputs as well as those identified this past year.

Among numerous doctrinal references, these findings and recommendations can inform the draft *Civil Affairs Operations* manual, FM 3-57. In addition, organizational development is impacted by the growing demand for Civil Affairs forces at all echelons. The fielding of the Distributed Common Ground System - Army (DCGS-A) to all Army CA units to help manage linked civil information in support of both Conventional and Special Operations Forces, in turn, should help increase interoperability, interdependency, and integration.

Many key findings were again related to the Regiment’s readiness. In his first public speaking appearance, the new Commander of the U.S. Army

Civil Affairs & Psychological Operations Command (Airborne), Maj. Gen. Darrell Guthrie laid out his vision and priorities in terms of readiness. "If you're not ready," he taglined, "you're not relevant." Readiness, he pointed out, was more than simply a function of fieldcraft and fitness, CA schooling and individual qualifications, etc. It included intellectual growth and the strategic and operational capital gained through security force assistance deployments such as MG Moore cited in AFRICOM. All of these will help USACAPOC(A), representing over 80 percent of the Regiment's force structure, become more relevant in the domain of human interaction.

In addition to military and interagency participants, non-governmental organizations, whose capabilities are most critical to stabilization and consolidation, found great value in this collaborative effort to improve working civil-military relations. These critical partners were represented by: Melanie Greenberg, President & CEO, Alliance for Peacebuilding; Peter J. Quaranto, Senior Advisor - Peace & Security, Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance (F), U.S. Department of State; Stephen Lennon, Director, Office of Transition Initiatives, USAID; and, Kelly Uribe, Senior Policy Advisor, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Stability and Humanitarian Affairs, U.S. Department of Defense. They most welcomed the understanding of humanitarian assistance in the draft DoD Directive as "distinct from stabilization efforts, since it is needs based rather than a political endeavor."

"It was really eye-opening to see the level of conceptual overlap between peacebuilding and the new generation of stabilization," remarked Melanie Greenberg, whose Alliance for Peacebuilding represents over 100 peacebuilding organizations working in more than 150 countries and is a sponsoring

partner of Association events, along with the National Defense University's now defunct Center for Complex Operations, the International Peace & Security Institute, the Foreign Area Officers Association, and the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition. "I tremendously enjoyed getting a peek behind the military curtain, as DoD wrestles with many of the same issues we are," she added. "I look forward to further collaboration at future events."

The symposium produced more than intellectual capitalization. In his introductory remarks, Association President Col. (ret.) Joe Kirlin announced a formal agreement reached with the Association of the United States Army (AUSA), while new Policy & Professional Development Advisory Board chair Col. (ret.) Dr. Kurt Mueller later explained the board's role in helping members of the Regiment publish articles and papers in order to mainstream Civil Affairs in the broader discussion of the Army and Joint Force. In addition, the Association launched the "One CA" podcast and blog platform to enable junior leaders to share experiences and stories across the Regiment to accelerate learning.

"As part of our continuous commitment to Association members, we are thrilled to announce the expanded relationship with AUSA," Kirlin briefed. The agreement includes complimentary one-year AUSA membership effective November 1st, with additional member benefits such as a digital subscription to AUSA publications and access to additional educational resources and scholarships.

The packed Symposium agenda crested with presentation of the five papers selected for publication, along with the Symposium report, in the *2017-18 Civil Affairs Issue Papers*:

- "Beyond Hearts & Minds: Transforming the Civil Affairs Regiment to Consolidate Gains in 21st Century Warfare," by Capt. Jarrett Redman

and Sergeants 1st Class Sean Acosta and Valor Breez

- “Consolidating Gains through Political Warfare: Toward a Unified Theory of Civil Affairs,” Maj. Shafi Saiduddin
- “Engineering Peace: Translating Tactical Success into Political Order,” by Lt. Col. Arnel David and Ms. Eliza Urwin
- “Planners and Operators: Civil Affairs Forces Relevant to the Future Operating Environment,” by Maj. Arthur Zuehlke, et al., 2nd Civil Affairs Group (USMC)
- “Good Governance and the Counterstate: Consolidating Unconventional Gains,” by Lt. Col. Steve Lewis

MG Guthrie noted the challenges USACAPOC(A) shared to maintain its force. In addition to its intellectual growth, he also called upon the Regiment – with the Association’s help – to help tell the Civil Affairs story. “We need to break our paradigm of silent professionals and start messaging to our civilian decision makers, DoD leaders, interagency partners, and to our Army, the utility of the CA professionals who do yeoman’s work in every phase of military operations and all corners of the globe,” MG Sonntag said.

“As importantly,” he noted, “we need forums like the Symposium and Roundtable and the *Issue Papers* to help develop a narrative to recruit more than supporters. As members of the CA force, both past and present, no one is better able to tell our story, not only to our leaders and decision makers, but more

and more to the young Soldiers currently serving, as well as young men and women in your communities who have yet to make the decision to serve. Now more than ever, we need you to build the Regiment and strengthen our Special Operations family by being our most ardent recruiters, advocates, and ambassadors.”

The next opportunity to move those and other efforts forward will be at the Civil Affairs Roundtable on April 17th in Washington, D.C.

Col. (ret.) Christopher Holshek, a Program Director in the Civil Affairs Association, is co-organizer of the Symposia and Roundtables and edits the Civil Affairs Issue Papers. He is a 2017 Distinguished Member of the Civil Affairs Regiment. In addition to many other published writings on peace and civil-military operations, his book, Travels with Harley – Journeys in Search of Personal and National Identity, reflects his experiences and insights gained from three decades in Civil Affairs at all levels and across the full range of operations in the Joint, Interorganizational, Multinational and Multi-domain environment.

SYMPOSIUM WORKSHOP REPORT

Dennis J. Cahill

“The Civil Affairs Role in Consolidation Activities: Workshop Findings and Recommendations”

Workshop Overview

On November 2, 2017, the Civil Affairs Association hosted a workshop that set the stage for the main Symposium event on the following day. Following the theme, “Civil Affairs: A Force for Consolidating Gains,” the workshop focused on the role of Civil Affairs in consolidation activities.

The first portion of the over three-hour workshop consisted of a review of emerging and current Department of Defense (DoD), Joint, Army, U.S. Marine Corps (USMC), and interorganizational foundations for future operations, presented jointly by Colonel (ret.) Dennis J. Cahill, Director, Civil Affairs Force Modernization at USAJFKSWCS/SOCoE and Ms. Tine Knott, Vice President, Center for Secure and Stable States, at DAI.

The second portion consisted of breakout sessions in which all attendees broke into two groups to consider two scenarios related to consolidating gains during and after large-scale combat operations. Each group was asked to discuss a series of questions designed to help determine stand alone and integrated Joint, Service, and Interorganizational operational requirements for successful consolidation of gains. Using sticky notes, the results of the discussions were captured, synthesized, and presented to a panel of major Civil Affairs stakeholders for initial feedback the following day.

The following summary captures the major points of the workshop presentations, breakout sessions, and panel discussion from the 2017 Civil Affairs Symposium and from further interaction with stakeholders in the development of this unofficial report. It does not represent a complete consensus of the CA Regiment, but aims to inform “DOTMLPF-P” discussions of the role of Civil Affairs in stabilization and consolidation in order to support Civil Affairs doctrinal and force development under the direction of the Civil Affairs Proponent at the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center & School (USAJFKSWCS)/Special Operations Center of Excellence (SOCoE).

Workshop Presentations

The role of Civil Affairs in consolidation activities – across all phases and in particular the human domain – was the main focus of the opening workshop led by Col. (ret.) Cahill. The purpose of the Symposium workshop, the second of its kind, was twofold:

- To review emerging and current DoD, Joint, Army, USMC, and Interorganizational projections of future operations involving U.S. military forces and civilian partners.
- To explore possible input to concepts and capability development experimentation, doctrine, training development, personnel management, and policies regarding the role of Civil Affairs forces in consolidation activities.

The bulk of his presentation (which, like all others, are available on the Civil Affairs Association website) was designed to be a tutorial for those not familiar with emerging concepts and doctrine that are influencing how military forces will plan and

conduct future operations. It contained excerpts of draft working documents from the Department of Defense (DoD Directive 3000.05, Stabilization), the Joint Staff (Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning), and the Department of the Army (Multi-Domain Battle Concept), along with recently published Army doctrine (FM 3-0, Operations). These excerpts highlighted shared common themes of “stabilization” and “consolidation.”

The draft DoD Directive provided a more strategic understanding of stabilization and consolidation than the operational concentration of consolidation activities found in current Army doctrine. It describes stabilization as:

...an integrated civilian and military process applied in fragile and conflict affected areas outside the United States to establish civil security, address drivers of instability, and create conditions for sustainable stability. Sustainable stability is a condition characterized by local political systems that can peaceably manage conflict and change; effective and accountable institutions that can provide essential services; and societies that respect human rights and the rule of law.

This reflects the growth of “stabilization” as a unifying concept for consolidation across civil-military and interagency lines. This construct is at home in the U.S. Government’s Stabilization Assistance Review advocating the creation of a Title 10 standing global authority for small-scale military support to interagency stabilization campaigns in the Defense Support to Stabilization Fund, as well as among NATO and United Nations partners. While highly encouraged, civilian representatives from the

State and Defense Departments and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) emphasized that military consolidation activities must clearly support the interagency stabilization framework in order to ensure effective civil-military transition and in recognition that the critical capabilities to mitigate drivers of conflict and instability are largely non-military.

In any case, the workshop agreed that Civil Affairs is the ideal force for civil-military coordination of both stabilization and consolidation. Among the most important takeaways from the workshop discussion in general was the need to identify specific CA tasks in support of Joint and Army consolidation tasks and with a view to stabilization. These consolidation tasks are framed by Required Capabilities 12-17 to Employ the Integrated Force and Secure Gains in the July 2017 *Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning* as well as in Chapter 8 of the October 2017 *Army Operations* manual, FM 3-0.

All documents spoke to the integration of civilian and military resources and processes to achieve unity of effort in planning and executing a variety of activities across the newly defined “competition continuum” to ultimately “create conditions for sustainable stability” (stabilization) or “secure gains and translate military success into the aims of policy” (consolidation). However, at the end of his presentation, Col. (ret.) Cahill explained that the cited documents left a gap in how this integration between civilian and military partners in future operations would be achieved. He noted that this was an opportunity for the institutionalization of civil-military integration using Civil Affairs as a catalytic agent.

Ms. Knott complemented Col. (ret.) Cahill’s presentation by citing “10 Lessons Learned for Effective Stabilization” of a recent Department of State (DoS)/USAID brief that discussed maximizing

U.S. resources to stabilize conflict affected areas. Speaking from personal experiences working on governance, transition, and stability issues at USAID and a non-government global development company, she highlighted how stabilization, like armed conflict, “is inherently political” and, therefore, requires the application of resources across various government departments and agencies, as well as the private sector. She reiterated the importance of military and civilian partners getting together as early as possible to work through the details of stabilization activities, which often begin before armed conflict ends. Given the similarity between the focus of Civil Affairs forces and the focus of stability-oriented civilian organizations, the interaction of the two seemed an obvious fit.

The major observations from the presentations, therefore, are:

- Emerging (DRAFT) DoD policy and Joint/ Army concepts increasingly address stabilization, consolidation of gains, follow through, civil-military integration, civil-military teams, competition and conflict continuums.
- Recent Army doctrine expands coverage of consolidation of gains in operations to shape operations and to prevent, large-scale combat operations, large scale defense operations, large scale offense operations, and operations to consolidate gains.
- The DoS and USAID, in coordination with the DoD, are also exploring ways to achieve effective stabilization.
- Civil Affairs Operations are integral to stabilization and consolidation activities. As Capt. Jar-

rett Redman and Sergeants 1st Class Sean Acosta and Valor Breez explained in their issue paper: “CA teams remain one of the only entities focused on conducting grassroots engagements that develop local coalitions to address grievances and mitigate instability by improving the link between the national and sub-national levels of government. This is essential to the pursuit of U.S. national interests in-theater, as adversaries continue to exploit tensions that stem from a lack of trust in national institutions by indigenous and tribal entities. As the national government seeks to clear, hold, and develop rural areas, they require trust from the local population and an understanding of friendly and neutral networks in the area. This is the area where CA teams have excelled, and this best practice should be better codified in doctrine.”

Breakout Sessions

The main focus of the workshop was in the back-to-back breakout sessions immediately following the presentations. Workshop attendees had an opportunity to self-select into one of two groups that considered a series of questions for one of two scenarios. Group 1 examined a figure from FM 3-0 depicting consolidation areas during large-scale combat operations. Group 2 looked at a similar figure from FM 3-0 that depicted consolidation areas after large-scale combat operations. Each group identified stand alone and integrated Joint, Service, and Interorganizational gaps in concepts and capability development, experimentation, doctrine, training development, personnel management, and policies that must be overcome to achieve successful

consolidation of gains. USAJFKSWCS/SOCofE recorded these in detail, based on the following questions shaping the discussion:

1. What civil military partners should be present at strategic, operational, and tactical levels?
2. How might these civil military partners be organized?
3. What operations/activities consistent with USG objectives would they conduct?
4. How are these operations/activities integrated with military consolidation operations at Corps and below?
5. What possible input should we provide to concepts and capability development, experimentation, doctrine, training development, personnel management, and policies regarding the role of Civil Affairs forces in consolidation activities in these scenarios?

The two key findings from the breakout sessions were:

- Integration of civilian partners into consolidation activities during and immediately after combat operations is not clear in current Army Doctrine.
- We must clearly identify the Civil Affairs tasks for consolidation activities in support of full-spectrum stabilization at tactical, operational, and strategic levels.

To address these shortfalls, the workshop breakouts identified the following recommendations, many of which validate those from last year's workshop report:

- Develop standing civil-military structures (e.g., interorganizational task forces) at strategic and operational levels that leverage existing and habitual relationships between U.S. government (USG) organizations, host nation governments, and other theater entities. These standing structures should provide routine planning and coordination of stability functions for stabilization and consolidation of gains across competition and conflict continuums; assess/monitor human geography hot spots for changing conditions, threats, vulnerabilities, and resiliency; determine stabilization/consolidation of gains end states; and promote unity of purpose among responding USG capabilities. Permanent positions in these structures should include Civil Affairs, DoS, and USAID representatives and, as required, can be expanded to include members of the Departments of Energy, Justice, Health and Human Services as well as host nation governments and security forces.
- Employ tailored civil-military teams at the tactical level with the S/G/J-9 as their institutional linkage to maneuver commanders and staffs. CA formations should be the centerpiece of these teams, which would contain embedded representatives of USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) and Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DART) and would

be expandable to include tactical capabilities from other USG departments and agencies. These civil-military teams would study local conditions prior to the advent of combat operations; monitor changing conditions during operations; understand objective end states; prepare for branches and sequels; and mobilize U.S., partner, and host nation resources for immediate consolidation activities both during and after large-scale combat operations. To be most effective at the time of need, these teams and activities must be routinely exercised at combat training centers and interorganizational training events.

- Explore methods to enable civilian agency/organization assumption of lead in consolidation/stabilization activities, particularly during transitions from armed conflict to post-conflict competition. Civil Affairs personnel should be the Joint Force, Army, and Marine command experts in civilian partner organization capabilities and limitations and their participation in these transitions is critical to mission success. Additionally, successful transitions at all levels of command must include the following tasks: determine and codify respective CA, civilian partner, and intelligence roles and responsibilities for civil assessments and considerations; identify/develop civil-military information-sharing platforms and mechanisms to promote integration in operations; identify civil-military transition points and use existing tools and mechanisms for stabilization (e.g., interagency

conflict assessment frameworks) to avoid redundancy and facilitate transition to civilian lead/resilience; and create national strategic and theater operational, conditions-based, political-military guidance to transition stabilization tasks from military to civilian lead.

- Expand opportunities for civil-military exchanges, including interorganizational fellowships and training with industry (TWI) for junior CA officers, CA non-commissioned officers, and civilian partner employees to leverage greater civilian/private sector capabilities and promote civil-military integration.

Panel Discussion

At the Symposium plenary session on November 3, 2017, the results of the previous day's workshop were initially presented to critical civilian partners, whose representatives included: Melanie Greenberg, Peter J. Quaranto, Stephen Lennon and, Kelly Uribe.

The second panel to receive the workshop findings consisted of major civil affairs stakeholders, including senior Army and USMC Civil Affairs commanders and staff officers and members of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff. Panel discussion feedback generally confirmed the workshop recommendations and provided additional points of consideration. The following is a short list of some of the panel member suggestions:

- Include training with state and local governments as a TWI opportunity, particularly in understanding the challenges of dense urban environments.

- Develop a better understanding among strategic planners of the role of Civil Affairs in irregular warfare and competition short of traditional conflict, particularly the role of interagency integration and bringing the other elements of national power to military commanders.
- Develop templates for interagency task forces (IATF) and joint civil-military operations task forces (JCMOTF) centered on civil affairs commands (e.g., CACOMs as standing task force headquarters) for events such as the 2014-2015 ebola response in Africa.
- Reconsider the role of Civil Affairs in information and influence operations, as the USMC is currently doing by restructuring its Civil Affairs force as an information capability.
- Leverage training opportunities at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) and other related institutions.
- As emphasized over previous Symposia, make the Civil Affairs planning capability at the strategic and operational levels a high priority; as the subject matter experts on Civil Affairs Operations and stabilization, these planners leverage and assist interagency partners on theater staffs and educate those staffs on CA capabilities, driving planning requirements and demands. Civil Affairs operators and planners, as the Marines explained in their issue paper, “should, through their experience in planning and engaging with Unified Action Partners, facilitate transitions to host nation, UN, or interagency efforts. As a component of the U.S. Government response to

complex emergencies, the Joint Force benefits from CA forces that integrate and closely collaborate with Unified Action Partners. Therefore, future CA forces should be able to provide advice, develop trust and relationships across organizations to form dynamic civilian-military teams composed of the Interagency, foreign governments and security forces, international organizations, NGOs, and members of the private sector.”

- Continue to update the Civil Affairs branch narrative. As Maj. Shafi Saiddudin noted in his issue paper: “That Civil Affairs operations can make and consolidate gains is obvious to CA practitioners, though not necessarily to the Army or Joint Force, civilian policy makers, or the American public. Changing this mindset requires CA engagement and influence with all these constituencies. It will also require a change in mindset within the CA community and a move away from the traditional concept of advocacy being centered around increasing or preserving the CA force structure. It requires thinking beyond CA forces and examining at the entire range of capabilities required, to include regular forces and civilian agencies. CA forces cannot consolidate gains alone, nor can the Army at large remain hands-off from engagement and governance operations as a core mission activity.”

Conclusion

The workshop and subsequent panel discussion brought a diverse group of people together from among the Civil Affairs Regiment community of interest. The issues discussed and the feedback received from this group touched on critical topics related to concepts and capability development, experimentation, doctrine, training development, personnel management, and policies regarding the role of Civil Affairs forces in consolidation activities. The recommendations and additional suggestions outlined in this report are hereby provided for further study and analysis by the Civil Affairs proponent to inform ongoing work in those areas – as well as the consideration of policy leaders at the Joint, Army, and Marine staff, as well as DoD and the wider USG.

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Beyond Hearts and Minds: Transforming the Civil Affairs Regiment to Consolidate Gains in 21st Century Warfare

Jarrett Redman, Sean Acosta, and Valor Breez

The complexity of the security environment in the 21st Century increasingly requires the Department of Defense to prepare for and manage threats from both belligerent state and non-state actors. Effectively countering these threats requires an unprecedented level of integration between American instruments of power and also requires a far greater understanding of the operating environment. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the increasing trend of operating in contested spaces with peer and near-peer militaries means that it is crucial, now more than ever, for the United States to maintain the ability to quickly seize the initiative and consolidate gains into sustainable political outcomes. Although there are no silver bullets to accomplish America's foreign policy objectives, the Civil Affairs Regiment's unique ability to support and influence friendly and neutral networks while simultaneously disrupting threat networks remains an underutilized and unrealized asset. Senior commanders experience this gap during conflict prevention, decisive action, and post-conflict stabilization.

War has historically been decided by the principles of mass and maneuver: conflicts have been won or lost based on a military's ability to mobilize and sustain large forces which conduct unified operations against the enemy through the application of overwhelming force. While the United States remains unmatched in its ability to conduct combined arms warfare,

recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria have reemphasized that its competitive military advantage in technology and hardware has limits in terms of accomplishing long-term strategic political objectives. In Crimea, Russia could seize the territory of a neighboring state and quickly consolidate military gains to achieve lasting political change using small teams of Special Operations Forces to influence proxies. Although Russian operations in Crimea benefited from conditions the U.S. is unlikely to be able to replicate, there are crucial lessons to be learned from Russia's use of military force to achieve lasting political change.¹

The American military and its allies can no longer treat the civilian population as an ancillary line of effort during military operations. Too often, commanders believe that a common operating picture consists of a map of physical terrain with icons identifying the size, location, and composition of enemy forces. If the objective of conflict is an enduring political end state, all domains in the operating environment (air, sea, land, cyber, and space) are secondary in importance to the human domain. More importantly, all enemy military operations require the tacit or overt support of legitimate resource and logistic networks, thus identifying and eliminating the enemy's access to these networks greatly reducing their operations capacity. To be successful on the modern battlefield, the American military requires a force that can map the connective tissue between friendly, neutral, and enemy networks and provide the commanders with a detailed understanding of which nodes to engage and how to engage them.

A network-centric approach to warfare in Phases Zero to Four on the continuum of military operations will enable the Joint Force to attain intermediate military objectives more quickly and with more

lethality. More importantly, however, it will shape the human domain in a way that enables Unified Action Partners to consolidate gains during phases four and five. The Civil Affairs Regiment is uniquely suited to fill this role to map networks and influence human behavior through political, economic, and governance levers because it has long served in the human domain around the world. However, it requires changes to Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership, Personnel, Facilities and Policies (DOTMLPF-P) to maximize its potential to the interagency community.

Although the Civil Affairs Regiment has the potential to serve as the lead element for consolidating gains through the application of network engagement, current Civil Affairs force structure, doctrine, and training are preventing the Regiment from achieving its full-potential. The following recommendations offer ways in which the Civil Affairs Regiment can improve to enhance DoD's ability to advance American interests abroad and consolidate and transition military successes into lasting political and civil outcomes.

1) Establish a Joint Theater Civil-Military Operations Center

ATP 5-0.6 states "network engagement activities should include using the Civil-Military Operations Center (CMOC) as a means of coordination and collaboration for the Unified Action Partners that comprise the joint task force."² While this is already happening on an informal basis at the TSOC, it is largely based on the initiative of deployed Civil Affairs personnel integrating with a Joint Force Command J2 (responsible for intelligence) to fuse and overlay intelligence with friendly and neutral network mapping that is being conducted by Civil Affairs Teams (CATs)

in-theater. Conducting non-kinetic targeting is a time and resource intensive process and is only successful with proper buy-in from intelligence analysts who are already consumed providing intelligence focused entirely on enemy operations. More importantly the value of network analysis is only fully realized if the J33 (current operations) and the J35 (future operations) properly implement the analysis while planning and conducting full-spectrum operations.

CMOCs from the Special Operations Forces (SOF) 95th Civil Affairs Brigade currently deploy in and out of Theater Special Operations Commands (TSOCs) on six-month rotations and as part of a larger company element that is entirely self-supporting. CATs from this company send civil information to the CMOC for collation, processing, analysis, and dissemination. The General Purpose Forces (GPF) Active Component 85th Civil Affairs Brigade and U.S. Army Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command (USACAPOC) Reserve Civil Affairs normally only deploy and fill the requirement that the TSOC and GCC request. Often the TSOC and GCC request ad-hoc CA formation due to constraints and limitations. In some instances, reserve CA companies replicate this model, although these organizations will occasionally deploy elements smaller than a company, which might not include a full CMOC depending on the composition of the force package. This results in multiple CMOCs serving within each theater of operation, working in multiple locations (whether at the Geographic Combatant Command, Army Service Component Command, TSOC, or Joint Task Force level). This system precludes the CA Regiment from implementing a holistic approach to analyzing networks, countering transnational threats, and ultimately results in a diminished common operating picture that is not conducive to consolidating gains for the commander.

Moreover, the problem grows when SOF, GPF, Reserve, and Marine Corps CA all use different platforms to upload civil information and to conduct Civil Information Management (CIM). In the African theater, this has resulted in civil information being uploaded to more than six different platforms, and at least one known case of CA fratricide, with teams from different components engaging the same key leader while working similar lines of effort. To make matters worse, the teams were engaging the individual without having access to a common profile that has already been built and shared on the person they were meeting and seeking to influence. The Regiment must better coordinate efforts amongst Civil Affairs Teams from different tribes pursuing similar lines of effort, turning its force diversity into a comparative advantage.

The ideal way to accomplish this is to establish a single Theater CMOC with personnel from all the different CA Components. With the reduction of the 85th Civil Affairs Brigade to a single CA battalion, Civil Affairs personnel are going to become even more of a strategic resource. It is counterproductive to sprinkle poorly staffed CMOCs across multiple commands and locations. Establishing a single joint, Theater CMOC at either the TSOC or the GCC would enable unity of effort. Ideally, this CMOC would be staffed by a combination of personnel who were TDY and who were permanent party. This would ensure the CMOC was better nested with the J2 and J3, and provide continuity as Civil Affairs Teams from different components rotate in and out of theater. The Joint CMOC would also have the ability to assist the Civil Affairs Planning Detachment by providing products and analysis that would be beneficial in staffing future Civil Affairs missions.

Establishing a single, joint theater CMOC with multi-component sourcing would go a long way towards building the kind-of capacity required by

GCCs to conduct network engagement activities aimed at consolidating gains. If the objective of Joint Operations is to achieve unified action in order to synchronize, coordinate, and integrate governmental and non-governmental activities to achieve unity of effort across multiple domains, adding additional Joint manning positions to the Joint CMOC from non-38 MOS's could easily accomplish this. As technology advances, open source and social media analysis provide trained analysts a method to understand the relationships between hundreds of thousands of people, governments, and organizations. This analysis would provide time-sensitive information that would be invaluable to an organization tasked with influencing networks and providing governance within an operating environment. Additionally, having 37 series personnel trained in Psychological Operations (PSYOP) would enhance the ability of the CMOC to influence the human domain; whereas Civil Affairs influences networks of people using governance, economics and diplomacy, PSYOP uses media and information. Effective integration of CMO with other of information-related capabilities is important, and a CMO representative on the Information Operations staff is critical to promoting this level of coordination.

2) Modernize Civil Affairs Doctrine

Current Civil Affairs doctrine focuses on five core tasks; Populace & Resource Control, Foreign Humanitarian Assistance, Civil Information Management, Nation Assistance, and Support to Civil Administration. There is very little specified in FM 3-57 or JP 3-57 that explains how or why the Civil Affairs Regiment should be the force of choice for the combatant commander to transition tactical military

victories into lasting strategic outcomes. Indeed, none of the core tasks, executed independently, enable the Joint Force to transition across all phases on the continuum of military operations.

Doctrine should specify that executing Civil Affairs core tasks enables the Regiment to shape and map the civil component of the operating environment. It provides the Combatant Commander with vital analysis of the human terrain, enables the commander to engage friendly networks and influence neutral networks, and if done properly, maps crucial links between the enemy network and the civilian population. Mapping networks and relationships is a critical piece of Civil Affairs Operations in Phase Zero and establishes conditions for success and transition during phases four and five by providing a broad and in-depth understanding of key actors and network relationships in a region prior to conflict. This enables CA Teams to detect potential drivers of conflict and instability, address them with Unified Action Partners in a tactical environment, and prevent larger or armed conflicts. However, doctrine does not describe this as a capability, let alone articulate its importance to strategic, operational, and tactical commanders.

CA Teams have been successful conducting stability operations on the ground largely in spite of, rather than because of, Civil Affairs doctrine. A CAT's role in Nation Assistance (NA) and Support to Civil Administration (SCA), for example, is not spelled out in a field manual or joint publication, and to be frank, what is written is poorly defined and not often enough nested with the roles of other key players in the interagency community. Interagency partners are focused on NA and SCA tasks that enable effective governance at the national level. From a DoD perspective, CA Teams remain one of the only entities

focused on conducting grassroots engagements that develop local coalitions to address grievances and mitigate instability by improving the link between the national and subnational levels of government. This is essential to the pursuit of U.S. national interests in-theater, as adversaries continue to exploit tensions that stem from a lack of trust in national institutions by indigenous and tribal entities. As the national government seeks to clear, hold, and develop rural areas, they require trust from the local population and an understanding of friendly and neutral networks in the area. This is the area where CA Teams have excelled and this best practice should be better codified in doctrine.

Shortcomings in the Regiment's doctrine consistently result in the Regiment relying on the intellect and adaptability of CA Teams bridging the gap between doctrine and their assigned (or, at times, more critically implied) mission. Perhaps more importantly, however, it results in higher headquarter staffs writing requirements for CA Teams with funding and authorities or under general operational constraints that restrict CA's freedom of maneuver required to actively identify, map, and leverage local civil networks. This is a crucial piece to consolidating and transitioning local, tactical successes to strategic political outcomes. Civil Affairs doctrine must explain this importance and provide the framework for Joint Force and Army commands to enable CATs to execute this critical task. Furthermore, 3rd Battalion, 1st Special Warfare Training Group (Airborne) must include this as part of the Civil Affairs Qualification Course curriculum for early exposure to the doctrine.

3) Designation of 380A Warrant Officer Program

The widely contested idea of a Civil Affairs Warrant Officer Program has circulated discussions among senior Civil Affairs leaders for years. However, the idea's failure to gain traction is attributed to the lack of identifying a critical gap in our current force structure; namely, the ability to manage transregional threats and conduct network analysis that identifies crucial components of the human domain necessary to translate tactical military victories into enduring political end states. Fulfilling this requirement necessitates an officer career model that foregoes command requirements for a regionally aligned career progression model. By trade, Warrant Officers are technical experts who could abandon command requirements with career paths that progress through regionally aligned positions in a Company CMOC, Brigade Combat Team staff, ASCC, TSOC and GCC staffs, and in Civil-Military Support Elements (CMSEs) at the U.S. Embassy.³ Another potential option for conducting network analysis is to have intelligence analysts assigned to the CMOC to facilitate coordination with other intelligence elements to ensure the most robust analytic product development.

The CA Warrant Officer would go far to provide the Civil Affairs community with regional and network engagement experts. The Warrant Officer Basic Course (WOBC) will certify the warrant's expertise in their functional specialty from their previous NCO Military Occupational Specialty. However, included in the WOBC curriculum should be advanced training on friendly and neutral networks within the categories of economy and infrastructure, government and administration, rule of law and civil security, and public and social services. This proposed functional specialty training should be assigned to the Institute

for Military Support to Governance and mirror many aspects of the 38G program, but focuses on a train-from-within approach versus recruit-from-outside. The latter approach has seen minimal results.

Adding CA Warrant Officers to the Civil Affairs functional specialist roster in each CA brigade and command would provide GCCs with the unique ability to maintain real-time situational understanding and proactively address both drivers and threats in the civil sector and human domain throughout all phases of Joint operations. The warrants would be responsible for conducting liaison with Host Nation civil authorities, U.S. Government agencies, and other interorganizational partners to prevent conflict support stability operations and enable civil authorities, particularly in post-conflict stabilization.

This critical asset should be assigned across ASCC, GCC, TSOC, Corps, and Division staffs that are ultimately responsible for either planning or implementing operational plans in theatre. Furthermore, restricting this capability to G9s/J9s (responsible for civil-military operations) would be a wasted opportunity. To leverage their full capabilities, they must be assigned throughout all staff sections, particularly the G3/J3 (operations), G5/J5 (plans), to fully immerse CA into all planning aspects.

Conclusion

Humans are complex creatures and shaping the human domain of an operating environment requires a deep-seated understanding of cognitive anthropology and the factors that motivate human action and decision-making. The Regiment must move beyond the operational construct of conducting civil engagement to reduce civil-military friction and “win

hearts and minds” in order to move the Joint Force beyond this limited understanding of contemporary conflict and peace.

Consolidating gains demands serious commitment from the civilian population. This can only be attained with a comprehensive understanding of the enemy’s influences and ties to the population and the constructs of the social networks that exist within the region, and key aspects of the social network that drive instability or stabilize an area.⁴ Proper application of network-centric warfare by the joint force, led by the Civil Affairs Regiment, can and will result in a *fait accompli* in which the human terrain of the battlefield has been influenced in such a way that the fate of America’s enemies decides before the first shot is ever fired – in fulfillment of Sun Tzu’s edict that “the supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting.”

Investments in personnel and adjustments to current doctrine are the first steps to adapting to the challenges of the increasingly asymmetric environments that drive conflict or threaten the security of the U.S. or its regional allies. Civil Affairs remains the sole military proponent poised to meet the 21st century’s increased political-military challenges of operating within the human domain. As the strategic and operational environments change, so must Civil Affairs. It must provide Joint Force commanders with a unique and relevant capability that can shape and influence the civil domain in concert with interorganizational Unified Action Partners to consolidate tactical and operational military gains to favorable political and civil outcomes.

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Consolidating Gains Through Political Warfare: Toward a Unified Theory of Civil Affairs

Shafi Saiduddin

Civil Affairs can create strategic gains as well as consolidate them. The difficulty is that, compared to well-established theory and doctrine for the use of military force, the conceptualization and application of influence are much less developed.¹ Globally, the role of non-military instruments of power has grown. Russian unconventional warfare strategy, labeled “The Gerasimov doctrine,” highlights the primacy of influence and information warfare. Theorists ask “What would [Special Operations Forces] SOF hypothetically look like if there were a merging of Civil Affairs, Cyber, and MISO [Military Information Support Operations] that constituted the core SOF identity while kinetic operators settled into a less forward role to create the operating space to amplify their effects?”² Conceptualizing civil means of power will ultimately require a “revolution in civil-military affairs”³ but the lack of theory for the capabilities to achieve political resolution of conflict has been a recurring problem in aligning national security priorities. The purpose of this paper is to offer a starting point, a potential framework, for a theory of Civil Affairs that can enable diverse CA capabilities to both make and consolidate gains in support of U.S. national objectives.

The term “consolidating gains” is often narrowly construed to describe post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction operations. However, when defined broadly, “gains” encompasses the achievement of political objectives across the entire spectrum of conflict. Post-conflict actions are, at their core, efforts

to establish or re-establish a favorable political order. Such a political outcome can also come through conflict prevention or an unconventional warfare campaign. Consolidating gains does not begin post-conflict. It begins in what the military describes as Phase Zero, the shape and influence phase of conflict. It is in Phase Zero that political relationships and drivers of conflict and instability are first identified, and engagement with civil society shapes the political environment.

Viewed broadly, consolidating gains must encompass numerous capabilities, including, but not inclusive of, reconnaissance, engagement, decisive action, stabilization, and reconstruction. Just as conflict is complex, and not a binary system of war and peace, these capabilities do not align in a discrete linear fashion and must act in concert to be effective. The application of these capabilities is not limited by phases or types of conflict; only the mix of required capabilities changes. The spectrum of conflict is more a continuous series of transitions than a linear progression. These transitions must be guided and managed, however, in the absence of theory, both doctrine and structure suffer.

Cultural Barriers

There are cultural impediments within the military and within American society which prevent the effective application of influence capabilities to affect political order. While governance activities are inherent to the conduct of warfare, they are typically viewed as separate by policy makers and reluctantly conducted by the military. In *War and the Art of Governance*, Dr. Nadia Schadlow describes this as “American Denial Syndrome.”⁴

The “American Way of War” is based heavily on a narrow interpretation of Clausewitz. That is, war

is recognized as an extension of politics, yet politics is not necessarily equated with warfare and political gains are achieved by defeat of the enemy's forces. This is problematic, as the concept of "defeat" is not clearly defined when dealing with the complexity of population centric irregular warfare. U.S. military doctrine orients toward defeating an enemy's forces, and as a result, is biased towards maneuver warfare and focused on the tactical and operational phases of combat.⁵ The Army's cultural bias towards maneuver warfare also reflects American society's longstanding bias against the military conducting government activities. It speaks to a deep desire for civilian control of the governance domain and a distaste for military involvement in these activities.⁶

Sun Tzu provides a more complete model than Clausewitz, particularly in conflict prevention. The *"Art of War"* is interchangeable with what Dr. Juliana Pilon describes in her book as *"The Art of Peace."* Both concepts working together are essential to national and international security.⁷ Dr. Pilon describes the application of civil means of power in a decisive manner as "Waging Peace." From her analysis, influence techniques are not new to the United States, just forgotten. Dr. Pilon cites the example of how the founders "waged peace" through diplomacy and commerce to further national interests.⁸

The inability to view conflict holistically traps the military in the tactical and operational levels of war and hinders the development of effective strategy, Dr. Pilon describes this as "Strategic Deficit Syndrome." This is compounded by political polarization that frames diplomatic and military capabilities as an "either-or" proposition, and equates "nation-building" with altruism, rather than a means to further national security.

The Persistent Structural Problem

The Army is the force capable of and required to do the “heavy lifting” in all phases of conflict, including the pre-and post-conflict political environment.⁹ An imbalance in national security capabilities and resourcing, and the resulting gaps in civilian organizations necessitate this, though both the military and American society are deeply uncomfortable with it. The Army, however, reluctantly executes and never fully embraces civil actions, while the “whole of government” approach is rarely achieved in practice due to military concerns that it dilutes unity of command. Thus, stabilization operations seldom, if ever, fully leverage diverse, civil-military, and interagency capabilities.

Despite the bias against them, the Army has historically conducted engagement and governance operations through regular forces and *ad hoc* structures, disbanding them after the culmination of active hostilities. Many of these operations are regarded as successful, including the Mexican War, the postwar occupation of Cuba, and stabilization and reconstructions efforts after World Wars I and II. Others, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, were much more problematic. Despite a long history of these types of civil-military operations, there has been little significant structural effort to address this core reality.¹⁰

A Theory of Civil Affairs

Identifying a theory of Civil Affairs means taking a step back from doctrine and structure and moving from the specific to the abstract. It is through examining the concepts of civil conflict – where most conflict originates and, conversely, finds resolution –

that clarity in terms of doctrine and structure emerge. Ultimately, the difficulties in integrating governance and traditional warfighting are cultural and cognitive. No amount of structural change alone will overcome these barriers. Theory, on the other hand, forms a basis to develop cohesive, coherent narratives that influence change.

To develop a theory of Civil Affairs, it is necessary to examine the efforts toward a theory of special operations. While engagement and governance operations are inherent in the conduct of warfare, they are indeed separate from the enemy-focused, maneuver-centric form of warfare that characterizes U.S. conventional warfare. A theory for Civil Affairs should nest within a larger theory of special operations.

In his monograph for the Joint Special Operations University, Dr. Robert Rubright proposes a unified theory of special operations. He describes “a theory that is holistic in nature, timeless, focused solely upon special operations, and serves as an umbrella framework for other theories about special operations and Special Operations Forces.”¹¹ Notable writers such as Admiral McRaven, Robert Spulak, Rich Yarger, James Kiras, and Christopher Marsh have all contributed to the thinking of special operations theory.”¹² Proposed theories range from Admiral McRaven’s work focused specifically on direct action, to the conclusions of Kiras and Marsh who have argued that there can be no theory of special operations, and the general categories of surgical strike and special warfare are as close as one can get to a comprehensive theory”¹³

As Dr. Rubright’s analysis of this work concludes “All of these authors make valuable contributions to thought on the subject of a special operations theory. Yet, they all fall short of a holistic theory because they have made a fundamentally flawed connection

between special operations and SOF.”¹⁴ Rubright makes the point that a theory of special operations must remain separate from special operations forces. The term “SOF” refers very narrowly to a designated command structure. “Special operations,” on the other hand, involves many military and civil organizations throughout the U.S. Government, including intelligence and law enforcement agencies. Conventional military forces have frequently conducted them since the founding of the nation even though there was no dedicated force for them.

A theory for Civil Affairs should also separate CA from civil-military operations and focus on CA activities rather than structures. Regular military forces have conducted civil-military operations before dedicated CA and military government forces existed. At the strategic level, a variety of organizations ranging from military to diplomatic to development and law enforcement has performed them. Counterinsurgency operations in Iraq and Afghanistan often required maneuver forces to lead engagement and governance activities at especially tactical levels with or without assigned CA forces. National Guard forces routinely carry out civil-military activities, to include engagement through the State Partnership Program and disaster relief through their State domestic response mission, even though the National Guard lacks an organic tactical CA force structure.

The nature of forces required to conduct civil-military operations is open to debate and changes over the years. The Army and Marine Corps have had designated CA forces, while the Navy has once had them. Civil Affairs as a concept has at times been associated with Military Police, the Judge Advocate General’s Corps, and Special Forces. While this has created an ongoing identity crisis within CA forces, it

also illustrates how all of these functions are required for both engagement and governance. A theory of Civil Affairs thus allows for the full consideration of how these capabilities may be applied effectively, rather than focuses on a single capability to conduct these more comprehensive missions.

Dr. Rubright expresses his theory of special operations as : “Special operations are extraordinary operations to achieve a specific effect.”¹⁵ A corresponding theory for Civil Affairs should narrow the theory and further define the specific effect sought. A possible theory statement could be “Civil Affairs operations are extraordinary operations to make and consolidate gains in the human political domain.” “Extraordinary” because the political aspect of the human domain is inherent to every military operation. “Political” because while all warfare is a human endeavor, the question is not whether military actions affect the human domain but how they affect its *political* part. A very recent example of this is the employment of CA forces in Syria during *Operation Inherent Resolve*.¹⁶

Political Warfare as an Organizing Principle

The concept of political warfare is an organizing principle for the theory’s purpose. George Kennan defined political warfare in a 1948 State Department policy planning staff memorandum. “Political warfare is the logical application of Clausewitz’s doctrine in time of peace. In broadest definition, political warfare is the employment of all the means at a nation’s command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives. Such operations are both overt and covert. They range from such overt actions as political alliances, economic measures (the Marshall Plan), and ‘white’ propaganda

to such covert operations as clandestine support of 'friendly' foreign elements, 'black' psychological warfare and even encouragement of underground resistance in hostile states."¹⁷

Choosing political warfare as an organizing principle for a theory of Civil Affairs in no way implies that Civil Affairs owns political warfare or has a monopoly on conducting it. Dr. Donovan Chau describes U.S. political warfare capabilities in Africa as including Civil Affairs, Special Forces, Psychological Operations, USAID, Navy Construction Battalions, and the National Guard State Partnership Program.¹⁸ Political warfare is inherently a whole of government approach, and includes civilian agencies as well as military units assigned to both conventional and special operations commands.

Political warfare incorporates the civil aspects of power and sees them as decisive or "warfighting" capabilities, addressing the cultural bias that views non-lethal effects as secondary capabilities. Achieving political objectives using all elements of national power is central to the conduct of warfare. Political warfare links all phases of conflict together as well as links military operations to political objectives.

The real significance of political warfare as an organizing principle is that it is an instrument of grand strategy.¹⁹ It is through grand strategy that gains are consolidated and operational actions translated into strategic effects. Overcoming "Strategic Deficit Syndrome" requires the development of alternative concepts to challenge conventional narrow thinking about conflict.

One Regiment, Two Narratives

A difficulty in conceptualizing Civil Affairs is that CA forces have two distinct yet broad missions – engagement and governance.” The two missions require significantly different skills, organizations, training, and doctrine, though there is a great deal of overlap between the missions. Engagement and governance can best be described as two sides of the same coin. However, creating and maintaining the capabilities to execute these missions under the same career field has been problematic.

In their *Capstone Project, CA 2025: The Strategic Design of Civil Affairs*, Samuel L. Hayes Jr. and Ken Nguyen capture the cultural roots of Civil Affairs in terms of two capabilities, the “Civil Scout” and Military Government. The Civil Scout has origins in the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and Military Government in the post-conflict actions of General Winfield Scott in the Mexican War.²⁰ At neither time did the Army maintain special forces for these operations. Meriwether Lewis, himself selected by President Jefferson, hand-picked the small force that conducted the nation’s earliest and most famous Civil Reconnaissance mission, while Winfield Scott employed regular forces to successfully govern and control occupied territory.

Despite the Civil Affairs Regiment’s rich history of extraordinary actions and valor by both Civil Scouts and Military Government Specialists, its achievements are often overshadowed by adversarial competition within the Regiment. It must recognize these capabilities as inherently different, yet complementary and interdependent. To effectively consolidate gains, the Regiment must work together and unify. To unify, it must counter-intuitively parse its narrative. The Civil Scout and the Military Government Specialist

must expand both their career fields and respective histories and narratives. Separating the narratives will also provide clarity and a sense of purpose for each capability.

Separating out the narratives, leads to the natural conclusion that there should be separate theories for Civil Affairs and Military Government, not as antagonistic theories, but rather complementary. Hence the reason that a theory for “Civil Affairs” is merely a starting point. Following the direction of Army Special Operations doctrine separating Special Warfare and Surgical Strike, separate doctrine derived from these theories will enhance both capabilities, as well as their ability to work in concert.

Institutionalizing Engagement and Governance Within the Army

If engagement and governance are part and parcel of warfare, the question arises of how to institutionalize them within the military, particularly within the Army. This requires addressing shortfalls in the regular force and refining capabilities within the specialist force. The Army uses the framework of Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Leadership and Education, Personnel, Facilities and Policy (DOTMLPF-P) to identify gaps and develop solutions. For the regular force it is primarily a matter of education. For the CA force it will require changes in organization, training, and personnel.

Addressing the Army’s cultural bias requires education and influence. The successful conduct of governance activities in the early history of the United States is largely absent from the collective memory of the Army. Changing this culture is a generational process and will require that engagement and

governance operations be emphasized in Professional Military Education at all levels. A further step would be to re-establish the Special Operations Research Office (SORO) of the 1960's that was located within American University and was the intellectual center of special operations providing help to understand revolutions, insurgencies, and the "human terrain."²¹ Organizations such as SORO served to educate military senior leaders, as well as the civilian policymakers who ultimately determine the direction of the military and how it is employed. This gap is currently filled in good part by the Civil Affairs Association.

The concept of aligning engagement and governance activities across the entire spectrum of conflict suggests that CA forces require increased specialization. The narratives of the Civil Scout and the Military Government Specialist serve as guidelines for a greater diversity in capabilities. Splitting the force into two basic types of CA units that specialize in pre-conflict low-intensity civil reconnaissance and post-conflict high-intensity Military Government and stabilization is a logical step to provide more clarity on CA for Combatant Commanders and planners. This split should not segregate the career fields but instead optimize the mix of capabilities.

As the training requirements for each type of unit will differ, the Military Government field should expand beyond civil sector experts. One potential area is a tactical generalist in Military Government focusing primarily on the core tasks of Populace and Resource Control and Foreign Humanitarian Assistance in support of maneuver operations. Skills required could include tactics, techniques, and procedures similar to those in Military Police, Engineer, and logistics career fields. This specialty could fill a middle ground between the 38A/B and 38G career fields and better serve the conventional force.

A Global Synchronizer for Engagement and Governance Activities

Dr. Schadlow's analysis of U.S. conflicts illustrates a recurring theme – a lack of unity of command for stabilization and governance activities that results in their failure. The division of responsibility between multiple civilian and military organizations and structures, combined with complex administrative and bureaucratic processes, virtually guaranteed the failure of initial governance activities in Afghanistan and Iraq.²²

It is clear that there are cultural factors within American society that oppose giving the military the lead on governance. Yet it is equally clear that civilian organizations lack the capability to conduct governance operations concurrently with combat operations. A unified military command is seemingly the answer; however, cultural bias makes this problematic. Lessons from World War II also indicate that giving control of governance capabilities to maneuver commanders relegates these capabilities to a very tactical role. This has resulted in the movement of military government units from location to location based on maneuver priorities, making continuity of consolidation difficult if not impossible.²³

With the complexity of governmental structures today, to include international partner nations and organizations, the idea of a unified military command for governance and stability as during the Mexican War is not practical. A better model can be found in the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) created post 9/11.²⁴ Since then it has been very successful in disrupting terrorist networks. CT, however, is only half the equation and by itself has not led to strategic success. Expanding existing CT to incorporate political

warfare will provide a balance of capabilities and enable the development of effective strategy.

Expanding the CT model to synchronize political warfare requires many changes outside of the Department of Defense including: a coordinator for political warfare on the National Security Council; an interagency coordinating body; and career tracks in political warfare within civilian agencies.²⁵ Within DoD, a global synchronizer is necessary to work closely with the interagency coordinating body. While these proposed structures may not provide unity of command, synchronization by an executive agent is preferable to a large variety of disjointed structures attempting to develop unity of effort. The U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) could be this global synchronizer.

Conclusion

The challenges of consolidating gains and shaping political outcomes reach far beyond the Civil Affairs Regiment. The challenges are cognitive and deeply embedded within American society as well as the U.S. military. Whether we call it Strategic Deficit Syndrome or American Denial Syndrome, it is a fundamentally limiting view of warfare.

That Civil Affairs operations can make and consolidate gains is obvious to CA practitioners, though not necessarily to the Army or Joint Force, civilian policy makers, or the American public. Changing this mindset requires CA engagement and influence with all these constituencies. It will also require a change in mindset within the CA community and a move away from the traditional concept of advocacy being centered around increasing or preserving the CA force structure. It requires thinking beyond CA forces and

examining at the entire range of capabilities required, to include regular forces and civilian agencies. CA forces cannot consolidate gains alone, nor can the Army at large remain hands-off from engagement and governance operations as a core mission activity.

Ultimately, the art of peace must stand equal to the art of war, and engagement and governance must become integral to military operations. Many required changes are beyond the ability of the Civil Affairs Regiment alone to effect. However, to effectively influence change, the Regiment must have a unified theory and a coherent, two-part narrative that fuses rather than divides these capabilities.

Recommendations:

1. Adopt “political warfare” as a U.S. policy and doctrinal term.
2. Incorporate the U.S. civil-military, engagement, and governance operations into Professional Military Education at all levels.
3. Re-establish the Special Operations Research Office (SORO) of the 1960’s as the military intellectual center of political warfare, serving both the total force and civilian policymakers.
4. Expand the career fields of Civil Affairs and Military Government and delineate their narratives to develop Regimental unity and clarity of purpose. Develop a tactical generalist Military Government career field.
5. Develop a counterterrorism-type model for synchronizing engagement and governance activities potentially led by USSOCOM.

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Engineering Peace: Translating Tactical Success into Political Order

Arnel P. David and Eliza Urwin

Winning war and peace is about securing the victories of the battlefield. The United States has not done this in contemporary war because of its failure to consolidate gains and engineer peace. This has led to unnecessary loss of life on all sides and continues to call into question America's preferred way of war - overwhelming force to prevail by attrition.¹ It is a strategic and moral imperative to plan for the peace that follows war. The military's apathy for orchestrating peace betrays the very nature of modern war. Moreover, the disregard for longer term peace efforts impairs any chance of winning in current or future conflicts. The initial battlefield victories in Iraq and Afghanistan had the potential to be leveraged into a long term, sustainable peace in both countries. That peace was lost in the inability to translate combat success into political stability. A growing gap between war and peace thinking contributes to the nation's unpreparedness to end or prevent contemporary conflicts. Do we not have forces designed to "secure the victory" in war?

Civil Affairs (CA) forces present an opportunity to address this repeated mistake and fill a strategic capability gap for the Joint Force and the nation. This requires analyzing cognitive problems plaguing the military. This also requires analysis of the civilian perspective of the military's role regarding peace in order to see why CA is the best military force suited for this work. It is CA that demonstrates strategic value in all phases of conflict by helping to win the peace, consolidate political order, and terminate conflict.

Scholars have examined the past 16 years of war and illuminated innumerable concerns related to capability gaps.² Senior leaders debate about the changing character of war³ and some argue the neglect of a human domain prevents the development of sufficient capabilities to connect with and influence the populace in a meaningful way.⁴ While interrelated and well worn, analysis specifically to peacemaking highlights challenges with military thinking that impede progress with peace planning and execution.

Problems with Peace from a Military Perspective

1. *“Fallacy of the Lesser Included”* mindset. This is misunderstanding that training for high-end warfare best prepares units for all forms of warfare. Military leaders often think a switch from high-intensity combat operations to low-intensity, irregular war, is easy. Doing the former well makes you better at the latter. This is a fallacy for which past interventions are painful reminders.⁵ Some argue to just “mind the middle,” wherein the in-vogue term “hybrid warfare” best prepares simultaneously for high-end and low-intensity conflict.⁶ While the United States does not have the luxury to subscribe to one typology of warfare, it must invest resources on those capabilities designed for specific and necessary tasks. Secretary Mattis summed it up well by warning “we don’t want or need a military that is at the same time dominant and irrelevant.”⁷ The U.S. may have lethal and “relentless strike” dominance on the battlefield but lacks capabilities to compliment those efforts. It needs to leverage additional tools to translate tactical success into enduring political outcomes. As the adage goes, “if all you have is hammers, everything must be a nail.”

2. “*Perverse Incentive*” mindset. Our military is plagued with perverse incentive structures. The first of these is an overwhelming reliance on attrition warfare through kinetic operations. Watching monitor feeds (often referred to as “kill TV”) of ordinance delivery through aerial platforms has led to a narrow and, some argue, addictive conduct of warfare.⁸ The easy metrics of body counts and enemies killed in action is often mistaken as performance measures for strategic effects or success. They are indicators of neither.

National Security Advisor Lt. Gen. McMaster once warned about the misbelief that “technology and firepower are sufficient to achieve lasting strategic results.”⁹ Put simply, targeting enemy organizations does not equal strategy. Logically, there is an incentive to use stand-off strike technology to avoid unnecessary loss of life. However, a path dependency forms and excessive use becomes habit. The capability to strike targets with precision from afar is useful in myriad situations but the unintended consequences of overuse should be examined. What does a joint direct attack munition (JDAM) do to villages other than terminate targets? The precision targeting may reduce threats but are there tertiary effects not seen on “kill TV”?

In Dr. Akbar Ahmed’s seminal work, *The Thistle and Drone*, he explains the unheard narrative of tribal peoples’ lives persistently shaken by drone strikes. Dr. Ahmed attributes the failure of the U.S. and Pakistan to deal with transnational terrorists to their ignorance of tribal dynamics, patterns of behavior, and customs.¹⁰ Unchecked, these perverse incentives grow to become ethical dilemmas harmful to the image of the American military and perhaps worse, creates more enemies than they eliminate.¹¹

For military and diplomatic leaders alike, another perverse incentive is the need to demonstrate progress

for individual evaluations during deployment and tenure. For much of CA and perhaps its partners in development agencies, progress is often measured with project execution and dollars spent without regard to long-term effects. The 16 years of this repeated mistake in Afghanistan confirms how this mindset is counterproductive to desired objectives. Current interventions in places like Afghanistan are protracted struggles where the long-game requires persistent focus and continuity of effort.

3. *“Let the Diplomats Do It”* mindset. Civilian organizations alone are neither prepared nor capable to operate in conflict zones in sufficient scale over time.¹² Yet diplomats and civilian organizations increasingly operate behind blast walls in secure compounds. This has created a growing disconnect between them and the human environment in which they are operating, giving them less oversight, diminishing their understanding of complex conflict dynamics, and rendering them less effective. Working in contested and dangerous spaces will require some type of military support. Since there is no substitute for ground context, this will be an enduring requirement for quite some time. The military must maintain a cadre of professionals capable of working with interagency partners to access far-flung hinterlands for local engagement.

4. *“Focus on the Macro-Level”* mindset. At its core, war is a political act and all politics are local. Both civilian and military leaders have a natural tendency to focus on the macro level dynamics rather than the local drivers of violence and instability. In an article to the joint staff, Dr. Celestino Perez warns of this macro bias error contributing to strategic discontent. He highlights work by S everine Autesserre illuminating this local neglect among peacebuilders in the Democratic Republic of Congo where tensions concerning political

power, land rights, and ethnicity spur bottom-up conflict.¹³ Retired Lt. Gen. Cleveland has encouraged the need to “go slow, go long, go small and go local.”¹⁴

These mental traps manifest a culture of thinking that continues to suffuse defense and diplomatic discourse at all levels. Despite this inclination, accelerating changes in the global environment hasten our need to overcome this thinking and presents additional challenges for the complex task of peacebuilding and peacemaking.

The Problems with the Military from a Peace Perspective

Peacebuilding seeks to establish a durable peace, entailing the development of structures and systems that can prevent the recurrence of violence. It is always an evolving process, which requires practitioners to seek to understand root causes of conflict, and shifting conflict dynamics. Durable peace demands the establishment or reform of institutions of political and economic governance, and rule of law. It often requires some form of transitional justice to allow the population to address large scale violence and human rights abuses, and/or reconciliation to allow them to move on. Peace processes often fail when they are unable to navigate these conditions.

Following the end of the Cold War, civil wars broke out in unprecedented numbers across Africa, South America and Europe. The upsurge in civil conflicts led to an increased focus on the study of civil wars, and on political violence more broadly, testing the definitional constraints and causal hypotheses developed in the last century.¹⁵ It created a renewed focus on the field of peacebuilding and peacemaking, as diplomats and practitioners sought to enable peace processes in

many of these contexts. The academic world paid close attention to which ones failed and why.

In the early 2000s, multiple studies began to emerge examining the macro-level dynamics of civil wars, their length, their brutality, and the central questions: what causes them to start, and what invites their end? These questions were analyzed via broad multi-decade datasets of civil wars.¹⁶ Some of the most prevalent theories about civil war onset presented explanatory correlations, such as the 'greed and grievance' dichotomy, an econometric model that explains the causes of civil war as related to opportunity.¹⁷

Alternative theories posited that intrastate conflict could be better understood through analysis of identity issues, or as they relate to political instability. Many of the linear, deterministic theories of civil war have since been discredited due to an inability to replicate findings across studies. Cornerstone works such as *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* demonstrated that preferences and identities can change during the course of a war, challenging deterministic theories.¹⁸

In the mid to late 2000s, consensus developed around the importance of micro-level dynamics in explaining civil war outcomes, following a number of studies on the causes and variation of micro-level violence and the dynamics of participation, mobilization, and recruitment.¹⁹ The importance of locally tailored, appropriately contextual peace programming is well appreciated by practitioners. Any programming that aims to prevent, mitigate or resolve conflict has to be sensitive to the two-way interaction between activities and context. This is the only way to ensure that negative impacts are minimized in an intervention on conflict.

Many conflicts in which both the military and peacebuilders are engaged occur in complex environments. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, conflict

emanates as a result of non-state armed groups, criminal networks, drug production and trafficking, and illegal mining and smuggling activities. In Afghanistan, a country better known for conflict between the government and Taliban forces, land dispute is actually the primary driver of conflict.²⁰ Conflict arises over social divisions, which are exacerbated by armed groups who leverage these cleavages for their own purposes. In this fraught setting, the secondary effects of a JDAM is often the radicalization of young men. Much evidence points to armed groups using drone strikes in their recruitment efforts.²¹

Those who are working to diminish conflict struggle in this context. The stove-piped nature in which the military and civilian spheres operate do not lend themselves to resolving protracted conflict, despite the potential complementarity of their capabilities. The lack of coordination costs lives from both groups.

Why Civil Affairs?

The Regiment claims that “CA has long been a major national strategic capability.”²² The question arises: does anyone outside the CA Regiment believe this to be true? In lieu of endless debates over the strategic value of CA forces, the Regiment needs to validate this claim and demonstrate strategic merit. Peace construction and the consolidation of political order pose the greatest challenge and opportunity for the military, therefore, this puzzle represents a strategic deficit CA can address but it will not be easy.

As mentioned above, engineering peace is complex, messy, and lengthy. Many civilian organizations view peace as their bailiwick and do not see the military as a natural fit to operate in this space. To those with this belief, it’s important to remember that peace

and strategy formulation coexist within the political dimension of war.²³ If war is divorced from its political context than it becomes purely a destructive act; violence for the sake of violence. War requires political engagement and Churchill found “at the summit, true strategy and politics are one.”²⁴ CA planners need to integrate perspectives on peace into campaign and operational planning. Conflict termination and if needed, conflict resolution, cannot continue to be an afterthought with war planning. CA needs to leverage connections with interagency and NGO partners to incorporate civilian perspectives.

Fortunately, many CA operators have these connections and networks to build upon. Improved coordination will enable greater synergy in the conduct of peace engineering. An ecosystem of peace practitioners can be managed, which permits optimal use of resources and brings to bear the best capability to address problems. There is much to learn in this domain but a pool of experts can accelerate learning and serve as intellectual capital to tap when needed. The complexity of peace and war requires a robust and holistic effort. CA working with civilian counterparts enables a whole-of-society approach to our nation’s problems. CA forces must step up to lead since they already have many of the prerequisite skills required for peacebuilding in the Department of Defense.

DoD and its CA forces should lead in this space for a variety of reasons. The training that CA forces already undergo makes the leap to peacemaking sensible. CA forces learn mediation, negotiation, languages, cross-cultural communication, and a host of other skills. They are “creating alliances, leveraging non-military advantages, reading intentions, building trust, converting opinions, and managing perceptions – all tasks that demand exceptional ability to understand

people, their culture, and their motivation.”²⁵ The advancements in civil information collection and mapping of human geography aid in understanding the environment. A clear understanding of the local dynamics in war is essential for the conduct of both lethal and non-lethal activities. CA forces serve as civil sentinels providing this critical context with their access and actions.

Most important, CA personnel are civil-military warriors with training that allows them to operate less constrained than sister diplomats and NGOs. They remain prepared to respond with violence if needed. Using DoD’s expansive transportation capabilities, they can access hard to reach places. The Department of State (DoS) is principally focused at the national and provincial level, leaving space for engagement at the local level. Although a mix of CA forces have these capabilities, the force needs to evolve, change, and grow to lead in peacebuilding.

Recommendations

The Army and Marines should strive even more to select the best officers and NCOs across the force and into the Civil Affairs Regiment. Senior DoD and Service leadership must ensure CA forces are properly resourced, trained, and value-added to the military and nation. Senior leaders need to set aside parochial endeavors to consider the best solutions for the branch to ensure its continued existence. There are two overall recommendations and a table of considerations for CA to bear in mind if it is to demonstrate strategic value.

First, seize the intellectual high ground. The intellectual faculty required to understand this problem set is the most demanding. There are many nuances to securing peace as explained above. CA forces need

to build causal literacy and develop a vocabulary that understandable across civil and military organizations. Detailed causality is derived from a granular understanding of not only military factors, but political, economic, cultural, and ethical factors as well. There is an abundance of rich scholarship that tells causal stories explaining “why insurgent groups succeed or not, why peacebuilders often fail to establish peace, and why strong states tend to lose wars against weaker adversaries.”²⁶

Accordingly, a foundation in causal literacy takes a multi-disciplinary approach. Scholars recommend that enquiry embody “an ‘eclectic combination’ of diverse theoretical perspectives to avoid the ‘excessive simplifications’ to apply a single theoretical lens to grasp the manifold complexities on the ground.”²⁷ To address the complexity of peacebuilding, Drexel University introduced a new Master of Science degree in Peace Engineering. Their first class started in the fall of 2017. The Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame followed suit and built a similar program as well.²⁸ There needs to be funding to send NCOs, captains, and majors to these programs for broadening opportunities. These leaders will improve their craft, hone planning skills, and inspire ingenuity, ultimately leading to advances in operational art and campaign planning.

The second recommendation is that CA needs a usable case logic to win the peace and demonstrate strategic success. By any measure the war in Afghanistan is our nation’s longest, most complex, expensive, challenging, and recalcitrant in history. It is in this quandary of ground level dynamics that CA can engage, detangle, and work relationships to set in motion a plausible political settlement. This will require a new mindset, leadership, and arrangement

with organizations in the State Department and U.S. Institute for Peace, as well as host nation equities. The road to peace is wrought with challenges but no effort will succeed without a grassroots approach and it requires “muddy boots” operators to facilitate effective engagement.²⁹ A military exit would certainly cause a state collapse that would not be feasible after watching what happened to Iraq in 2011.

Conditions in Afghanistan are changing based on recent policy adjustments, providing a window of opportunity to pursue peace. The president announced a commitment of more troops and “a shift from a time-based approach to one based on conditions.”³⁰ The Taliban will be under increased pressure and the cost calculus to keep fighting. In the summer of 2017, a CA officer met with former Taliban Foreign Minister Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil and learned the Taliban is tired of fighting and ready to negotiate peace.³¹ Engagement is critical to understanding the adversary and discerning various perspectives. Fence-sitters, spoilers, and key interlocutors can be influenced more effectively with an improved understanding of their perceptions, grievances, and desires. The table of considerations below aim to inspire further thinking and discourse.

Peacebuilding Considerations		
	Military	Civilian
Doctrine	Start with the concept and demonstrate success. No need to wait on doctrine.	Civil and military spheres require better coordination
Organization	The branch should consider tradeoffs. Is there excess capacity within the regiment unfilled that can be a concession for other resources and funding? Can efficiencies be gained by making multi-component organizations?	Contextual knowledge is so important, it needs to be prioritized in both: the military should better prepare those who are deploying with an understanding of the conflict dynamics, and the civilian sphere should prioritize country/language expertise over 'technical expertise' in peacebuilding
Training	Training can be enhanced by Peacebuilding ecosystem. Train with civilians and be creative.	More resources should be spent on research that facilitates a better understanding of local dynamics
Materiel	There are digital platforms to aid in human geography mapping. CA can work with NGA among many others, to purchase and fund systems (smartphones with APPS) and API integration with the Internet of Things (IoT), buy servers or Amazon government cloud services to share across components and with civilian partners	If the long term goal of durable peace is the genuine goal, then that must be comfortable with the 'long term' aspect of it. Rotations and metrics cannot guide the agenda, it should be the other way around. Durable peace takes years to achieve, and we need to be comfortable with that. Afghanistan has been 16 one year plans, the country would be much more stable today if there was a 10 year plan in 2002.
Leadership & Education	Adjust instruction at school house to integrate more scholarship on Peacebuilding and other social, behavioral, and political sciences.	
Personnel	Invest in the force, send to broadening opportunities like the Master Degree of Science Program in Peace Engineering. Those investments will pay high dividends	The world of peacebuilding needs to understand how to work better with the military, rather than viewing their missions as an impediment to peace
Facilities	Leverage existing infrastructure and those of partners, e.g. USIP in DC has a world-class facility	The military should take the peacebuilding community more seriously, civilian insight could help prevent mistakes that exacerbate conflict tensions and cost lives.
Policy	A new DOD directive should tag CA as the lead agency for Peacebuilding initiatives in the department.	

Conclusion

Civilian and military leadership must recognize that successful conflict termination, resolution, and peacebuilding (engineering) are equally as critical as the conduct of war. The four mental pitfalls to avoid in strategizing peace and the problems with the military from a peace perspective present an opportunity on how CA can lead in this space. To do so, it must: (1) seize the intellectual high ground by investing in leaders' education and (2) make Afghanistan a use case for CA to demonstrate its strategic value to the nation by helping orchestrate peace and a political settlement. For the latter, it will be a significant undertaking for the Regiment, eliciting commitment, courage, and pure audacity, to take on the task of peace in such a problematic environment.

Yet, pursuing the greater peace is quintessential to winning the war. Overall, the changing character of war and planned bureaucratic changes present an opportunity for CA to organizationally innovate and adjust its core competencies to meet the demands of the current and future operating environment. The pursuit of peace does not belong to a single agency alone. The task of peacebuilding requires teamwork and partnerships among usual and unusual partners in the consolidation of political order at the local level. CA's contribution to this effort helps secure hard fought victories and endears the sacrifice of civilians as well as warriors to the common goal. Finally, it validates CA's strategic value.

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Planners and Operators: Civil Affairs Forces Relevant to the Future Operating Environment

**George Brown, Shawn Hirsch,
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The Joint Force's ability to understand and influence the civil dimension to its advantage will be crucial to success in the future operating environment. According to futurists and analysts, the civil dimension will become increasingly crucial in future conflicts (Jones, *The Future of Irregular Warfare*, p. 5).¹ Therefore, the military services must ensure that Civil Affairs (CA) forces are of the highest caliber, trained and educated to maximize their potential. Despite the demonstrated relevance that CA forces have provided to the future Joint Force, the Services' current efforts in recruiting, training, equipping, and educating the CA force are lacking. Unless these institutional shortfalls are addressed, the future Joint Force will continue to receive inconsistently and sometimes inadequately educated, trained, and skilled CA personnel. If history is a guide, the perceived value of CA will likely recede in the collective military memory, and by the next conflict, CA may be ill-positioned to help the Joint Force consolidate its military gains, in order to transform those gains into lasting political outcomes.

Background

The extent to which the Joint Force values and employs its CA capabilities has historically ebbed and flowed, and today the Joint Force's perception of the value of CA is likely on the cusp of ebbing again. Some

of the best examples of CA employment stem from the U.S. Army's military administration of Mexico in 1847 and 1848 and in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba after the Spanish-American War. Yet at the time, neither the Army nor the Federal Government considered CA to be a legitimate military function (Hicks & Wormuth, *The Future of Civil Affairs*, pg 3).²

From nearly three decades of experience in the early 20th Century "Banana Wars" in Central America and the Caribbean, the USMC derived the *Small Wars Manual* (FMFRP 12-15) in 1940. Four chapters of the *Small Wars Manual* are devoted to CA missions as well as half of the opening chapter describing relationships with the State Department and civil-military relationships (*Small Wars Manual* FMFRP 12-15, pg 1).³ The *Small Wars Manual* cites the need for specially trained CA personnel, even if the need and funding for such specially trained troops is not realized by the greater federal government. Although the U.S. Army War College published *Military Government* (FM 27-5) in 1940, it was not until 1943 that the Army created the Civil Affairs Division (Hula, *Stability Operations and Government: An Inherent Military Function*, p.7).⁴ By the end of World War II, CA had reached a zenith, playing a large role in the reconstruction of Western Europe and Japan. However, interest and investment in CA soon fell as defense strategists and military commanders focused on countering the military might of the Soviet Union.

The Joint Force's failure to transform tactical victories into lasting security and political gains in Vietnam marked a low point in the employment of CA. The lack of political headway in that conflict spurred two CA focused programs: the Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS) and the USMC Combined Action Program (CAP). CORDS and CAP

achieved success in insulating the insurgents from the civil population, which led to security gains in participating regions (Yates, *A feather in their CAP? The Marines' Combined Action Program in Vietnam*, p. 4).⁵ Furthermore, some historians argue that had CORDS and CAP been fully resourced and executed as a comprehensive strategy from the beginning of the conflict, the U.S. may have achieved a more satisfactory outcome (Brush, *Civic Action: The Marine Corps Experience in Vietnam*, p. 127).⁶ Despite the glimmers of success facilitated by CORDS and CAP, the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam left deep and negative impacts on the services' perception of counterinsurgency doctrine and CA (Heinl, *Vietnam: The Collapse of the Armed Forces*, p. 1),⁷ (Borer, *Why a Winning Strategy Matters: the Impact of Losing in Vietnam and Afghanistan*, p. 144).⁸

Following the end of the Vietnam War and extending through *Operations Urgent Fury* in Grenada and *Just Cause* in Panama, the Joint Force entered into another period of reduced focus on CA forces and capabilities. The Department of Defense and the Joint Force instead focused on winning high-intensity conflicts against the Soviet Union, which at the time enjoyed an undeniable quantitative conventional capability advantage (Bitzinger, *Assessing the Conventional Balance in Europe 1945-1975*, pg 26).⁹ As DoD devoted its intellectual resources on developing precision-guided munitions and long-range reconnaissance sensors and platforms to counter Soviet military power, the "Second Offset," the U.S. military's perception of the value of CA again declined. DoD focused on countering the Soviet Union's 180 divisions and global power projection capacities, including the world's largest and most diverse nuclear arsenal (*Soviet Military Power 1981*, p. 4).¹⁰ This lack of institutional focus on CA did not change with the fall

of the Berlin Wall, but continued until the Joint Force found itself challenged to defeat complex insurgencies in Afghanistan and Iraq (Brimley, *Offset Strategies and Warfighting Regimes*, p. 4).¹¹

In response, the Joint Force again refocused its intellectual energies to civil considerations and stability sectors as part of complex operating environments. This led to expansive use of CA forces to manage civil-military reconstruction projects. Initially however, the Services failed to provide the Joint Force with sufficient quality CA expertise to oversee the management and execution of these projects. Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) projects were generally less than effective in developing the capacity of Government of Iraq institutions, and a significant amount of CERP funds were lost to fraud and corruption (*Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction [SIGAR] April 2012, Section 1, p. 14*).¹² Infantry battalion commanders and their inexperienced CA teams were routinely put in charge of large-scale, multi-million-dollar projects with little training. As a result, many times the projects were grossly out of scope for the program.

As DoD again focuses its attention on technologically advanced peer-competitors, it risks allowing its CA forces to ebb again, drawing down CA units and capabilities.¹³ Achievement of a "Third Offset," and its associated advanced technologies, will ostensibly deliver decision-advantage to our battlefield commanders (Work, *Remarks by Deputy Secretary Work on Third Offset Strategy*, relevant portions).¹⁴ However, this technological approach risks missing the mark for peace operations and low-to-medium intensity conflicts and stabilization. Artificial intelligence and sensor fusion may provide conventional advantages against a peer adversary, but may not improve the Joint Force's grasp of the information and civil components of future complex operating environments.

The Future Civil Affairs Professional

To consolidate gains for both traditional and emergent missions across the range of military operations (ROMO), supported Joint Force Commanders (JFC) must have CA personnel with true cultural understanding (as opposed to cultural knowledge) in their task forces for engagement and collection. They also need skilled planners on their staffs who understand “the box” and are not reluctant to think outside of it. To do so, the CA force must first look to recruit and screen individual CA operators who either 1) demonstrate aptitude for foreign language, cultural skills, and possess the social skills and social maturity of an effective collector/operator and 2) are prepared to assume a planning role or lead planning efforts regardless of billet. Changes to recruitment, training, and manning across the CA force are required.

A description of the recommended future CA professional is as follows:

1. CA operator (*collector/influencer/opportunity developer*). Because future conflicts will increasingly involve complex urban operating environments, the Joint Force must excel in information operations to successfully compete with savvy adversaries, often indigenous and part of the cultural landscape. CA operators with cultural expertise will enhance both kinetic and non-kinetic operations in such complex environments.

For example, CA operators can enhance information operations (IO) and kinetic strikes for informational effects by identifying the major players and key influence groups, and more importantly, by understanding those groups’ vulnerabilities and agendas. This will allow the JFC to develop opportunities for exploitation or leverage (Fukuyama, et al., *Russia’s Kurdish Card*

in Syria, p. 1).¹⁵ Engagement, which includes the full spectrum of players in the operating environment, provides an excellent method for developing ground truth and increasing situational awareness. Most commanders, however, lack the time or inclination to devote limited resources in engagement. This is where trained CA operators can make a significant contribution to the engagement plan, but they must have the “wasta” (authority, influence, connections, etc.) and even rank to gain access to and influence key individuals and groups.

Although the rank of lieutenant colonel is probably ideal for the CA operator to gain access to the city mayor, the militia leader, the police chief etc., opening up the CA operator MOS to warrant officers and limited duty officers will preserve CA technical expertise and deep cultural knowledge within the Joint Force who also have increased authorities. Warrant officers develop subject matter expertise due to their extensive time in a given occupational field, are mature, and speak with authority in many relevant professional settings. Senior NCOs may also gain access to the same level of key influencers by donning higher ranks during engagements - operationalizing “rank plasticity.” This will allow the CA force to leverage existing deep wells of expertise.

To develop opportunities and represent the commander during engagements, it is imperative that the CA operator have a thorough understanding of the JFC’s mission, goals, end-state, and the JTF plans. It is equally imperative that the CA operator be given wide latitude to engage with any person necessary to achieve those goals/end-states through leverage and influence in the operating environment. This situational awareness of the operational environment and key influencers/important personnel is a product

of detailed and continuous civil preparation of the battlefield (CPB).

Utilizing more aggressive tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs) creates additional concerns and risks such as operational security and physical safety/mission planning challenges. CA operators and the supported commands must assume greater risk in these areas in order to achieve greater successes. CA operators may need to wear civilian attire from time to time, or utilize civilian transportation in order to facilitate their access to key influencers. Additionally, CA operators will need the freedom of movement to develop opportunities. Institutional resistance to these TTPs by conventional CA forces will likely be difficult to overcome. However, the potential benefits to the JFC, such as exploitable tactical opportunities with strategic effects, outweigh those risks.

2. *Future Joint Force CA Planner (assets to the decision maker)*. JFC missions focused on access and engagement frequently place CA personnel in planning situations, with subordinate CA elements or elements of the supported command conducting civil-military operations designated as the main effort. Thus, the CA force must be able to provide planners capable of contributing at all levels of command, both joint and combined. While essential CMO planning steps and considerations are currently taught in both Army and Marine Corps basic CA courses, the full curriculum and structure of CA support to the planning process is typically reserved for designated “planners” of senior grade and experience. The Army MOS 38G, Military Government Specialist (announced in 2015), fill the J9 or J7 staff billets but are not trained planners and although the USMC is giving a FMOS (0535 & 0539) to those that have attended a two-week CMO Planner’s Course, the number of Marines with that MOS is quite

small. Despite a lack of planning experience, complex planning tasks are also placed on CA Tactical Teams in support of battalions.

Thus, “planning” can no longer be for designated personnel within the CA force. CA must strive to establish a planning capability culture that has both depth and breadth. One method to achieve this goal is to recruit and select individual CA operators with previous planning experience or who otherwise possess the intelligence, intuition, and creativity to excel at planning. Another method is to infuse joint and service planning methods into all aspects of CA force training and education, regardless of rank or sub-specialty.

Future CA planners must have the experience, credibility, and interpersonal skills to “sell” or convey the importance of their perspectives and insight to the rest of the staff. They must be prepared to explain the importance of the civil dimension of military operations, and the potential effect of military operations on that dimension of the area of operations. Failure to achieve this level of credibility at the beginning of planning may lead to the supported staff viewing the effects of military operations on the civil populace, and how they might affect the effectiveness of our operations as an afterthought.

One method to ensure CA planners are involved and CA input is considered is to get “buy-in” with the units supported by CA forces. This requires preparatory work by CA forces. CA planners must understand the supported unit’s mission and desired kinetic and non-kinetic effects before CA planners can assist in framing the problem and suggesting solutions, actions, and potential activities to support the desired end-state. This allows the CA planners to demonstrate the ability to grasp the complexity of the operating environment

and convey informed advice to the staff and JFC in order to facilitate mission accomplishment. If the CA planner achieves this goal, he or she will ensure “buy-in” from supported units. The ability to sell CA capabilities to unit leaders at all levels of Command needs to be an integral skill of all CA Officers and SNCOs.

DOTMLPF-P Implication 1: Personnel (Recruitment)

Recruiting the right people with the right skills is essential to achieving the interrelated goals of consolidating CA gains and preparing our Joint Force for the future operating environment. As discussed earlier, the CA operators and planners of the future will need to rely on a triad of skills (language, cultural expertise, and interpersonal skills) to be successful in the complex, information-heavy operating environment of the future. The Joint Force must recruit and retain individuals with the following skills:

- *Language Skills.* The ability to communicate with a foreign civilian audience is the first and most dynamic tool that a CA operator can and must rely upon, in order to advance the objectives and successes of a given mission. The total CA force can make great strides in shaping itself to obtain depth and distribution of these skills by recruiting and screening applicants with acceptable Defense Language Aptitude Battery (DLAB) and Defense Language Proficiency Test (DLPT) scores, following the example set by the Army. By employing a screening tool such as the DLAB, which tests an individual’s ability to learn a new language, the CA force could select applicants who are not only qualified to attend formal DoD schools or funded language programs, but also possess a greater likelihood of successfully

acquiring language skills through commercial programs, informal experience-based training opportunities, or “OJT” upon deployment and immersion in a foreign civil environment. The DLPT, on the other hand, tests an individual’s existing proficiency in a given language and would best serve in the recruitment and force-tracking of pre-existing language skills into the CA force. While the military currently incentivizes language skills through bonuses and service-respective programs established under the authority of 37 U.S.C. § 353(b) and DoD Instruction 1340.27, there is no conduit or incentive by which the total CA force is able to draw these linguists into its service.

- *Cultural Expertise.* The second leg on which the future CA operator must rely is cultural understanding. Attendant to language in forming the CA operator’s ability to interact with and shape the civil environment in support of military operations, cultural understanding is essential for a CA operator to understand the population’s daily way of life, interests, agendas, and anticipated actions of key entities in the operating environment. While CA units are able to assess and develop complex civil environment models given a mission, area of operations, and dwell time, the CA force is able to best meet the needs of the Joint Force when it is composed of individuals possessing experience-based cultural understanding. Factors such as foreign travel, foreign education, academic experience and study of foreign cultures, and even personal cultural history or family lineage are commonly found in Foreign Area Officer (FAO) and Re-

gional Area Officer (RAO) selection programs and are similarly applicable and desirable for a CA operator.

- *Interpersonal Skills.* The last leg on which the individual CA operator must rely are interpersonal skills. Just as language is a fundamental element of culture, salesmanship and rapport building are fundamental to civil military operations. A CA operator's "people skills" must be multi-faceted: the ability to read non-verbal cues, determine interests and motivations, persuade or negotiate, and influence are second nature to a talented and effective CA operator. A CA operator's people skills must be multi-directional as well. A Team Leader who spends his morning establishing rapport with a town mayor must also earn the trust of a United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) coordinator in the afternoon and maintain the confidence of the supported commander during a confirmation brief in the evening. While deceptively easy to describe, the process of adapting the CA force's recruitment and selection process to define and identify an appropriate "people person" presents a challenge. Certain benchmarks such as maturity, time in service, appropriate rank, and experience have previously been used to identify candidates and should continue to be factors, but the CA force cannot rely upon a checklist or mathematical process to screen and select personnel with people skills. Ultimately, recruitment of people skills must be a personal process between the receiving/recruiting CA unit and the individual. Additionally, a screening test

should be developed to initially test for these desired skills and traits. The Marine Corps currently employs a similar screening test when recruiting potential Naval Aviators.

DOTMLPF-P Implication 2: Materiel (CA Equipment and CIM Technology)

- *CA forces must be able to maximize publicly-available information.* Joint Publication 2-0 defines Publicly Available Information (PAI) as open source intelligence, or OSINT, but PAI has evolved rapidly with information technology. Outstanding aggregate information and even finished analysis is publicly available or produced by companies such as Babel Street, Blue Social, and Bellingcat, which offer linguistics, big data analytics, and OSINT analysis. This type of analysis is well suited to developing an understanding of the civil operating environment. For example, CA personnel can update the CPB by reviewing local clan and tribe social media pages and make use of private social media analysis platforms. As local populations and key influential groups in particular increase their reliance on social media to share information and organize activities, greater amounts of information will be available for CA personnel to analyze and interpret to gain a greater understanding of the operating environment. Recommendation: The Joint Force must therefore ensure CA forces have access to social media scrapers and cutting edge social media analysis tools as available, to improve PAI research and analysis. To leverage these new tools and PAI, CA forces must have assured access to the In-

ternet, the future “Internet of Things,” and must be given latitude to scour its furthest corners.

- *CA operators and planners will need to make use of increasing amounts of data.* It is important that CA operators and planners are able to analyze all of this data for patterns and meaning and draw conclusions from it to create recommendations for the JFC, as well as develop good products that visualize data and articulate trends for the commander. Although training CA operators with minimal coding or analytical skills is achievable, it would be preferable to recruit people that already possess these skills. The Reserve component and National Guard have large pools of individuals with cyber experience that can be leveraged in order to enhance Civil Information Management (CIM) on CA teams or planning staffs. The Army for instance has thousands of individuals in the Reserve and National Guard that have cyber skills from their civilian jobs, many of which are not being leveraged or placed in billets that utilize these skills (Porche III et al. *Cyber Power Potential of the Army’s Reserve Component*, pg 13).¹⁶ The Army tracks Reserve and National Guard members’ civilian jobs through the Civilian Employment Information (CEI) database and the Marine Corps reserve through Marine Online (MOL). CA forces should leverage these databases to recruit more CA operators and planners with programming experience to enhance CIM capabilities. Recommendation: Operationalize commercially or publicly available tools for CIM. R is a programming language and software package that is primarily used for data mining and

analysis, and has a number of qualities that make it a good candidate for CIM analysts. *R* is free open-source software that works on many operating systems. It is easy to learn and can generate high quality graphs and charts. It already has relevant capability packages such as geospatial analysis and demographics. Other packages can be developed and easily shared by CA operators to enhance CIM and data analysis for the JFC. Other alternatives are free coding languages such as PERL or Python.

Conclusion

CA forces will have a vital role to play in the future operating environment, and will maximize their impact by providing the Joint Force with planners and operators adept at understanding drivers of instability, devising stability actions, and integrating the Joint Force's stabilization efforts with the activities of unified action partners, such as the Interagency, non-governmental organizations, and key host nation organizations. Having supported the U.S. State Department policy for the Latin American region through numerous landings and stability operations during the early 20th Century, known as the "Banana Wars," USMC Civil Affairs' integration and engagement with partners provides examples of how Civil Affairs' integration has contributed in past operations. This integration reaped rich intellectual rewards, providing a wealth of best practices for codification in the *Small Wars Manual* (Schlosser, *The Marine Corps' Small Wars Manual: An Old Solution to a New Challenge?* pg. 1)¹⁷ and sometimes helped the task force achieve strategic successes in small wars.

Major John A. Lejeune's Marines prevented

Colombia from retaking the Panamanian isthmus by force, providing space for the U.S. government to formally recognize the Republic of Panama and devise a subsequent treaty giving the U.S. permission to build a canal to expeditiously move its fleet between the West and East coasts (Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*, pg. 135).¹⁸ In Haiti, according to President Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state, Robert Lansing, Marines were dispatched to "terminate the appalling conditions of anarchy, savagery, and oppression which had been prevalent in Haiti for decades," and to protect U.S. interests. Marines executed multiple lines of effort to stabilize the country. Marines disarmed the remnants of the Haitian Army, took over the administration of Port-au-Prince, provided humanitarian aid, conducted civil analysis of the Haitian political scene, installed a new Haitian president, occupied coastal towns and created an American-officered constabulary. Marines then had to contend with a series of insurgencies, and defend their politico-military solution to the conflict (Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*, pg. 160).¹⁹

To get the most out of its Civil Affairs forces, the Joint Force should recruit, train, and equip future CA personnel with language and cultural expertise and arm them with the CIM tools to create operational pictures that assess civilian networks, political dynamics, perceptions, and (in)stability factors. Future CA planners should be able to help develop realistic lines of effort and closely coordinate with ongoing interagency efforts. CA planners should also be key players in the staff effort to establish measures of effectiveness, perhaps one of the most challenging ways to determine progress towards the commander's end state. Future CA operators can also support assessments by providing tangible and tailored feedback to help the JTF commander understand how

well the task force's operations are supporting longer-term USG objectives.

Lastly, future CA planners and operators should, through their experience in planning and engaging with Unified Action Partners, facilitate transitions to host nation, UN, or interagency efforts. As a component of the U.S. Government response to complex emergencies, the Joint Force benefits from CA forces that integrate and closely collaborate with Unified Action Partners. Therefore, future CA forces should be able to provide advice, develop trust and relationships across organizations to form dynamic civilian-military teams composed of the Interagency, foreign governments and security forces, international organizations, NGOs, and members of the private sector. These skills will assist JTF staffs to execute effective and universally understood conditions-based transitions from military to civilian control. (JCS, *Joint Publication 3-07 Stability*, pg. IV-15).²⁰

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Good Governance and the Counterstate: Consolidating Unconventional Gains

Steve Lewis

The United States faces a variety of “Gray Zone” threats – from state and non-state actors that seek to displace American influence, disrupt American activities, and destabilize American allies. And, they operate in the gray zone between war and peace.¹ These Gray Zone challengers use subversion, coercion, and manipulation to achieve their goals, but ensure that their efforts do not rise to a level that would necessitate a large U.S. military response. It is, according to Chairman of the Joint Staff, a “competition with a military dimension that falls short of combat.”² The U.S. also challenges its adversaries in the gray zone, using methods short of combat to dissuade belligerent states, disrupt threat networks, and limit malign influence on vulnerable allies.³

A key component of U.S. support for its allies (states) undergoing gray zone challenges is to support effective and legitimate government institutions. Good governance has been identified in U.S. Government (USG) policy,⁴ U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) doctrine,⁵ and international development standards⁶ as a key component of stability and defense against gray-zone challenges⁷. In cases in which the U.S. seeks to disrupt aggressive, belligerent states, it will support internal opposition groups that are challenging their own government. This type of irregular warfare,⁸ by which the U.S. supports an indigenous group challenging the state, is called unconventional warfare (UW)⁹. Examples include U.S. support to eastern European social movements during the Cold War and U.S. support to insurgent groups in Syria.

In these cases, the U.S. has yet to fully appreciate the role good governance can play for the counterstate: groups looking to replace the existing state. The counterstate can also apply the principles of good governance in order to protect vulnerable populations and disrupt the activities of belligerent states. Understanding the role of Civil Affairs to support counterstate governance activities as their interests align with those of the U.S. is thus critical to success in UW waged in the gray zone.

Good Governance to Consolidate Gains in a Gray-Zone Unconventional Warfare

It is USG policy to ensure regional stability, prevent conflict, and decrease the malign influence of belligerent state and non-state actors. The United States has engaged in both UW and gray-zone conflict in order to achieve these goals. As the number of malign state and non-state actors challenging the United States in the gray zone increases, it is imperative for the CA community to understand how the combination of UW doctrine and gray-zone concepts offers the USG opportunities to ensure regional stability without requiring major deployments.

Unconventional warfare is a term used for “activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt, or overthrow a government or occupying power by operating through or within an underground, auxiliary, and guerilla force in a denied area.”¹⁰ Examples of US UW operations are support to Contras in Nicaragua and the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Both of these operations were designed to lead to regime change.

Gray Zone is a recent term coined by the U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) to

describe a concept of aggressive and sometimes violent competition that does not rise to the level of traditional combat. USSOCOM defines the gray zone as “competitive interaction among and within state and non-state actors that fall between the traditional war and peace duality.”¹¹ Common examples of gray zone conflicts are Russia’s support to insurgents in Ukraine and China’s aggressive behavior in the South China Sea.¹² In most discussions of the USG role in the gray zone, we are acting as a defender of U.S. influence and partner nation (PN) status quo. But to be successful in the gray zone, DoD must also be able to challenge belligerent states and support counterstate groups.¹³

Operations like U.S. support for insurgents in Indonesia in the 1960s and for anti-Soviet labor unions in Eastern Europe during the Cold War¹⁴ are examples of U.S. support for counterstate groups in the gray zone. In both cases, the USG sought to disrupt the regime and change its behavior but not necessarily overthrow the regime.¹⁵ The goal of challenging opponents in a gray-zone conflict is to shape the operational environment to one’s advantage without allowing the competition to scale up to major combat. By supporting counterstate good-governance efforts and addressing civil vulnerabilities, the USG can facilitate the shaping of the environment to decrease the influence of malign actors and belligerent states.

Good governance is essential to maintain a stable environment and to defeat insurgents and transnational threat networks because it allows the state to build legitimacy in the eyes of the population. The state can expand its access to and influence on the population, and create and maintain a framework for stability and social control. The utility of legitimacy, access, influence, and social control are essential to both the state and the counterstate. In the eyes of the

population, legitimacy is a prerequisite for the consent and cooperation of the population (the governed).¹⁶ Even if the population does not support the politics or specific activities of the counterstate, it will generally support the organization that it sees as legitimate.

Access and influence are required to allow the counterstate freedom of movement within the population. As the counterstate's influence with the population increases, the counterstate can be more effective in limiting the freedom of movement of the state. The counterstate requires a framework for social control in order to regulate social interaction, ensure stability, and extract needed resources to sustain itself. For either the state or the counterstate to reap the benefits of its relationship with the population and starve its opponents of those same resources, it must maintain a mechanism for regulated social control.¹⁷

As famously noted by counterinsurgency expert Bernard Fall, "A state that is losing to an insurgency is not being out-fought; it is being out-governed."¹⁸ This idea highlights the essential nature of good governance to the state. It also highlights the related opportunity for the counterstate: out-governing the adversary is a path to success. Sociology professor Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley argues that when the state fails to honor its social contract with the populace, that area then becomes "virgin territory" for exploitation by the counterstate. The counterstate then takes on the same role: it can use governance to shape the operational environment (the population) for its own ends as it creates its own social contract.¹⁹ In other words, the counterstate can create legitimacy, access, influence, and a framework for social control just as the state can, by using good governance.

Examining several case studies of counterstate groups helps understand better how these groups used

good governance to create and consolidate gray zone gains. These counterstate groups started as traditional insurgent or criminal organizations but evolved into gray zone challengers, which sought to alter the operational environment but not change the regime. These groups used a mix of violence, subversion, political activity, crime, and the mechanisms of governance to influence the population, force the state to alter its behavior, and affect the operational environments in order to meet their own objectives. While all these groups were considered terrorist or criminal organizations by the USG, they are examples of the use of good-governance techniques to consolidate gains. These groups include: the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF);²⁰ the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC);²¹ Hezbollah in Lebanon;²² and, Mara Salvatrucha (MS13).²³

Elements of Good Governance

The five good-governance elements common to these groups are in: providing security and stability: mitigating disputes: providing social services: managing public resources: and, engaging the population. These are essential to building legitimacy, access, and influence and in maintaining a framework of social control in order to consolidate gains.

1. Providing Security and Stability. The first governance tasks usually associated with state challengers are their efforts to show they are stronger than the state. Showing strength by providing security is the foundation of legitimacy and cooperation. "Gaining control over an area brings collaboration and losing control of an area brings much of that collaboration to an end," according to Stathis N. Kalyvas; thus, "control shapes collaboration."²⁴ Security and stability, however, go

beyond simply demonstrating military strength – they also include providing a framework for stability in daily life. Many counterstate groups have determined that by providing a set of rules for the population under their control makes life predictable and allows the counterstate to maintain a positive relationship with them and extract needed resources in a reliable manner. Groups that the “population perceives as most able to establish normative system for resilient, full spectrum control is likely to prevail,” according to David J. Kilcullen.²⁵ All four of the cited counterstate groups set out clear rules for behavior for the population within their areas of control and established representatives for feedback and questions regarding the rules. Some examples are the FARC, which established Bolivian militias in key areas in order to enforce their internal governance framework, and MS13, which issued guidance to local businesses on how to operate effectively and appointed delegates to address complaints from the population.

2. Mitigating Community Disputes. After establishing a framework for stability, the next step many counterstate groups take is to expand their influence over the population by filling the need for someone to mitigate internal community disputes. Disagreements over land, business, and social interactions can lead to conflict and instability, so the organization that helps the community mitigate these disputes gains significant legitimacy in the eyes of the community. According to Kilcullen, dispute resolution and mediation is a “means to acquire local legitimacy and political power from the bottom up.”²⁶ Any group that seeks to play the role of governor but fails to understand and mitigate internal disputes runs the risk of losing legitimacy and creating up an opportunity for other organizations

to step in. All four groups did this in their own way; one example is the MNLF, which leveraged traditional Tausug culture to lead community councils and play the role of community arbiter.

3. Providing Social Services. The next essential element of good governance is to provide social services. The population often ties this directly to legitimacy. Whichever organization can provide valuable social services, such as health care, education, and economic development, is seen as the legitimate governor. This also creates easy and continuous access to the population. All four groups use social services as a tool to gain legitimacy and access. The most well-known is Hezbollah in Lebanon, which built and runs its own hospitals, schools, and vocational training centers.²⁷ MS13 also leverages social services for access and legitimacy, but instead of creating their own services, they use their ability to intimidate state medical and education workers to regulate these services in the areas they control, thus showing the population that these services are provided only with MS13 permission, so that they, and not the state, reap the benefits of legitimacy.

4. Managing Resources. The next essential element of good governance is managing resources—public goods, such as roads, hunting and fishing areas, and farmland, that must be shared by the community. An efficient system of managing these resources mitigates disputes and leads to the sustainability of these resources, greater community wealth, and an opportunity for the counterstate to tax this wealth. All four groups established rules regarding sharing public goods, and all collected taxes to some degree. When public goods were managed well, the collection of taxes was seen by the community as a legitimate expense

for security, stability, and economic development. FARC's management of farmland, used for coca, has allowed them to collect approximately \$100 million per year since 1990.²⁸

5. Engaging the Population. The last but not least essential element of good governance is engaging the population. Developing and maintaining a communication process and a relationship with the population leads to legitimacy and influence. The counterstate must also engage the population in order to mobilize it, thereby building its strength and political power. Hezbollah, the FARC, and MNLF all conduct town-hall meetings and community-engagement events, such as medical civic action projects. These same three organizations also conduct formal media campaigns, such as an MNLF radio talk show in the southern Philippines. MS13 does not have a formal media campaign, but it uses a combination of sympathetic community leaders and gang delegates to maintain continuous engagement with the community in the areas it controls.

The Role of CA in a UW Gray-Zone Campaign

In a gray-zone UW campaign, by definition, the USG will only have a small presence on the ground. CA elements are thus ideal because they are small, so CA planners should understand how a small-footprint tactical CA element can have a large strategic effect on their mission to facilitate the counterstate's development of good governance. CA elements supporting the counterstate in a gray-zone UW campaign must accomplish three core tasks: assessments, connections, and advice.

1. Assessments. CA teams use civil reconnaissance to conduct an assessment of the civil situation in priority areas. This allows both the CA team and the larger enterprise to better understand the civil vulnerabilities and shortfalls in state governance and the capabilities of the counterstate to address those vulnerabilities that the counterstate could leverage. A thorough assessment and analysis allow the CA team to tailor its activities and advice to the counterstate's leadership.

CA teams conduct civil reconnaissance in the gray zone through a variety of methods. They conduct direct assessments based on their location and access to the population. They facilitate small-scale civic-action projects that create community participation and allow the CA team to engage with project participants and leaders. They use what the development community calls "participatory assessments;" that is, methods that mobilize the community to conduct their own assessments²⁹ and deliver feedback to the CA team. The last method has the benefit of allowing information to be collected in areas to which the team is denied access, and increases the communities' sense of ownership in subsequent projects. This is a common problem in a UW campaign.

Commanders can also use the recently created Institute for Military Support to Governance (IMSG), part of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command's John F. Kennedy Special Operations Center of Excellence. The IMSG has tapped into the tremendous governance expertise in the Army Reserves to create the 38G program, which better identifies and employs specific expertise for mission requirements.³⁰

2. Connections. When supporting the state during COIN and stability operations, CA teams play a critical role in connecting government institutions, NGOs, local governments, and community groups. Ordinarily, the combination of bureaucracy and inertia limits the natural cooperation of these groups. In a UW campaign, the role of CA teams as the connective tissue linking these various groups is even more critical, as these groups have fewer resources and will be less likely to cooperate, as they need to stay covert. As CA teams connect these various groups, they help increase the legitimacy and resources available to the counterstate. Successful insurgent leaders, like Mao and Daniel Ortega, highlight the necessity of building a broad front to challenge the state.³¹

3. Advice. The third essential task for CA teams to accomplish in a gray zone UW campaign is to be a trusted advisor to key counterstate leaders. Being a valued advisor requires two elements: firstly, the technical and tactical knowledge to offer valuable advice and secondly, the skill to deliver that advice in a manner that will persuade the leaders to accept it. Unfortunately, it is often easy to focus on the technical knowledge and underestimate the requirements of culturally sensitive engagement and of building a trusted relationship. Becoming a trusted advisor is essential in order to have a long-term effect on the operational environment and facilitate counterstate deliverance of good governance. The gold standard of advising during a UW campaign is T. E. Lawrence during World War I.³² He built a trusted relationship with Emir Faisal and became an influential and successful advisor during the Arab uprising. Other successful advisors in UW campaigns include Sir John "Pasha" Glubb and Colonel Edward Lansdale. Their success was a result

of a combination of their understanding of the operational environment, their technical and tactical skills, and their ability to advise key leaders in a culturally appropriate manner.³³

Recommendations

Good governance clearly has a role to play for a counterstate organization in a gray zone conflict. It provides the counterstate with an opportunity to achieve legitimacy, access, and influence, and to establish a framework for social control where they can then out-govern the state. Civil Affairs can play a significant role in facilitating counterstate good governance. The potential utility of CA in a gray-zone UW campaign will be unrealized without changes to current USG doctrine, organization, training, material, leadership and education, personnel, facilities, and policy (DOTMLPF-P). Most relevant are policy, doctrine, and education.

1. Policy. U.S. policies regarding UW and gray-zone concepts are similar. Both offer low-cost methods for the United States to achieve limited goals. USG policy related to the gray zone, however, focuses on protecting the status quo from gray-zone challengers, not challenging aggressive states through gray-zone methods. A reevaluation of current USG policy is required in order to better clarify how the concepts of UW and the gray zone overlap.

2. Doctrine. Governance is seen as an essential tool for transition in a “traditional” insurgency when the incumbent government collapses and the insurgents take power. There is little mention of governance as a tool for other UW objectives short of regime change in

Civil Affairs and other doctrine.³⁴ The one bright spot is U.S. Army Training Publication 3.05.1, which states that “Civil Affairs is particularly suited to UW in all stages.”³⁵ Even this, however, fails to unpack the potential role of governance short of regime change and the critical role CA can play in facilitating good governance for the counterstate. Thus, there is currently no accepted DoD “doctrine” to support commanders tasked with a UW-shaping campaign, especially if they wish to support counterstate governance activities.

3. Education. Changes in policy and doctrine would be useless without changes to the education of CA operators. Although many CA operators intuitively understand their role in a gray-zone conflict, DoD³⁶ should develop appropriate institutional and unit-level training. Facilitating counterstate good governance as part of a gray-zone UW campaign is a complex mission, so CA teams must have the education, training, and skills to conduct assessments, create networks, and gain trust as advisors. Assessments in the gray zone are more complex than straightforward civil reconnaissance, so CA operators must understand the functions of governance in order to assess the capabilities and shortfalls of both the state and counterstate. Additionally, because the UW environment may limit the CA team’s freedom of movement, the CA team must depend on the local population to collect information and conduct assessments. This requires the CA team to have training in participatory assessment methodology. CA teams must know how to build networks and understand both how to build rapport with key individuals and then how to connect those individuals with other key leaders. “Trust and social capital are created through shared experiences.”³⁷ Thus, CA teams must understand how to design projects and

events to expand the friendly network. They must also understand how to become trusted influential advisors. Doing so requires a comprehensive understanding of how to engage key leaders in a way that does not undermine their legitimacy within the organization. The CA team must also know how to give advice without appearing to give orders. Studying the examples of Lawrence, Glubb, and Lansdale is a good start.

“CA is uniquely suited for unconventional warfare,”³⁸ according to the Army, especially in gray-zone UW campaigns. Small CA teams can operate effectively in the complex, nebulous environment of the gray zone, and as CA teams, they are tailor-made to conduct assessments, create connections, and be trusted advisors; this will enable them to have a tremendous effect in support of good governance and consolidate gains in the gray zone.

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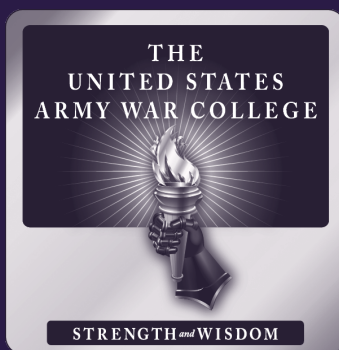
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