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**NAVAL
POSTGRADUATE
SCHOOL**

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY: SELECTING
AND VETTING INDIGENOUS LEADERS**

by

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Matthew P. Upperman

December 2013

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**THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY: SELECTING AND VETTING
INDIGENOUS LEADERS**

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ABSTRACT

Determining who is the right indigenous leader for U.S. forces to work with in a complex environment during irregular and unconventional warfare is a complicated endeavor, affected by countless factors. Selecting, vetting, and influencing indigenous leaders in foreign countries has been a key task of U.S. Special Operations Forces since its inception, but to date Special Operations Forces often struggles with mastering this, as evidenced by recent experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan. The primary aim of this thesis is to improve this capability. To assist with the future selection and vetting of indigenous leaders, this thesis introduces a leader selection heuristic. It is the authors' contention is that to find the "right" individual requires correctly identifying particular attributes, features, and behaviors in both the individual and the environment.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|---|
| CPT | captain |
| DA | direct action |
| D3A | decide, detect, deliver, assess |
| F3EAD | find, fix, finish, exploit, analyze, and disseminates |
| FM | field manual |
| IW | irregular warfare |
| LSH | leadership selection heuristic |
| MAJ | major |
| MIDEA | map, identify, design, employ, and adjust |
| ODA | Operational Detachment-Alpha |
| SMT | social movement theory |
| SOF | Special Operations Forces |
| SW | special warfare |
| UW | unconventional warfare |
| U.S. | United States of America |

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PREFACE

The Operator's Dilemma: A Vignette Based on Actual Experience

2010—Captain (CPT) Steele and his Special Forces Operational Detachment-Alpha (ODA) had just arrived in their new area of operation. The district that they were assigned by their Special Operations Task Force headquarters sat at the intersection of the major lines of communication that connected the province to the neighboring provincial capitals. The population appeared undecided as to whether to back the insurgency or the government. Ownership of this key district had the potential to dictate who controlled the entire province. CPT Steele and his team were tasked with developing partnerships throughout the district to establish security so that the host-nation government could expand its influence in the district and pacify the ongoing insurgency.

No members of the ODA had previously deployed to the district, but they were able to generate limited situational awareness thanks to the tribal templates and static social network mapping that the Special Operations Task Force possessed of the area, as well as a historic ethnographic study of the area. CPT Steele and his ODA entered the district and met with a local whom they believed to be a regional powerbroker. Haji Halim had made initial contact with the team and promised the support of the population. The team discovered that he belonged to the dominant tribe in the district. Haji Halim appeared to have a reliable intelligence network that fed the team actionable intelligence about the insurgency. It appeared that the team chose the right partner.

However, once the team began conducting partnership efforts with local communities, several locals began to complain that Haji Halim was not a tribal chief, but rather had developed stature due to his association with the insurgency and locals' fear of reprisals. Increasingly it became clear to the team that he was not considered a legitimate authority anywhere in area of operation. Worse yet, all local chiefs had reportedly fled the area or been killed, and the population seemed to want nothing to do with the team.

*Within a month of CPT Steele and his ODA's arrival, the situation had changed drastically. The ODAs base of operations received daily attacks. Civilians fled the area as violence increased and daily economic activity skidded to a halt. Then one morning Haji Halim was gone. CPT Steele suddenly found himself without a partner **and** in a hostile district. CPT Steele gathered his team quickly, and they re-evaluated the situation, analyzing it in light of the information that they had collected since their arrival.*

Underlying land disputes within the district were now surfacing. Haji Halim, it turned out, was a major producer of opium in the district and had been using his new influence to force out competitors. His elevation from a mid-level leader to one of great importance, as a result of American support, changed the dynamic of control in the district and united minority factions against the tribe Haji Halim belonged to. Dormant grievances had been reignited and control of the population was being hijacked by the insurgency. CPT Steele and his team had produced the opposite effect from what they intended. CPT Steele had no idea whom he should partner with now in order to achieve his mission.

All he kept asking himself was, "What went wrong?" The partnership had appeared so promising initially. Haji Halim seemed to be exactly the "right guy." Why couldn't he deliver on his promises? Should CPT Steele and his men have seen this coming? Was there a better way to pick and vet the right partner before deploying to the area and lending U.S. support?

I. INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCTION

As the opening vignette, loosely based on the authors' Operation Enduring Freedom-Afghanistan experiences, suggests, determining who the right indigenous leader to work with in a complex environment is a complicated endeavor and is affected by countless factors. Yet, selecting, vetting, and influencing indigenous leaders in foreign countries has been a key task of U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) since its inception. However, to date SOF still struggle with mastering this practice. One aim of this thesis is to improve this capability. To do so, we will use theory from beyond military doctrine to home in on several factors critical to selecting and vetting indigenous leaders.

A white paper recently released by several U.S. general officers highlights the ever-growing attention being paid to the importance of selecting, vetting, and influencing the right indigenous leader. According to the document:

...the success of future strategic initiatives and the ability of the U.S. to shape a peaceful and prosperous global environment...will rest more and more on our ability to understand, influence, or exercise control within the 'human domain...aimed at influencing human activity and the environment...be they heads of state, tribal elders, militaries and their leaders or even an entire population....¹

The "human domain" is defined as the "physical, cultural and social environments" that exist within a conflict.²

The U.S. military's two targeting approaches—decide, detect, deliver, and assess (D3A) and find, fix, finish, exploit, analyze, and disseminate (F3EAD)—were designed for conventional, high-intensity conflict targeting (in the case of D3A) and man-hunting (in the case of F3EAD). Both underemphasize influencing the human domain.³ This

¹Raymond Odierno, James Amos, and William McRaven, "Strategic Landpower: Winning the Clash of Wills" (white paper, Department of Defense, Washington, DC, 2013), 2, 3.

² Ibid., 1.

³ Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-60, The Targeting Process* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2010).

thesis instead proposes a holistic targeting cycle that focuses on understanding, influencing, and exercising control within the “human domain.” Specifically, this thesis offers a methodology for identifying and vetting indigenous leaders.

No concise process exists to guide operators in conducting non-lethal, population-centric targeting, let alone population-centric targeting in an irregular warfare (IW), unconventional warfare (UW)⁴, or special warfare (SW) campaign.⁵ The military has not wandered far from the overarching targeting principles in practice since the introduction of D3A, although some adaptation has occurred to refine the process to better fit specific mission sets, as was done with the development of F3EAD. Such recalibration may be necessary when the target is the population or individuals within the population, and the purpose is to influence.

As *U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-60, Targeting Operations*, illustrates, F3EAD is a sub-set of the D3A process.⁶ What is required is an option within the D3A process to shift the emphasis toward non-direct action (DA), or population-centric and non-lethal targeting, focused on influencing a population segment. This audible is necessary particularly because FM 3-60 is primarily oriented around enemy-centric targeting. Our proposed approach fits into the D3A process and consists of five steps:

1. Map human and enemy infrastructure and terrain
2. Identify and vet people or groups to target
3. Design a strategy to influence people or groups

⁴ **Irregular warfare** is defined as, “a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant populations...[that] favors indirect and asymmetric approaches... in order to erode an adversary’s power, influence, and will.” **Unconventional warfare** is defined as, “Activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt, or overthrow a government or occupying power by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary, and guerrilla force in a denied area.” Department of Defense, *Joint Publication 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington DC: Department of Defense, 2010), 144, 289.

⁵ **Special warfare** is defined as, “the execution of activities that involve a combination of lethal and nonlethal actions taken by a specially trained and educated force that has a deep understanding of cultures and foreign language, proficiency in small-unit tactics, and the ability to build and fight alongside indigenous combat formations in a permissive, uncertain, or hostile environment.” The term “**operator**” used throughout this thesis refers broadly to members of Special Operations units that work closely with indigenous populations. Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Doctrine Reference Publication 3-05: Special Operations* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2012), 1–5.

⁶ Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-60: The Targeting Process*. (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2010).

4. Employ measures to influence people or groups
5. Adjust the strategy as necessary based on circumstances

Abbreviated as an acronym, this becomes “MIDEA.”⁷

B. SCOPE AND PURPOSE

We do not provide an extensive explanation for each step of this non-lethal targeting process in this thesis. Instead, we focus on Step Two of the process, *Identify and Vet People or Groups to Target*. More specifically, we discuss finding, selecting and vetting the right indigenous leader. The reason we focus on Step Two of the process is that while advances have been made in developing the means and methods for mapping networks through static social network analysis and developing an ethnographic understanding of a social group/segment, one area that remains neglected is identifying the right people to “target.” In addition, too little attention has been paid to how to vet individuals and groups for their suitability, given overall mission (or strategic) objectives. Leadership is a key component when it comes to influencing, mobilizing, orienting, and aligning population segments. Ensuring a campaign succeeds requires careful exploitation of structural and environmental opportunities.

The overarching question examined in this thesis is, *how can the U.S. military improve its ability to select and vet the right individuals to influence and/or non-lethally target?* Our contention is that to find the “right” individuals to stimulate and lead a population segment requires identifying particular factors/behaviors that need to be present in the individual *and* the environment, as well as in the relationship between those two. To lead effectively, indigenous leaders will need certain attributes, including an understanding of the dynamics of the environment in which they operate. This means operators need to know more than just where an individual belongs in a social network. Our belief is that by taking advantage of the factors identified in this thesis, the United States military will be able to better influence and control a target population indirectly.

⁷ See Appendix 2 for a brief overview of the recommended Non-Lethal Targeting Process, MIDEA.

C. METHOD

The body of this thesis will consist of a literature review and an introduction to our leadership selection heuristic (LSH) in Chapter II. As a conceptual frame, along with the authors' personal experiences at the local level, this thesis will draw from three bodies of literature: sociology, and social movement theory more specifically; historical accounts; and contemporary politics/current affairs.

The method of examination in this thesis is comprehensive case analysis. In Chapters III, IV, and V we will explore whether the personal and structural resources identified in Chapter II played a role in the success or failure of movements led by Ahmed Chalabi of the Republic of Iraq (Chapter III), Ramon Magsaysay of the Republic of the Philippines (Chapter IV), and Hamid Karzai of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Chapter V). In Chapter VI, we present our findings. Each individual from the case studies will be evaluated using the leadership selection heuristic in order to further illustrate good and poor choices in selecting and vetting an indigenous leader. Trends and key lessons will also be identified across the case studies in order to provide operators with "food for thought" when evaluating potential indigenous leaders.

Through these case studies, we examine three national-level leaders. These cases were selected based on their relevance, the amount of literature available, and the ongoing but also unexpected effects of their selection. No comparable amount of material is available about contemporary local-level leaders. Nevertheless, these national-level examples should shed important light on what to pay attention to with rising leaders at all levels. After all, Chalabi, Magsaysay, and Karzai each started small. We use our comparisons across these three cases to illustrate the value of the LSH. Because we examine the personal characteristics and the dynamics of the environment in which all three individuals operate in, it should be easy to see how the LSH could similarly be used across individuals at regional or local levels. Because the LSH is designed to assess the individual, it basically is immaterial to the principles required for selection and vetting whether an individual is operating at the local or at the national level.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. INTRODUCTION

The significance that leaders play in successful social movements is a key component that has been routinely underemphasized by social scientists and military practitioners alike.⁸ From a military perspective, whether operating within the special warfare (SW), unconventional warfare (UW), or irregular warfare (IW) realms, influencing indigenous populations has emerged as a key requirement for achieving mission end states. However, as U.S. involvements in Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated over the past decade, indigenous leadership selection and vetting often occurs as an afterthought. In this thesis, we highlight the benefits of the military adopting principles found in social movement theory and the sociology of leadership. Specifically, we introduce a leadership selection heuristic (or LSH) meant to assist Special Operators in identifying and vetting indigenous leaders with whom to work.

As Barker et al. point out, in order “...for collective images and ideas, projects, forms of action and organization to emerge, *someone* must propose them.”⁹ Absent this leadership, collective identity becomes hard to form and collective action is unlikely to occur.¹⁰ Social movement theory can be applied to identify key attributes that will help military practitioners determine who is or is not, or who would or would not make, a viable indigenous leader/partner with whom to work. Movement leaders are defined as “...strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize [and direct] others to participate...”¹¹ In this chapter, we will briefly examine personal and structural attributes, forms of authority, and leadership capital, all of which can be used during the

⁸ Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, “When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements,” *Mobilization* 11, no. 1 (June 2006): 3; Colin Barker, Alan Johnson, and Michael Lavalette, Eds. “Leadership Matters: An Introduction,” in *Leadership and Social Movements* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2001), 1.

⁹ Colin Barker, Alan Johnson, and Michael Lavalette, “Leadership Matters: An Introduction,” in *Leadership and Social Movements*, 1–23 (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2001), 5.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Aldon Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg, “Leadership in Social Movements,” in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Soule, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 171.

“identify and vet” phase of the non-lethal targeting cycle introduced in Chapter I. Building on these concepts, this chapter also highlights how picking the right leader can aid in influencing and exploiting the social movement requirements outlined in the political process model as explained by Doug McAdam.¹²

B. SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY OVERVIEW

Social movements are defined as “collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents, and authorities.”¹³ Effects of social movements range from raising public awareness, to regime overthrow, to developing and expanding post-conflict governance.¹⁴ A key facet is having a leader (or cadre of leaders) who can fashion a “...shared understanding of the world and of their organization that legitimate and motivate collective action,” in order to achieve a movement’s desired end state.¹⁵

Most movements occur within the context of established social settings where there are recognized leaders and networks of trust, and communication channels, and “...emerging movements tend to spread along established lines of interaction.”¹⁶ While structural social network analysis is a useful tool to identify potential leaders’ locations in a social space, it is a static technique that seldom accounts for the ethnographic and dynamic nature of how leaders emerge in a fluid and complex social environment. Consequently, in order to achieve success, an operator must understand what to look for in the environment as well as in a leader.

¹² Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 51.

¹³ Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

¹⁴ Doowan Lee, “DA3800: Seminar on Social Movements and Unconventional Warfare” (class lecture at Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, April 8, 2013).

¹⁵ Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6.

¹⁶ Doug McAdam, “Beyond Structural Analysis: Towards a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements,” *Social Movement and Networks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 285.

C. PERSONAL AND STRUCTURAL RESOURCES

To develop a heuristic to identify and vet the right leader, it is useful to think in terms of personal resources and structural resources, as outlined by Barker, Johnson and Lavalette. According to Barker et. al., personal resources are based on personal qualities and attributes including confidence, the ability to synthesize information, construct persuasive arguments, communication skills between a leader and a leader's constituency, traditional and cultural capital, and a leader's skills and capacity in the local context.¹⁷ They also assert that a leader's inner circle (or leadership team) is often indicative of the success or failure a leader will have.¹⁸ Structural resources refer to the thick web of communications and links to the layers of people who interact and spread a leader's message and legitimacy, and activate resources (people, money, and supplies).¹⁹

For the purposes of this thesis, we are expanding the concepts of personal and structural resources to incorporate a broader application of social movement theories. In our view, personal resources also encompass both Weber's concepts of leadership authority, as well as Nepstal and Bob's concepts of leadership capital.²⁰ A further aspect of personal resources with which to vet the viability of a leader is his education capital, which is often higher than the population at large, as pointed out by Morris and Staggenborg; this is due to the "...myriad of intellectual tasks...from framing grievances and formulating ideologies ...[to] improvising and innovating, [to] developing rationales for coalition building and channeling emotions."²¹ We also expand structural resources to include environmental conditions, as found in the tenets of the political process model, as explained by Doug McAdam.

¹⁷ Barker, Johnson, and Lavalette, "Leadership Matters: An Introduction," 11–12.

¹⁸ Ibid., 19.

¹⁹ Ibid., 13.

²⁰ For an in-depth explanation of these theories, as well as other SMT theory mentioned in this chapter, see Appendix 1.

²¹ Morris and Staggenborg, "Leadership in Social Movements," 175.

An important point to emphasize, which both Weber and Nepstal and Bob highlight, is that leadership is a relational process.²² Leaders may have sufficient personal resources and attributes to seemingly make them strong candidates for a leadership role, but whether they will be granted authority depends on their followers.

Figure 1 shows a graphic representation of an individual's leadership personal resources and the structural and environmental resources where he operates.

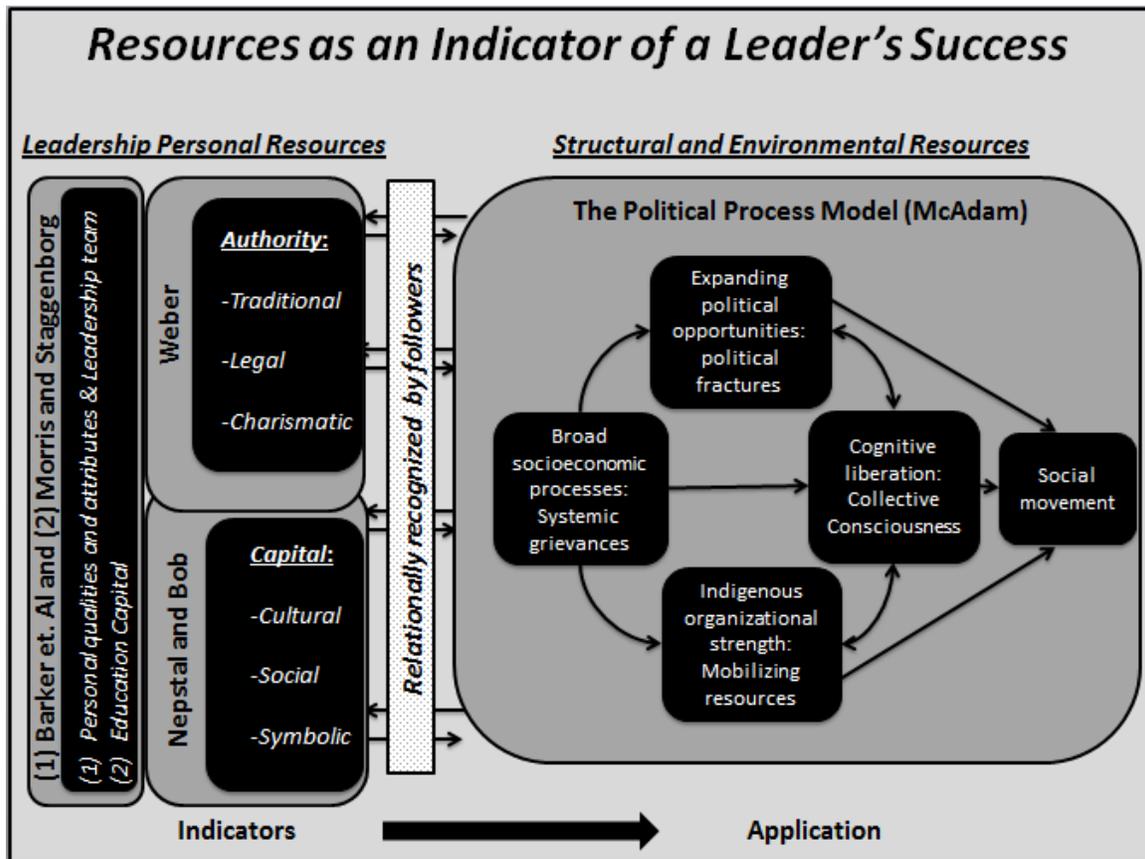


Figure 1. Resources as an Indicator of a Leader's Success²³

²² Nepstad and Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements," 18 and Fran Parkin, *Max Weber* (New York: Routledge Press, 2002), 78.

²³ This model represents a compilation of several social movement theorists' main points and models. Barker, Johnson, and Lavalette, "Leadership Matters: An Introduction," 11–12; Morris and Staggenborg, "Leadership in Social Movements," 175; Parkin, *Max Weber* (New York: Routledge Press, 2002), 78; Nepstad and Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements," 18; McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930–1970*, 51.

Figure 1 depicts the array of resources just described, along with the political process model. Identifying personal resources is the first step in activating the political process model by injecting the right kind of leadership, with the right relational requirements, to be able to exploit grievances and political fractures and alliances, organize multiple networks, and shape a powerful narrative.

Figure 2 represents the intersecting point between the individual and the environment that facilitates the movement.

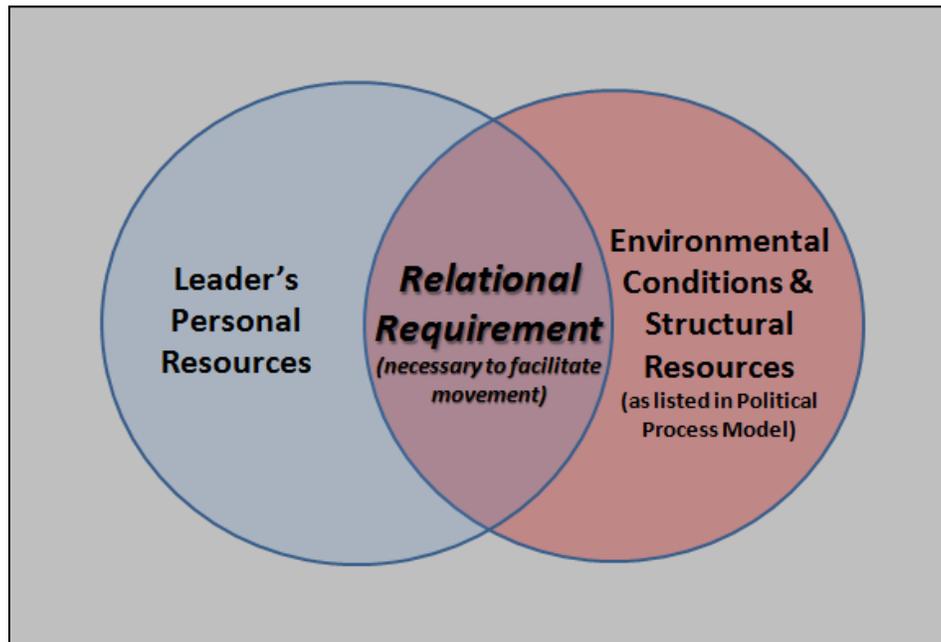


Figure 2. Relational Requirements: Personal and Structural Resources

1. Personal Resource Indicators

In examining personal resources, along with the personal attributes that Barker et. al highlight, several traits can be identified in movement leaders (or would-be leaders) by looking to Max Weber's three types of authority and Nepstal and Bob's concepts of "leadership capital."

Max Weber's theory on authority, though a century old, still provides a useful foundational framework (see Table 1). Weber's concept of authority is based on legitimacy, which relies on socialization and the internalization of cultural norms and

values, and therefore requires low levels of external social control (or coercion).²⁴ His three types of authority are: traditional-cultural, rational-legal, and charismatic. Though Weber identifies “pure” categories of authority, in reality authority may represent a mixture of all three types.²⁵

| Weber's Forms of Authority | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Traditional | <p>This type of authority, often manifested in the role of a “chief,” is often predominant in traditional, tribal cultures, is usually passed down, is based on personal loyalty, and hinges on an individual(s) authority by virtue of traditional status and a population's “...traditionally transmitted rules.”</p> <p><i>[source: “Max Weber: Selections from his work,” translated and edited by S.M. Miller, Thomas Y. Crowell Company (New York: 1963), 75.]</i></p> |
| Legal | <p>People see leaders as having the legal right to lead by virtue of their position as it follows normative rules and the rights granted to individuals to issue commands under those rules.</p> <p><i>[source: “Max Weber: Selections from his work,” translated and edited by S.M. Miller, Thomas Y. Crowell Company (New York: 1963), 63.]</i></p> |
| Charismatic | <p>Based on “...devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person...” and the normative order established by him/her.</p> <p><i>[source: Weber: Selections from his work,” translated and edited by S.M. Miller, Thomas Y. Crowell Company (New York: 1963), 63.]</i></p> <p>The only pure form of legitimacy according to Weber, but is not formal or lasting.</p> <p><i>[source: Frank Parkin, “Max Weber,” Routledge (London and New York: 1982), 84.]</i></p> |

Table 1. Weber's Forms of Authority²⁶

Nepstal and Bob's concept of leadership capital expands beyond Weber's idea of authority and nicely bridges the gap between personal attributes and a leader's understanding of, and interaction in, his operating environment (see Table 2). Individuals who rise to movement leadership positions and effectively lead movements most likely possess substantial levels of leadership capital, in one or more of the following sub-categories: cultural, social, and symbolic.²⁷ A key point that Nepstal and Bob make is

²⁴ Kenneth Allen, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World*, 3 ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2013), 169, and L.A. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), 227.

²⁵ Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought*, 227.

²⁶ See Appendix 1 for a more in-depth overview of Weber's forms of authority.

²⁷ Nepstad and Bob, “When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements,” 4–5.

that leaders do not have to possess all of these leadership capital characteristics, and these forms of authority and capital are not possessed only by movement leaders.²⁸

| Nepstad and Bob's "Leadership Capital" | |
|--|--|
| Cultural Capital | A leader's "...knowledge, skills, and abilities..." that aid to influence the target community and external parties, including having a firm grasp of local practices and value systems. Cultural capital can also be further segmented into "localized cultural capital," "universalistic cultural capital," and "trans-cultural skills." <i>[source: Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter?," 4, 5.]</i> |
| Social Capital | Involves having "...strong ties to activist communities and weak ties to broader mobilizing networks." Involves examining social networks that exist, and the "...norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness..." associated with the existing social network. <i>[source: Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter?," 4, 5.]</i> |
| Symbolic Capital | Includes personal charisma, respect, social prestige, and moral authority. Precursor to Charismatic Authority. <i>[source: Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter?," 5.]</i> |

Table 2. Leadership Capital²⁹

Nepstad and Bob argue that Weber's study of leadership offers descriptive categorizations, and does not isolate factors that make people "...compelling and capable organizers." ³⁰ For our part, we consider it important to determine whether leaders first possess an appropriate form of authority before they can fully take advantage of, and leverage, their leadership capital.

2. Structural Resources and the Political Process Model

In order to effectively select and vet a potential leader, an operator must understand how a potential leader's personal resources fit with the environmental and structural factors that are present. An effective leader must be aware of environmental conditions and leverage opportunities they present. This step includes gaining a deep understanding of the grievances of a society or social segment and should be a prerequisite to selecting an indigenous leader with whom to partner. This understanding

²⁸Ibid., 5.

²⁹ See Appendix 1 for a more in-depth overview of Nepstad and Bob's Leadership Capital.

³⁰ Nepstad and Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements," 4-5.

provides the backdrop to assess whether the leader will be sufficiently well positioned to take advantage of the political, cultural, and organizational conditions to manipulate portions of the target population to align with the operator's desired end state. Doug McAdam points out that social movements are political phenomenon and continuous processes; his model "...offers a framework for analyzing the entire process of movement development...."³¹

The political process model provides the means for deconstructing authority and motivation mechanisms throughout the population, which is necessary to gain the support and participation of the population (see Table 3).³² Essentially, it provides the means for understanding the conditional, political, organizational, and cultural mechanics of collective action. Three sets of factors are indicative of the current strength and potential for a movement: the level of organization within the aggrieved population, the collective assessment of the prospects for success within a population, and the political alignment of groups given the larger social environment.³³ Just as a leader's effectiveness depends on his followers, the strength and momentum of a movement is a reciprocal relationship involving the effects of broad socioeconomic processes, indigenous organizational strength, resources, and expanding political opportunities. Cognitive liberation solidifies the bonds between the factors and sustains the movement. It occurs within a population when the current system loses legitimacy and relevancy. When that happens, there is a perception of inevitability that the system needs to be attacked to stimulate a desired change, and the population begins to believe that it can change the situation.³⁴

³¹ McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930–1970*, 36.

³² Doowan Lee, "A Social Movement Approach to Unconventional Warfare," *Special Warfare Magazine* 26, no. 3 (Fort Bragg, NC: United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center, 2013): 33.

³³ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁴ Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3–4.

| The Political Process Model | |
|---|---|
| Socioeconomic Factors: Grievances | Collective discontent amongst the population to reject the status quo provides a launching point for a movement to rally behind. The alignment of a movement's goals to reflect the grievances of the larger population is a requirement to expand. <i>[source: Mayer N. Zald and Roberta Ash, "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change", Social Forces, Vol 44, No 3, (1966), 330.]</i> |
| Political Opportunities: Political and Structural Resources | Political instability disrupts the status quo and encourages all organized groups to both challenge the state and provide friction against the establishment of a new political order. It can "...facilitate increased political activism on the part of the excluded groups, either by seriously undermining the stability of the entire political system or by increasing the political leverage of a ... group." <i>[source: P.H. Collins, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and Politics of Empowerment, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 42.]</i> Successful movements are created, "...out of broad social processes that strengthened the political position of the challenging group." <i>[source: Joseph C. Jenkins and Charles Perrow, "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)", American Sociological Review, Vol 42, No 2, 266.]</i> |
| Indigenous Organizational Strength: Relational Resources | The organization is reliant on itself to recruit new members and strengthen the logistical system that allows it to operate. "It is the resources of the minority community that enable...[movement] groups to exploit these opportunities." <i>[source: McAdams, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 43.]</i> Long term existence of a movement is dependent on an indigenous infrastructure that acts as a bridging mechanism linking groups together into an organized campaign. <i>[source: Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement", American Journal of Sociology, Vol 78, No 4, 792-811.]</i> |
| Cognitive Liberation: Cultural Resources | Includes three aspects: legitimacy of the current system loses relevancy to the population, the perception of inevitability of the system must be attacked to stimulate the desire for change, and a belief that the population is not helpless against the established status quo. The understanding and framing of socio-economic factors into a persuasive narrative by leaders assists the movement to take advantage of political opportunities and building its indigenous network. <i>[source: Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Poor People's Movements, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3-4.]</i> |

Table 3. The Political Process Model³⁵

D. LEADER SELECTION HEURISTIC

It is evident, given a review of applicable theory, that there are identifiable traits and characteristics in both the individual (would-be leader) and the environment that are necessary, though not always sufficient, for a successful movement to occur. There are often individuals (would-be leaders) and latent networks that already exist that can be leveraged to gain influence over a population, either to re-direct an existing social movement, or to encourage the development of an effective social movement.³⁶

³⁵ See Appendix A for a more in-depth overview of the political process model.

³⁶ McAdam, "Beyond Structural Analysis: Towards a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements," 285.

In order to codify the theory into a usable form for military practitioners, we have developed a leadership selection heuristic to employ when examining an individual's viability as a movement leader (see Figure 3). As there is no "silver bullet" solution for picking the right person to lead a movement, this heuristic is meant to serve as a guide to navigate the complicated operating environments in which future military practitioners will find themselves.

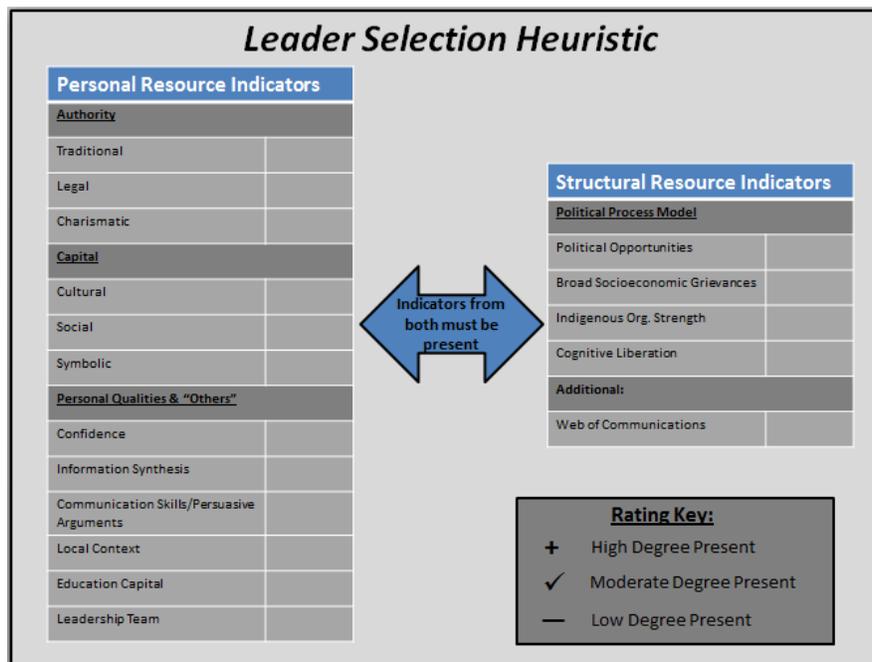


Figure 3. Leadership Selection Heuristic

This heuristic is meant to aid practitioners in making more informed "leadership selection" decisions, and to better understand some of the benefits and potential detriments associated with their decision. The ratings on this heuristic are not meant to definitively rule-in or rule-out any potential leader, but instead point to existing (or absent) personal and structural resources that might affect the successful creation and implementation of a movement.

III. THE BAD: AHMED CHALABI

A. INTRODUCTION

In the context of trying to determine how to identify the right movement leader to support, this chapter revisits a now infamous individual associated with baiting the U.S. into open conflict with Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime in Iraq. Many have pointed to Ahmed Chalabi as the man who pushed the U.S. into the Iraq War. Why did the U.S. support him during the 1990s, and give credence to him during the run up to the 2003 Iraqi invasion? Subsequently, why did Washington look to him as a viable leader prior to the Saddam Hussein dictatorship being overthrown?

These are among the questions and points that this chapter attempts to address in order to isolate salient takeaways and improve the future vetting of potential partner-leaders.

As the following analysis will indicate, Chalabi was a master manipulator, savvy politician, and an individual able to strike a chord with Westerners, but to the detriment of U.S. strategic interests. He was Western educated, driven to succeed, and managed to create the perception that he had a broad personal network throughout the Middle East and Iraq. Unfortunately, these characteristics were wrongly interpreted by members of the U.S. government as qualities that Iraqis would welcome. Chalabi's personal qualities, along with assurances from him that the Iraqi people would greet the U.S. as liberators, that Iraq was hungry for democracy, and that his Iraqi National Congress could quickly fill any power vacuum left by Saddam, gave false confidence to U.S. strategists and politicians that a quick and stable victory could be achieved in Iraq.

B. BACKGROUND—WHO IS AHMED CHALABI?

Ahmed Chalabi is the scion of a once-prominent Shiite Muslim family from Baghdad, a family that gained substantial influence and material wealth under the Ottoman Empire, during British imperial rule, and subsequently under the Hashemite monarchy of Iraq. Chalabi's father was once a prominent businessman and respected broker among the ruling Sunni and Shiite elite. He held positions in the Hashemite

government, including minister of public works and vice president of the Senate, as well as being a Shiite cleric in Najaf.³⁷ During the nationalist coup of 1958, Chalabi's family lost virtually all its wealth and prestige and fled the country, first to Lebanon, before settling in Britain.

Chalabi attended boarding schools in Britain as a teenager. He attended college in the United States during the 1960s: first at MIT, and then at the University of Chicago, where he earned a doctorate in mathematics. From a young age, he proved able to maneuver between Western and Middle Eastern circles, with a penchant for seeking out, impressing, and courting influential individuals whom he could add to his personal networks.

Chalabi had an early interest in Iraqi politics and possessed a hatred of the Ba'athist party. While in college, he and two of his brothers participated in actions against the Baathist regime undertaken from Lebanon, where he worked as a facilitator and courier among several conspirators plotting coup attempts.³⁸

Between 1971 and 1977, he worked as a professor of mathematics at the American University in Beirut, and in 1971 he married the daughter of Adel Osserian, a prominent Shiite chief and Lebanese politician.³⁹ Iman Musa Sadr, the Iraqi Shiite cleric and father of Muqtada al-Sadr (leader of the Shiite Mahdi Army in Iraq), presided over Chalabi's wedding.⁴⁰ Osserian and Sadr were important role models for Chalabi, as powerful men with a penchant for using "...the power of public opinion and tools of popular mobilization..." in order to become formative figures in Lebanese politics.⁴¹ While in Lebanon, Chalabi is also reported to have helped provide weapons to the

³⁷ Aram Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War* (New York: Nation Books, 2008), 10.

³⁸ Richard Bonin, *Arrows of the Night* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008), 21.

³⁹ Dexter Filkins, "Where Plan A Left Ahmed Chalabi," *The New York Times*, November 5, 2006, accessed July 15, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/03/world/africa/03iht-web.1103chalabi.3388735.html?_r=0&pagewanted=print.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 25.

Kurdish separatist leader, Mustafa Barzani.⁴² He also encouraged the international press to cover the travails of Iraqi Kurds under Saddam.⁴³

Chalabi moved to Jordan in 1978 to assist with his family's business interests. Once there, Prince Hassan, son of King Hussein bin Talal, assisted him in a banking venture.⁴⁴ By his own account, Chalabi "...learned...how the Jordanian system works...worked it... [and] reached the top."⁴⁵ He turned his banking venture, Petra Bank, into one of the most prosperous banks in Jordan, enjoying a tenfold increase in assets (from \$40 million to \$400 million) between 1978 and 1982.⁴⁶ He also used his position and his penchant for networking to become an influential power broker within Jordanian high society.

During this period, Chalabi donated funds to the Shiite opposition in Iraq.⁴⁷ While his activities may have become an issue for Jordan, his personal empire, nonetheless, collapsed for other reasons. In 1989, his bank came under the scrutiny of the Jordanian Central Bank commission, and failed an audit. Evidence indicated fraud, embezzlement, and over \$200 million in bad loans.⁴⁸ Chalabi fled Jordan to avoid prosecution for corruption and bad banking practices, and was later convicted in absentia in 1992 (on charges of fraud, forgery, and embezzlement) and sentenced to 32 years in prison.⁴⁹

⁴² Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 27.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁴ David Leigh and Brian Whitaker, "Financial Scandal Claims Hang over Leader in Waiting," *The Guardian*, April 14, 2003, accessed July 10, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/apr/14/iraq.davidleigh>.

⁴⁵ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 33.

⁴⁶ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 32.

⁴⁷ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 34.

⁴⁸ Leigh and Whitaker, "Financial Scandal Claims Hang over Leader in Waiting."

⁴⁹ George Packer, *Assassin's Gate* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux Publishers, 2006), 76.

C. BACKGROUND—AHMED CHALABI AND THE IRAQI OPPOSITION

1. Failure to Create Conditions for Internal Revolution

The U.S. had made several attempts to create a viable opposition movement or set the conditions for a coup to oust Saddam, before its invasion of Iraq in 2003. In the wake of the Persian Gulf War in 1991, Saddam cracked down on the insurrections that occurred after calls to rebel came from opposition leaders in the Kurdish north and Shiite south, and from President George H. W. Bush's media addresses. Even with no outside support, opposition groups managed to gain control in parts of 14 out of Iraq's 18 provinces and were within a few miles of Baghdad.⁵⁰ Without external support, and because Baghdad's population remained mostly passive, the regime regrouped and proved able to systematically crush the rebels.⁵¹ The reluctance of Baghdadis to join the revolt was likely due to the absence of an underground network, poor information flow, and the lack of cooperation or coordination among resistance elements throughout Iraq.⁵² In other words, the population was not properly motivated, organized or mobilized for a revolution.

For its part, the U.S. preferred a military coup to a revolution given fears that Iraq would fracture along ethnic lines, with the Shiites then able to gain control of the government thanks to assistance from Iran.⁵³ When a coup did not materialize, President George H. W. Bush signed a secret finding in 1991 authorizing a covert program to create conditions that would lead to Saddam's ouster.⁵⁴ The CIA was granted a \$40 million budget to create an organized resistance.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ "Flashback: The 1991 Iraqi Revolt," *British Broadcasting Company (BBC) News*, August, 21 2007, accessed July 20, 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2888989.stm.

⁵¹ Faleh Jabar, "Why the Uprising Failed," *Middle East Report 22*, May–June 1992.

⁵² Jabar, "Why the Uprising Failed."

⁵³ Katzman, Kenneth. *Report to Congress—Iraq: U.S. Efforts to Change the Regime* (RL31339) (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2002), accessed July 27, 2013, <http://www.casi.org.uk/info/usdocs/crs/020322rl31339.pdf>, 1–2.

⁵⁴ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 72.

⁵⁵ Katzman, *Report to Congress—Iraq: U.S. Efforts to Change the Regime*, 2.

Having learned from the 1991 uprisings, when Kurds, Shiite, and anti-Ba'athist groups rose separately along ethnic and sectarian lines, with no coordination among them, the CIA sought to create conditions that would gradually undermine Saddam. The CIA was mindful that if the regime fell too quickly, and under the wrong conditions, it could trigger forces that could spin out of the U.S.'s control.⁵⁶ Essentially, the U.S. wanted Iraq to remain "...Arab, Sunni-led, and anti-Iranian..."⁵⁷ The CIA hoped to create enough stress that Saddam would overreact and his overreaction would provoke a coup among his Sunni supporters.⁵⁸ The CIA's second line of effort was to create a unified political opposition, comprised of Iraq's main constituent groups, "...Sunnis, Shiites, Kurds, clerics, monarchists, and former military officers..."⁵⁹ The idea was that by providing sufficient internal and external support, enough criticism could be stirred up about the regime that opposition against Saddam would mobilize. Thus, the Iraqi National Congress (INC) was created in 1992 as an umbrella organization designed to serve as a bridging mechanism and unified voice for multiple, disparate dissident groups.

Multiple dissident groups operated during the 1990s and early 2000s. Most did so outside of Iraq or on the peripheries of the country. Kurdish opposition groups associated with Massoud Barzani (Kurdish Democratic Party, or KDP) and Jalil Talibani (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, or PUK) had found shelter with the creation of the northern "No Fly Zone" in the wake of the Persian Gulf War. Iranian-sponsored Shiite groups operated from Iran and from southern Iraq (the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq (SCIRI) and the Islamic Dawa Party (IDP)). The Iraqi National Accord (INA), led by Ayad Allawi, was another larger group that surfaced in the wake of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, funded by Saudi Arabia and later the U.S. and Britain, with small elements active

⁵⁶ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 65.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

inside Iraq during the 1990s.⁶⁰ These groups, along with monarchists and other dissidents, did not communicate with one another in any meaningful way until the Iraqi National Congress (INC) was established.

2. Chalabi's Involvement in the Creation of the Iraqi National Congress

Chalabi, who had been actively involved in Iraqi opposition since 1990, was initially approached by the CIA's Whitley Bruner following his flight from Jordan to Britain. Although Chalabi did not have any grass roots constituency within Iraq, or among any of the opposition groups, he did have multiple influential contacts throughout the Iraqi diaspora and the Middle East, as well as in Washington D.C.⁶¹ He appeared to be an advocate and organizer with a talent for finance and moving large sums of money.⁶² In the period leading up to Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, he became involved with an Iraqi opposition group, the Joint Action Committee, which called for international support to overthrow Saddam,⁶³ and sought a Shiite-led provisional government.⁶⁴

The CIA's original intent was for Chalabi to be a behind-the-scenes manager, responsible for public relations, handling contacts, and assisting with devising an organization and strategy to put pressure on Saddam Hussein.⁶⁵ The CIA was impressed with Chalabi's skills and know-how, specifically his intellect, public relations and backroom negotiator experience, and his "...ideal blend of Western know-how and Arab sensibility."⁶⁶ According to Whitley Bruner, the CIA planned to cast others as movement leaders, and had three individuals in mind: Muhammad Bahr al-Ulum, a prominent Shiite cleric based in London, and associated with the leadership of SCIRI;

⁶⁰ Laurie Mylroie, "The US and the Iraqi National Congress," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 4, no. 2 (April 2001), accessed June 28, 2013, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0104_ir1.htm.

⁶¹ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 70.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 53.

⁶⁵ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 75.

⁶⁶ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 63.

Hassan Naqib, a former Sunni Baathist Iraqi general who defected in the 1970s and operated from Syria; and Masoud Barzani, leader of the KDP, who resided in Irbil in Kurdish-controlled Iraq.⁶⁷ These men each led networks that they could mobilize, and each had legitimacy among their constituents based on charismatic, traditional, and/or legal authority.

3. The Iraqi National Congress—Rise

With the quiet assistance of the Rendon Group, a public relations firm hired by the CIA, Chalabi organized a meeting for Iraqi opposition groups in June 1992.⁶⁸ The event, held in Vienna, Austria, was attended by 200 Iraqi delegates. The meeting gained credibility thanks to participation by the KDP and PUK, though the INA and main Shiite opposition groups did not attend. At the meeting, the delegates elected an 87-member National Assembly.⁶⁹

The CIA's role in the event was cloaked, and Chalabi played host and sole organizer, which enhanced his prestige and catapulted him to being a central figure. One CIA member commenting on Chalabi's methods said he drove wedges between people and developed himself as a bridge holding groups together.⁷⁰ From John Maguire's perspective, Chalabi was the wrong man for the role he was thrust into, and was going to be hard to manage due to his ambition.⁷¹ Several other CIA members agreed and argued for pushing Chalabi out of the operation.⁷² However, Chalabi's supporters in Washington D.C., to include several senior CIA officers, made this unlikely.⁷³

Chalabi's role as a central player was further cemented through the money scheme used to provide aid to the Iraqi opposition. He founded the Iraqi Broadcast

⁶⁷ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 75.

⁶⁸ James Bamford, "The Man Who Sold the War," *The Rolling Stones*, November 18, 2005, accessed June 28, 2013, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines05/1118-10.htm>.

⁶⁹ Raven Tyler, "Intervention in Iraq?" *Public Broadcast System (PBS) Online News Hour*, accessed June 23, 2013, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/iraq/player4.html.

⁷⁰ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 76.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Company (IBC), which was the only conduit through which early U.S. funding to the Iraqi opposition was delivered.⁷⁴ Because he and a family relative shared 100 percent ownership, this arrangement provided Chalabi with control over the CIA's laundered funds and, as a result, endowed Chalabi with a high degree of control over the INC,⁷⁵ especially since, between 1992 and 1996, the CIA reportedly provided around \$100 million.⁷⁶

Several months after the initial INC meeting, Chalabi organized another INC get together in the Kurdish city of Salahuddin. Several Shiite opposition groups participated this time, to include SCIRI and Dawa. Though this meeting was organized without approval from the CIA, it represented an important step towards creating a collective movement. Unfortunately, a collective social revolution remained counter to the CIA's desire for a coup.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the INC expanded its National Assembly to 234 and developed a charter and claimed the right to establish a provisional government and act as a federal authority.⁷⁸ Its main goals were outlined as the overthrow of the Saddam regime and establishment of a democratic system in Iraq.⁷⁹

At this Salahuddin meeting, the delegates chose an executive council consisting of twenty-six members, and Chalabi was elected to be the council's executive chairman and president.⁸⁰ Three individuals were chosen for the group's Leadership Council: a moderate Shi'ite Muslim cleric, Muhammad Bahr al-Ulum; an ex-Iraqi general, Hassan

⁷⁴Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 93–94.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 94.

⁷⁶ “Ahmed Chalabi Fast Facts,” *Cable News Network (CNN)*, accessed June 23, 2013, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/08/05/world/meast/ahmed-chalabi-fast-facts>.

⁷⁷ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 79.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁹ Michael M. Gunter, “The Iraqi Opposition and the Failure of U.S. Intelligence,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence* 11 no 2 (1999): 141, accessed August 20, 2013, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/088506099305124>.

⁸⁰ Gunter, “The Iraqi Opposition and the Failure of U.S. Intelligence,” 139.

Naqib; and Masud Barzani.⁸¹ But, as the president of the executive council, Chalabi became the de facto leader of the opposition.

4. The Iraqi National Congress—Fall

In early 1993, President Clinton reauthorized Bush's secret finding and expanded it to include overt political support for the INC.⁸² This support emboldened Chalabi, but also invited several small-scale attacks by Saddam's regime against the INC.⁸³ The attention from the White House also created tension within the INC with the Iranian-backed SCIRI. Ever the strategist, Chalabi saw the need to gain backing from power brokers within Iran in order to get the SCIRI back on his side and prevent his being targeted by the Iranian regime.⁸⁴ Consequently, Chalabi traveled to Qom to seek the approval of two Shiite *marja*, or religious scholars, who had known his father.⁸⁵ These individuals granted him approval to fight against Saddam with support from the U.S., which gave him the cover that he needed with the Iranian regime.⁸⁶ Many in the CIA began to suspect that Chalabi was a double agent working with the Iranians; more likely, he was an opportunist simply trying to work all the angles available to him.

Chalabi attempted to incite a revolution in Iraq. However, as the CIA had long suspected after observing the INC and other opposition groups, he did not have an organization or network sufficiently viable or capable of overthrowing Saddam's regime.⁸⁷ By 1994, the INC was already losing traction as a unified movement, and Chalabi was not working towards establishing a more unified opposition. He largely failed to conduct the propaganda for which the CIA had been paying him, allocating little

⁸¹ "Hussein Foes Create Joint Front for a Federal Iraq," *New York Times*, November 2, 1992, accessed August 11, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/02/world/hussein-foes-create-joint-front-for-a-federal-iraq.html>.

⁸² Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 87.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 88.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 89.

⁸⁷ Henri Barkey, "What Worked in Kabul Won't Work in Baghdad," *The Washington Post*, December 9, 2001, accessed August 14, 2013, <http://ir.cas2.lehigh.edu/content/what-worked-kabul-wont-baghdad>.

effort or funding to the distribution of print or radio messages that were supposed to suffuse the country, to include Baghdad.⁸⁸ Focusing on this propaganda effort could have made Chalabi the face and voice of the INC and would have assisted him in mobilizing grass-roots support for the cause and ensuring the INC was the central authority in the larger movement against Saddam, as well as solidifying support under a unified leadership. Instead, Chalabi claimed he already had all the pieces he needed for a revolution.

Perhaps Chalabi felt that unity would come with combat, and that combat would suffice as a catalyst to unite all the opposition groups against Saddam. Or perhaps he felt pressured by the scrutiny he was under from the CIA regarding how he was conducting business. Regardless, Chalabi hatched a plan and pitched it to the CIA representative in Northern Iraq, Robert Baer, telling Baer that the pieces were in place for the execution of an offensive.⁸⁹

Chalabi also presented the CIA with a defector, former Iraqi general Wafiq al-Samarrai, as well as his plan that included a northern and southern push against Saddam, primarily using Kurds and members of the Badr Brigade (SCIRI's Iranian-backed militia).⁹⁰ Chalabi also bribed tribal leaders in and around Mosul to rebel, though this scheme fell through because the sheiks backed out.⁹¹ In retrospect, by presenting this plan, Chalabi was clearly trying to get both the U.S. and Iran to militarily support him. In the end, however, the INC failed to unify opposition against Saddam, and in March 1995 only Talabani's 15,000-strong PUK Peshmerga (Kurd militia) and a 3,000-strong INC militia conducted the uprising, with neither the U.S. nor Iran lending military support.⁹² In the aftermath, despite a resounding defeat by Saddam's forces, Chalabi's stock went up with Iran, though not with the U.S.⁹³

⁸⁸ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 117.

⁸⁹ Robert Baer, *See No Evil* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 191.

⁹⁰ Mylroie, "The US and the Iraqi National Congress."

⁹¹ Andrew Cockburn, "The Truth about Ahmed Chalabi," *Counterpunch*, May 20, 2004, accessed July 31, 2013, <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0520-14.htm>.

⁹² Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 105.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 106.

The INC's failure to collectively organize throughout the 1990s should have been proof that Chalabi was incapable of being a unifying leader. Only a shell of the original INC remained once parties withdrew their representatives due to ideological disagreements between the groups and the absence of a collective vision; this left the INC primarily comprised of Chalabi's small contingent of supporters and the Kurds.⁹⁴ Following the failed armed uprising instigated by Chalabi, and subsequent infighting between the KDP and PUK for control over resources and territory, the Iraqi government invaded Kurdish held territory in 1996 with 40,000 troops.⁹⁵ This was done at the behest of Barzani to marginalize the PUK. The Iraqi Army destroyed the INC headquarters in northern Iraq and killed around 130 INC members.⁹⁶ Around the same time, the CIA suspected Chalabi of leaking information about a CIA-sponsored coup attempt undertaken by the INA, which Saddam's intelligence foiled.⁹⁷ The CIA blacklisted Chalabi and cut funding to the INC.⁹⁸ Without resources and with Chalabi having lost his links to the Clinton administration, the CIA, and the U.S. State Department, all opposition groups turned away from the INC.

5. Chalabi's U.S. Constituency

Although Chalabi failed to become an effective opposition movement leader, he succeeded as a lobbyist in the U.S. outside of the CIA. By making the right political contacts, he was able to work himself and the INC, which at this point existed in name only, into serving once again as the primary vessel of U.S. support to indigenous Iraqi opposition movements. In late 1991, Chalabi had been introduced to individuals who would later become heavy political hitters in the George W. Bush administration. Through historian Bernard Lewis, Chalabi met Zalmay Khalilzad, Paul Wolfowitz, and

⁹⁴ Edward Mason, "DoD's Use of Iraqi Exiles" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2006), 12.

⁹⁵ Mylroie, "The US and the Iraqi National Congress."

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 115.

⁹⁸ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 120.

Richard Pearle.⁹⁹ From the outset, Chalabi made an impression on these men as the right leader for the Iraqi opposition. They then became the champions of boosting him into a central role. Pearle, specifically, was key when it came to positioning Chalabi to make in-roads among members of Congress.

In 1996, Chalabi, with a team of consultants with experience serving in the U.S. government, crafted a propaganda campaign to reestablish Chalabi and the INC as the leading proponents of Iraqi opposition.¹⁰⁰ Drawing on his own success influencing policy in Congress in the 1980s, Pearle told Chalabi that in order to push an agenda in Congress, Congressmen and Senators are best influenced indirectly through their staffers.¹⁰¹ Chalabi began his campaign by preaching that Iraq was a powder keg waiting for the spark to ignite the revolution, and that the INC had a large following and “networks” throughout Iraq.¹⁰² He pushed for U.S. air support, claiming that there would be no need for U.S. ground forces.¹⁰³ This assertion not only contradicted CIA assessments, but also the results of a U.S. Department of Defense war game held in the early 1990s, and the very real results of the 1995 uprising that Chalabi himself had instigated.¹⁰⁴ Also, both the State Department and CIA remained skeptical of Chalabi’s credibility and viability as a movement leader and did not perceive him as having any significant following within Iraq.¹⁰⁵

Regardless, by making his pitch through the media, with support from Pearle and others, and by wooing Congressional staffers who, in turn, worked on several members of Congress, Chalabi was able to influence the drafting and subsequent passage of the Iraq Liberation Act (ILA).¹⁰⁶ The ILA made it U.S. policy to “...support those elements of

⁹⁹ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 128.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁰³ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 152.

¹⁰⁴ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 145.

¹⁰⁵ Rick Fawn and Raymond Hinnebusch, Eds., *The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), 30.

¹⁰⁶ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 154–156.

the Iraqi opposition that advocate a very different future for Iraq...” and allocated more funding (\$97 million) towards this end.¹⁰⁷ Chalabi again became a front man for the U.S. in terms of its support of an Iraqi-led opposition.

The bulk of the effort under the ILA was directed toward propaganda efforts. Again, neither the CIA nor the State Department put much stock in supporting the INC, but even Frank Riccodoni, the State Department’s front man for the ILA, was himself very skeptical of Chalabi, and actually convinced Chalabi to step down as the head of the INC in favor of serving on a seven man leadership council.¹⁰⁸ Most of the other Iraqi opposition leaders in exile did not trust Chalabi and saw him as a divisive, deceitful person, and wanted him totally marginalized.¹⁰⁹ Yet, despite all this skepticism and opposition, Chalabi continued his unilateral efforts, using contacts in Congress to get the president to release \$25 million in aid to the Iraqi opposition, which Chalabi used to collect intelligence and to set up offices in London, Damascus, and Tehran to influence other governments’ support.¹¹⁰ Then came the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, which represented Chalabi’s biggest break.

After September 11, Chalabi redoubled his influence efforts and began providing intelligence that fed the rationale for why the U.S. should go to war against Saddam. Chalabi’s close contacts in the Bush cabinet included Vice President Dick Cheney, Deputy Secretary of Defense Wolfowitz, and Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Doug Feith, among others.¹¹¹ His contacts in the Pentagon laid the groundwork for a yet-stronger relationship with the Department of Defense (DoD), regardless of what the CIA or the State Department said about him.

Through vague and unverified information, Americans were led to believe that Saddam’s regime had links to international terrorism. The CIA remained wary of

¹⁰⁷ Laurie Mylroie, “Clinton Signs Iraq Liberation Act,” *Iraq News*, November 1, 1998, accessed July 31, 2013, <http://www.fas.org/news/iraq/1998/11/01/981101-in.htm>

¹⁰⁸ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 166.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹¹¹ Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (London: The Penguin Press 2006), 57.

Chalabi and the defectors he presented.¹¹² Also, reports surfaced that members of Chalabi's INC team coached sources to provide false information.¹¹³ Ironically, after the decision was made to go to war, the INC found itself marginalized from the war plans. The Kurds were chosen as the only viable surrogate force for use by the U.S. Special Forces during combat operations. Although Chalabi may never have anticipated U.S. boots on the ground in Iraq, once that became a reality, he immediately began lobbying for a provisional government to be made up chiefly of Iraqi exiles to be put in place upon Saddam's ouster.¹¹⁴ The CIA and State Department opposed using exiles, believing that they would not be accepted by the Iraqi people, and instead pushed for a U.S. led interim government.¹¹⁵ Attempting to outmaneuver his opponents, just prior to the 2003 ground war, Chalabi traveled to Tehran to gain Iran's support as their man to lead a newly established government in Iraq.¹¹⁶

In March 2003, several days into the ground war in Iraq, the U.S. found itself scrambling to put an Iraqi face on the invasion. Perhaps not surprisingly, Chalabi was chosen as that face by the DoD.¹¹⁷ Chalabi told the DoD he could gather a 1,000 man opposition force (though he ended up only raising around 570, mostly Kurds).¹¹⁸ The U.S. military conducted a last minute mission and air lifted his element from Iraqi Kurdistan to Talil Air Base, 190 miles south of Baghdad.¹¹⁹ Chalabi coordinated for several vehicles to be driven from Kuwait to Talil, and ten days later rushed to Baghdad without coordinating with any element of the U.S. government.¹²⁰ Although it was the

¹¹² Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 200.

¹¹³ Isabel Hilton, "Need to Build a Case for War? Step Forward Mr Chalabi," *The Guardian*, March 5, 2004, accessed August 12, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/mar/06/iraq.iraq>.

¹¹⁴ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 243–245.

¹¹⁵ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 223.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹¹⁷ Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, "Dash to Baghdad Left Top Generals Divided," *New York Times*, March 13, 2006, accessed August 4, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/13/international/middleeast/13command.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Bonin, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 222.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 223.

DoD that helped put Chalabi in this position, many remained fearful that he would declare a provisional government against their wishes.¹²¹

When the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) set up the interim governing council in July 2003, Chalabi was appointed by the U.S. as one of 25 Iraqi representatives, and served as the president of the council in September 2003 until the presidency rotated. Still trusted by the CPA and DoD at that point, Chalabi was also named to head the De-Ba'athification Commission in 2003. Later, under the Iraqi Transitional Government, he served as the interim deputy prime minister and interim oil minister from April 2005 to May 2006. He did not win a seat in parliament in the December 2005 elections (his INC received only 0.25 percent of the vote, around 30,000 votes altogether), and he was not given a post in the new Nouri al-Maliki's Shiite Dawa Party cabinet.¹²²

To further highlight just how little Chalabi resonated with the population, a poll conducted in 2004 ranked him as the nation's least-trusted public figure (even lower than Saddam Hussein).¹²³ Also, in 2004 Chalabi was accused of spying for Iran, which further distanced him from the U.S.¹²⁴ Still, despite his background, Chalabi was appointed by Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki as the head of the services committee charged with restoring Iraqi utilities and basic government services to Baghdad in 2007.¹²⁵ This appointment was endorsed by General David Petraeus.¹²⁶ Apparently, Chalabi's bureaucratic qualities and ability to maneuver between different groups trumped his track record. Eventually, he was removed from this post because he made

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Filkins, "Where Plan A Left Ahmed Chalabi."

¹²³ John Ehrenberrg, J. Patrice McSherry, Jose Ramon Sanchez, and Caroleen Marji Sayej, Eds., *The Iraq Papers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 166.

¹²⁴ Julian Borger, "Chalabi accused of spy codes tip-off to Iran," *The Guardian*, June 3, 2004, accessed August 11, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/jun/03/iraq.julianborger>.

¹²⁵ Nancy A. Youssef, "Chalabi Back in Action in Iraq," *McClatchy Newspapers*, October 28, 2007, accessed August 4, 2013, <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2007/10/28/20893/chalabi-back-in-action-in-iraq.html>.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

little progress, used his position to jockey for political prominence, and was suspected of working with the Iranians.¹²⁷

D. ANALYSIS

Although Chalabi was not initially targeted by the CIA to be the leader of a unified opposition movement, time and again we see him maneuvering himself into that role. How was he able to do so?

1. Authority and Leadership Capital

To explore what type of authority, if any, Ahmad Chalabi possessed that would have led people to believe he could become a movement leader, we again turn to Max Weber's three types of authority: traditional, legal, and charismatic. Though Chalabi's grandfather and father possessed a degree of traditional/customs-based authority in pre-1958 Iraq, based on their social and religious positions, those honors did not transfer to Ahmed because he was far removed from that past and had never personally functioned in those roles. Instead, his family's heritage and former prestige provided him access to elites in the Iraqi diaspora, positioning him to be able to act as a bridge between groups. As a secularist, Chalabi had no religious authority, and he had no tribal authority. Thus, Iraqis in the diaspora and within Iraq alike saw him for what he was: a westernized, educated, and connected Shiite exile who worked between groups to oust Saddam, and could leverage monetary resources.

Chalabi later tried to use his position in the INC and his relationship with the U.S. and Iran to develop a degree of legal authority as a movement leader, which he then used to navigate between, and influence, leaders of the Iraqi opposition groups. This faux-legal authority, along with his attempt to develop the aura of having charismatic authority, was what Chalabi used to gain the leadership of the INC. His control of U.S. funding was the main tool he used to manipulate this type of authority.

Chalabi possessed a number of the personal characteristics that a movement leader should have. He had the passion for the anti-Saddam cause, was willing to

¹²⁷ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 254.

personally sacrifice, had self-confidence, charm, education, and intellect, and was able to understand, strategize, and adapt to dynamic shifts in the environment around him. He also had a penchant for back-room dealings and for nominally bringing people together. He could navigate between different opposition groups as a go-between, and was effective at constructing anti-regime messages for international audiences. However, these characteristics did not translate into his having true leadership capital.

Chalabi was not accepted by Iraqi opposition groups, and never locally recognized by the Iraqi masses. He was unable to translate his personal attributes into leadership capital, though he used his personal attributes to great effect in wooing Washington. In fact, a classified CIA psychological profile of Chalabi concluded that he was a narcissist who saw his own ideas as the solution for every problem, which undermined his ability to be an effective leader.¹²⁸

In terms of cultural capital, one needs to look no further than Chalabi's ever-present western business suits to understand that he did not have a full grasp of localized culture. His secular behavior did not jibe with the staunchly religious Iraqi population. This failure to connect to the grass-roots level made him an ineffectual conduit between local Iraqis and the international community. Also, Chalabi had very little social capital, as his inability to mobilize an opposition revealed. Additionally, though he held a high degree of symbolic capital in the eyes of his U.S. constituency, Iraqis did not imbue Chalabi with symbolic capital; in fact, most Iraqis likely associated him with a deficit of symbolic capital, seeing him as a corrupt U.S. lackey.

Along with a deficit in symbolic capital, Chalabi never held any charismatic authority over Iraqis. As Weber emphasized, charismatic authority does not hinge on what the leader alone projects, but depends on how his constituency regards or validates his authority.¹²⁹ This is the error that many throughout the U.S. government made. They became enamored by Chalabi's engaging personality, his passion, his knowledge, and his connections: given these, he *had* to be a viable leader. But, while Chalabi may have had

¹²⁸ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 205.

¹²⁹ Jan Willem Stutje, Ed., *Charismatic Leadership and Social Movements: The Revolutionary Power of Ordinary Men and Women* (U.S.: Berghahn Books, 2012), 5.

charisma, he still did not possess the characteristics of charismatic authority. What he specifically lacked was the emotional connection or symbiotic relationship with would-be followers; there was no mutual attraction.

Another of Chalabi's shortcomings was his divisive manner, playing groups against each other and positioning himself as the sole broker as his means to attain and maintain power. A leader seeking to unify opposition groups needs to be a consensus builder. Chalabi was more concerned with positioning himself in authority versus putting his considerable talents to use building a unified opposition. As Bruner observes, "...if you're as clever as Ahmad you set up [a situation] that you can manipulate to your own advantage...He usurped the whole thing!"¹³⁰

Instead of driving wedges to advance his own standing, Chalabi should have worked endlessly to create bridges among the existing groups and to widen the base of the social movement. As one CIA officer pointed out, "...Ahmad is not about creating a wonderful democratic Iraq...[h]e's about creating an Iraq in which he is in charge."¹³¹ Chalabi's eagerness to be in charge, and his personal capacity for the position, never translated into an ability to energize a cohesive opposition, and he was never treated by Iraqis as an "inside" leader.

2. The Environment: Expanding Political Opportunities

As evidenced by the level of participation in the 1991 uprising against the Iraqi regime, system strain existed in Iraq, with mass socioeconomic, and social, political, cultural, and historical grievances. Opposition structures ripe for mobilization existed on the periphery in the form of the multiple opposition groups, many of which included former Ba'athists. Other pre-existing networks could be found in tribes and through mosques, though these also reflected social divides and traditional fault lines.¹³² Tribal society is one of the most important environmental considerations in Iraq. Tribalism and

¹³⁰ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 75.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹³² Hamid Hussein, "Broken Wings—Story of Iraq," *Defense Journal* 6 no. 11 (July 2003), accessed July 15, 2013, www.defencejournal.com/2003-07/opi-b.html.

patronage permeate government institutions and political parties, which is important in mobilizing grass roots level consensus.¹³³ Meanwhile, outside support to the opposition from multiple countries was available to varying degrees. Taken together, these factors made 1990s Iraq ripe for social revolution if at least some of the existing environmental constraints could be overcome.

At the same time, without overcoming these differences, any post Saddam regime had the likelihood of becoming a messy affair with the potential to devolve into a strong-man/strong-party system. Again, the right person could have made use of a broad opposition, which then might have proved truly transformational. Though Chalabi was ever the strategist and opportunist, he focused on external factors and ignored trying to shape the dynamics that existed within or among the opposition groups, never mind trying to expand to include other social segments.

3. The Network: Indigenous Organizational Strength

The disparate groups that existed were separated along ethnic and religious lines; any cooperation that existed was unnatural and had to do with gaining access to resources. As the umbrella opposition group, the INC had the potential to act as the bridging mechanism. But the INC never had the structural preconditions to become an effective movement. This was primarily because the networks did not have natural and overlapping social/communication channels, or sufficient connective tissue, and because no leaders emerged to bridge those gaps. Further, Saddam was able to effectively maintain control and root out much of the underground opposition that did emerge through arrests, purges, social and economic oppression, and tribal pandering. Saddam's effectiveness likely made the disparate groups much more suspicious of each other.

Given Chalabi's background, he may have seemed the ideal bridge, not only between existing opposition movements but to external sources of support. Through his family history, previous experiences, and his relationships across the region, there was much to leverage. Chalabi seemed – and certainly portrayed himself – as a central figure.

¹³³ Sam Stolzaf, *The Iraqi Tribal System* (Minneapolis, MN: Two Harbor Press, 2009), 9 and 83.

Creating a network that could be turned into an overarching and effective movement is always daunting and would have taken time to develop, but Chalabi was in position to play a seminal role. However, throw in his personal ambitions and he didn't stand a chance as a credible unifier.

4. Cognitive Liberation

Unlike successful movements, the INC was unable to grow into a coherent force against the regime, in part, because it lacked a unified vision or identity. Often unity can be attained through strategic framing and by developing a bonding narrative. What the INC lacked was a singular voice or a leader who could rally the disparate opposition groups that existed. Each group had its own vision of the end-state it sought; but they never coalesced to share either a collective vision or identity.

5. Leadership Team

Reviewing Chalabi's leadership team also reveals why he was ineffective as a movement leader. Members of Chalabi's inner team, who should have been integral to helping him project his influence, develop a cogent strategy, develop movement unity, and construct appropriate frames and narratives, did not constitute a blend of personalities suited to effectively represent or influence a broad constituency. His team was unrepresentative of the social groups that the movement was trying to organize and mobilize.

Chalabi's inner circle included a Kurdish Shiite who was associated with Barzani; an Arab Shiite Iraqi exile who had resided in London and was the son of an opposition member in Iraq killed in the 1980s by Saddam; an American, originally hired by the Rendon Group, who supported Chalabi's lobbying efforts in Washington; and a Briton of Pakistani decent, a Zoroastrian, initially hired by the Rendon Group for public relations.¹³⁴ As several Iraqi Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds noted, Chalabi's inner circle presented significant problems, and many questioned why Chalabi allowed himself to be

¹³⁴ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 88–91 and Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 119.

influenced by so many non-Iraqis.¹³⁵ It should not be surprising that Chalabi's decisions and strategies were thus met with skepticism and resistance.

6. U.S. Perceptions: The Right Audience for Chalabi's Charisma

Chalabi's personality and projection of prowess resonated with Westerners. Chalabi seemed to always be present and proactive, always had a plan that he could articulate –in English and in an educated, cogent manner– was driven and seemingly motivated by the right cause, was an effective lobbyist, and said the right things that he knew would stir Westerners to action. Almost all Westerners could relate to him, at least initially, even when presented with contradictory evidence about him.

Beyond the fact that the 20 page CIA profile of him was formally damning, CIA agent John Maguire points out that there was a more basic reason Chalabi needed to be rejected: he could not achieve the tasks the U.S. required of him, as demonstrated through his long track record of failure.¹³⁶ Chalabi had been vetted by the CIA and the State Department, albeit ineffectively initially and, over the course of his relationship with them, was found to be unreliable, with no following in Iraq.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, other Americans in Washington fell into the trap of believing that he was the exact right leader.

7. Effects of Backing the Wrong Man

Chalabi created a divisive environment within the INC and was unable to effectively mobilize a unified movement. His allegiance to the U.S. was questionable, and he had a penchant for defying and going beyond what the U.S. planned for him and coached him to do. Through his independent actions, he often acted against U.S. interests. It was clear early on that his goals diverged from those of the U.S., despite both parties' mutual distaste for Saddam's regime. But he was still given access and resources by players in the U.S. who enabled him to manipulate the U.S. system. The access he gained to U.S. policymakers helped him skew reality on the ground in Iraq and lent

¹³⁵ Roston, *The Man Who Pushed America to War*, 131.

¹³⁶ Bonin, *Arrows of the Night*, 205.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

flawed intelligence more credence than it deserved. In post-2003 Iraq, he was principally responsible for the errors in De-Ba'athification, and for creating other political frictions in Baghdad.

Part of the problem with the U.S.-Chalabi relationship may have lain with the CIA's original plan for Chalabi, and the way he was originally managed. If the aim was to use him to generate friction against the regime, there should not have been any effort to create a collective movement. The CIA could have used Chalabi and others agents as conduits in order to fund and motivate what were already separate movements that then could have continued operating independently. The margin of success would have remained small, while still creating a thorn in the regime's side and causing Saddam to lash out.

E. KEY TAKEAWAYS

Chalabi offers an extreme example, highlighting many of the points to consider when choosing a movement leader. As this case illustrates, it is difficult, if not impossible, to manufacture the conditions for an outsider to become an authoritative movement leader. To many Americans, Chalabi was available, visible, a squeaky wheel, a willing participant, and had many impressive and sought after personal attributes. But, he was only able to gain traction as a movement leader (and only to a small degree) by being divisive and manipulative and through resources provided to him, not by manufacturing consensus or being a driving force for movement unity. Without delving too far down the rabbit hole of which Iraqi, if any, represented a more viable option in Iraq, suffice it to say the evidence presented here highlights several reasons why Chalabi was not that individual.

IV. THE GOOD: RAMON MAGSAYSAY

A. INTRODUCTION

The United States partnership with the Philippine government in the 1950s and the decision to work through Ramon Magsaysay was an extremely successful undertaking. The partnership provided the United States with the means to pursue a limited engagement in the Philippines, utilize relatively minimal resources, and assist in the development of a strategic partner while simultaneously rolling back communist advances in a strategic location. But why was Ramon Magsaysay such a good choice for the United States? What among his personality traits identified his potential for success? After his initial selection as a partner, what feedback affirmed/confirmed that he was the right choice and that further development was warranted? This chapter will look at both Magsaysay's personal resources and analyze his fit with the political process model.

Ramon Magsaysay faced a daunting challenge as the Secretary of National Defense of the Philippines during the Huk Rebellion. He was able to defeat the rebellion by developing a counter-social movement in support of the government and by eliminating support for the rebellion. His previous experience as a guerrilla leader in World War II provided him with invaluable experience and the ability to understand an insurgent's point of view. Magsaysay possessed positive leadership traits, had a sense for existing socioeconomic factors, knew how to build and co-opt existing indigenous organizational networks, was adept at taking advantage of political opportunities, and proved capable of developing a comprehensive narrative while providing the population with cognitive liberation.

B. BACKGROUND—WHO WAS RAMON MAGSAYSAY?

Ramon Magsaysay was born in 1907, in Iba, Zambales Province, on the northern Island of Luzon in the Philippines. Magsaysay's maternal and paternal lineages were Castilian and Filipino. Magsaysay's mother's family relocated from Samar in the

Visayas to avoid Moro raids, while his father's family resided in western Luzon.¹³⁸ Magsaysay was raised to value both hard work and honesty. He worked manual labor jobs as a child with his father to help him open a family blacksmith shop.¹³⁹ Thanks to his father's frugal and stern rule, the family achieved middle class status. Even so, Magsaysay still had to work to pay his way through college. After graduating, he landed a job managing a bus company in Zambales Province.

Following the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941, Magsaysay joined an anti-Japanese guerrilla organization in Zambales. He became influential in the insurgency by providing the resistance with transportation assets thanks to his access to the bus company for which he previously worked. Magsaysay's role within the resistance earned him recognition from the American military in the Philippines. The United States rewarded his efforts by making him the Zambales provincial military governor following the province's liberation from the Japanese. Magsaysay's appointment as military governor jump-started his political career and endeared him to the populace of Zambales. His position allowed him to act as a conduit for American supplies and relief efforts that greatly increased his influence over the population.¹⁴⁰

C. THE PHILIPPINES POST WORLD WAR II AND THE RISE OF THE HUKS

The Philippines found itself in a state of disarray following four years of Japanese occupation and the subsequent recapture of the archipelago by the United States during World War II. The United States recognized Filipino independence on July 4, 1946, which left the newly independent country facing the daunting challenge of simultaneously constructing a new government while establishing and exercising control over the numerous armed groups that had previously fought the Japanese. Years of warfare provided readily available stockpiles of weapons and able guerrillas. Bandits

¹³⁸ Allyn C. Ryan, *RM: A Biographical Novel of Ramon Magsaysay* (London: Xlibris Publishing, 2007), 16.

¹³⁹ Carlos Romulo and Marvin M. Gray, *The Magsaysay Story* (New York: John Rees Press, 1956), 20.

¹⁴⁰ Stanley Karnow, *In our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 347–8.

plagued the countryside. Illegal armed groups provided the rule of law in locations where the Filipino government lacked the ability to exert its authority.¹⁴¹

The largest and most violent of these armed groups was the Huks. Huk is a Tagalog nickname for the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon, or the People's Anti-Japanese Army, a resistance force created by the Filipino Communist party in 1942 to rally patriotic Filipinos against the Japanese.¹⁴² The Huks:

...created a clandestine civil administration in the towns and barrios (hamlets) of provinces where their forces operated. Its base structure was the Barrio United Defense Corps (BDUC) with a membership of five to twelve persons in each barrio, depending upon its size; the BDUC carried out recruiting, intelligence collection, supply, and civil justice.¹⁴³

The Huks' access to the population and their placement within positions of influence in the barrios resulted in their unwillingness to relinquish their positions after the Japanese were defeated. The alternative government they established along with their geographic proximity to their supporters granted them greater influence over the people of Huklandia (the media's term for the Huk controlled region of Luzon) than the federal government had from the Philippine capital of Manila.

The Huks' communist leaders positioned themselves to seize control of the Philippines following its independence from the United States. The Communists first began their influence operations by seeding elected officials into the Filipino Congress. They also used their armed goon squads to manipulate election outcomes and control the population. By 1946:

...six Huks, including their military leader, Taruc, were elected to Congress. However, they were not allowed to take their congressional seats because of charges of fraud and terrorism in the election. Taruc and the others went back to the hills, reactivated the Huk guerillas, and set out to conquer the Philippines by force.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Edward G. Lansdale, *In the Midst of War: An American's Mission to Southeast Asia* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1991), 6.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 9.

Huk guerrillas began attacking police stations. They initiated a robbery and kidnapping campaign, and commenced a systematic assault of governmental locations throughout Luzon. By the end of 1946, the Huks' surge in activity led to an increase in the number of recruits from the areas that they controlled.¹⁴⁵ Their conviction that the government could not be seized via democracy was reflected in their movement's motto "to change the government with bullets, not ballots."¹⁴⁶ So began the Huk Rebellion.

1. The Adviser—COL Edward Lansdale

Colonel (COL) Edward Lansdale was assigned to the Joint United States Military Advisory Group—Philippines (JUSMAGPHIL) in 1950 after a by-name request from Filipino President Elpidio Quirino.¹⁴⁷ COL Lansdale had previously served as the deputy G2 of the Army Pacific/ Western Command in the Philippines following World War II. His intelligence collection during that period yielded volumes of reports that analyzed both the human terrain and the Filipinos' social structures in the wake of the war. His reports were shared with the new Filipino government and he was widely considered by both Americans and Filipinos alike to possess a thorough understanding of the intricacies of Filipino culture.

COL Lansdale collected information both by receiving official Filipino military briefings and by traveling across the countryside to canvas the opinions of the population in the affected areas. Rural Filipinos in Luzon felt disenfranchised. In their view the Filipino government was run by a nepotistic and corrupt regime. The situation worsened as the Huks gained increasing control over the region and elite involvement in Central Luzon diminished.¹⁴⁸ Disgruntled landless peasants, confronted by exorbitantly high interest rates and predatory lending practices, were begging for help.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹⁴⁶ Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 1988), 132.

¹⁴⁷ Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 14.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew E. Lembke, *Lansdale, Magsaysay, America, and the Philippines: A Case Study of Limited Intervention Counterinsurgency* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combined Studies Institute Press, 2012), 4.

COL Lansdale had the challenge of finding the right Filipino leader with whom to align himself. General Armando Castaneda, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), proved to be a short-sighted military commander who was overly reliant on kinetic operations against the Huks. COL Lansdale believed that General Castaneda was too resistant to changing the AFP's operational design and activities to effectively counter the Huks' growing influence. In addition, COL Lansdale felt that the AFP's kinetic-centric strategy was good for "showmanship, but it wasn't defeating the Huks."¹⁴⁹ COL Lansdale needed an influential Filipino who would be open to a different approach.

D. VETTING FOR PARTNERSHIP—MAGSAYSAY'S LEADERSHIP TRAITS

1. Authority and Leadership Capital

Ramon Magsaysay possessed authority traits as a leader. He provided COL Lansdale with a contrasting personality to General Castaneda. Magsaysay possessed legal authority because he was a Filipino congressional leader who had a thorough grasp of military affairs from having served as the Chairman of the House National Defense Committee.¹⁵⁰ Additionally, Magsaysay had been appointed as the Filipino Secretary of National Defense in September 1950, just before COL Lansdale's arrival.¹⁵¹ Magsaysay's traditional/relational authority, which may have initially appeared limited, was actually beneficial in a national setting; he lacked deep tribal ties to any region as a result of his family's frequent relocation throughout the Philippines. The fact that the tribal system in the Philippines had eroded also helped. His lack of tribal/ relational appeal was compensated for by his standing as a successful guerrilla leader and his general appeal as a man of the people.

¹⁴⁹ Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 21.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Lawrence M. Greenberg, *The Hukbalahap Insurrection: A Case Study of a Successful Anti-Insurgency Operation in the Philippines, 1946–1955* (Washington DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1987), 83.

Magsaysay's military experience was looked down upon by the higher echelons within the AFP. General Castaneda viewed Magsaysay as a mere politician who should not meddle in military operations.¹⁵² In contrast, COL Lansdale was attracted to a number of Magsaysay's personal qualities, even though Magsaysay did not initially have total/complete authority over the military as the Secretary of National Defense. What Magsaysay lacked in charismatic authority in 1951, he made up for with pure charisma. COL Lansdale saw that Magsaysay's charisma could be developed into charismatic authority through a robust information campaign and by ensuring the military paid attention to the populace's concerns. COL Lansdale's intuitive understanding of Filipino culture allowed him to identify Magsaysay's strengths and see his potential as a leader against the Huks.

The Huks needed to be separated from their supporting population in order for the federal government to squelch the insurgency. The Huks were able to continue to replenish their numbers regardless of the AFP's continuous offensive operations in Huklandia. Magsaysay understood that the root conditions that allowed the insurgency to flourish needed to be neutralized if any gains were to be made by the federal government. He realized that perceptions of local political office holders, the military, and the government overall needed to change. The military had to become the protector of the people rather than a source of corruption. Magsaysay realized that rural peasants of Luzon were attracted to the Huks thanks to three broad socioeconomic factors: social justice, land for poor rural farmers, and negative perceptions of the government.

2. The Environment: Broad Socioeconomic Factors

A large divide existed between peasants and rich landowners within the Philippines following the country's independence. Legislation attempted to narrow the gap. Laws were designed to improve conditions for tenant farmers. However, large landowners were able to influence local courts and negate the intent of the laws. Unfortunately, the laws did little to change public and private morality and "...corrupt

¹⁵² Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 41.

public officials reduced many government programs to ineffectiveness and the gap between the rich and the poor became wider.”¹⁵³

Magsaysay used the military to neutralize the elite’s unfair influence and its tampering with the legal system. Magsaysay ordered the AFP’s Judge Advocate General Corps (JAG) to act as public defenders for poor farmers who could not afford legal counsel against rich land owners.¹⁵⁴ The military’s representation of tenant farmers neutralized any unfair influence that landowners held over local courts. The result was that, “...given back their dignity as men, the farmers lost the temptation to help the Huks pull down the whole system. The system was shown to be good when it was made to work properly.”¹⁵⁵

The Army JAG representing the tenant farmers served both as a physical and symbolic demonstration of a changed military. Acts like this assisted in changing perceptions about the government and helped to eliminate a crucial recruitment demographic for the Huks.

The landless poor not only received legal assistance from the military but also were given tracts of government land through programs started under Magsaysay. The Economic Development Corps (EDCOR) program began in December 1950. The program grew out of a brain-storming session as Magsaysay and his staff tried to identify a way to rehabilitate Huk fighters and provide them with an opportunity for a better life. Magsaysay identified government land that was in the public domain and ready for homesteading. He would then:

...grubstake a group of settlers on this land, the settlers being retired or near-retirement soldiers and their families along with former Huks who were neither indicted nor convicted by civil courts and who desired to be reeducated in the democratic, peaceful, and productive way of life.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Leo S. Cornish, *The United States and the Philippine Hukbalahap Insurrection: 1946–54* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 1971), 54.

¹⁵⁴ Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 48.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

The settlers received 15 to 20 acres, a *carabao* (Filipino ox used for farm labor), and farming equipment with which to work their new plot. Successful settlers who improved their land would receive the deed to it. Some of the new land owners would then be taken back to their home areas in Huklandia to describe and advertise the opportunities available to them by working with the government. Promotion of the program by former sympathizers resulted in a multitude of Huk fighters surrendering. Magsaysay also audaciously emplaced an EDCOR village in San Luis, Pampanga, which was the home village of Luis Taruc, the leader of the Huk rebellion.¹⁵⁷ The residents and the government working together led to the Huks losing their primary base of support. The program was wildly successful since, “it lay close to the heart of the campaign against the Huks and was cited by many of them as their main reason for surrendering.”¹⁵⁸

Even though social justice and land reform posed important challenges, government corruption was widely viewed as the biggest problem that Magsaysay faced. The Filipino government was apathetic towards living conditions outside of Manila. Few politicians were concerned with sub-standard housing conditions or the rapid expansion of slums.¹⁵⁹ The AFP and local government officials alike preyed on the Filipino people by running extra checkpoints on roads and charging new fees to pass through them, stealing livestock, confiscating individual property, and charging excessive fees for government services. Filipino citizens felt that “license to abuse, arrest, and kill in the name of peace and order was particularly rampant.”¹⁶⁰

Magsaysay’s first task was to reorganize and retrain the military. The military’s reliance on offensive, direct action proved ineffective in retarding the growth of the Huks and reversing their influence over the population. A change of strategy was needed and this meant a restructuring of the armed forces. Magsaysay sought for the government to

¹⁵⁷ Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 58.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁵⁹ Aprodicio A. Laquian, *Slums are for People: The Barrio Magsaysay Pilot Project in Philippine Urban Community Development* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1969), 30.

¹⁶⁰ Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 211.

win “the respect and co-operation of the civilians. This meant a new and different approach by officers and soldiers.”¹⁶¹ The Filipino government was going to have to adjust its policy from offensive engagements to instead dealing justly and humanely with the Huks.¹⁶²

Magsaysay supported the military with increased logistical support, supplies, and appropriations, yet demanded the fair treatment of Huk prisoners.¹⁶³ Members of the military received pay and allowance increases that enabled them to buy their own food and eliminated the necessity to forage and steal from the locals. In Magsaysay’s view, the shift in the public’s perception of the military was as important to combating the rebellion as were specific tactical victories.

Magsaysay also orchestrated a broad organizational design change that integrated the constabulary with the army and created a unified command. Thanks to a recommendation by COL Lansdale and General Leland Hobbs (JUSMAG Chief of the Philippines) to President Quirino, Magsaysay was granted virtually unlimited authority over the military.¹⁶⁴ President Quirino conveyed this in the form of a presidential memo. Magsaysay thus had the ability to reassign officers, appoint officers for promotions or battlefield commissions, act as the approval authority for all officer promotions, and court martial anyone in the military deemed to be behaving dishonorably. Old, non-conforming officers were retired or forced out of the military establishment. In Magsaysay’s view, it was imperative to rid the military of, “unjust favoritism and of slovenly and corrupt practices.”¹⁶⁵

Magsaysay and COL Lansdale conducted countless unannounced unit inspections. These inspections provided them with the opportunity to not only see what was happening on the ground, uncensored, but such visits also served to instill the fear of

¹⁶¹ Alvin H.Schaff, *The Philippine Answer to Communism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1955), 35.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁶⁴ Lansdale, *In the Midst of War*, 42.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 43.

a surprise inspection into every military unit. The inspections, coupled with Magsaysay's new authority, transformed the military into a more socially aware, professional fighting force. The surprise visits also had an effect on local government officials. Officials started to fear Magsaysay showing up unannounced, and thus began to run their agencies with less graft.¹⁶⁶ Perceptions about the government rapidly changed while, "...the change in the military proved to be one of the critical factors in the defeat of the guerilla Huks."¹⁶⁷

3. Political Maneuver Space: Expanding Political Opportunities

Magsaysay proved particularly adept at being able to identify and maximize political opportunities. He found a key Huk leader who had grown disenchanted with the Huk Politburo. This high ranking party member was Taciano Rizal, Dr. Jose Rizal's grand-nephew. Dr. Jose Rizal was one of the Philippine's greatest national heroes. He led the revolt against the Spanish and was killed by firing squad in 1896. Magsaysay understood the importance of using such a high profile defection and the positive publicity the government would gain from Taciano Rizal's reconciliation.¹⁶⁸

Thanks to information given to them by Taciano Rizal, Magsaysay and his staff were able to locate and roll-up the Huk Communist Party Politburo in Manila. Rizal told Magsaysay that, "... if his agents would follow a woman courier, delivering Huk messages at the bottom of her grocery bag, they would know where the Politburo leaders were."¹⁶⁹ This tip resulted in 22 targets being raided and the arrest of 105 Communist Party members. Manila's entire Politburo was captured, an operation that resulted in the loss of the Huks' entire urban apparatus effectively severing communications between the movement's rural elements and its Manila-based supporters.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 42.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 44.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 61.

¹⁶⁹ Eduardo Lachica, *The Huks: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 131.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 131.

4. The Network: Indigenous Organizational Strength

Magsaysay projected the kind of charismatic authority that allowed him to forge bonds between multiple groups within Filipino society and orient them towards a common goal. He was able to develop a pseudo-social movement within the Philippine government. He accomplished this by being able to first identify and then gain group support for his cause by not only eliminating corruption, but by elevating the living conditions of the Filipino people. Magsaysay was able to develop his network and achieve his goals by utilizing three specific groups: mid-level leadership in the military, the leadership of the Filipino Catholic Church, and influential business groups, particularly members of the local Chinese community.

Magsaysay proved able to circumvent traditional powerbrokers in the military by dictating officer moves and promotions. He scorned military commanders who attempted to promote officers who lacked combat experience and made sure “performance in the field received special recognition.”¹⁷¹ Magsaysay endeared himself to mid-level officers by allowing and encouraging them to innovate. He supported ideas that officers believed could positively affect the war. Mid-level officers became enthusiastic supporters of his policies as a result. The EDCOR program, numerous tactical psychological operations, and the idea for the Civil Affairs Office (CAO) originated from collaboration with mid-level officers.

As already mentioned, EDCOR participants were sent back into enemy-held territory to promote the program. Specially designed aircraft would fly over Huk areas and broadcast messages from family members, imploring Huk fighters to surrender and begin the reconciliation process with the government. The CAO was critical to this effort. It would “...not only perform combat psywar, but would also improve the attitude and behavior of the troops towards civilians—those masses whose loyalty is the imperative stake in a people’s war as waged by the Communists.”¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Schaff, *The Philippine Answer to Communism*, 36.

¹⁷² Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*, 70.

In witnessing the struggle between the Catholic Church and the Huks, Magsaysay saw further opportunity to isolate the Huks from the population. The Huks viewed the Catholic Church as competition for supporters throughout Huklandia. They “sought followers among the same masses who were the church-goers, so the confrontations were frequently savage.”¹⁷³ The Huks began to systemically target the clergy, which resulted in the military offering its assistance to protect the churches. This developed into a broader partnership with not only the Catholic Church, but numerous Christian denominations, to include the evangelical *Iglesiani Kristo* (a Protestant offshoot with wide support in the Philippines). American evangelical missionaries developed radio stations that broadcast sermons throughout Luzon. Radio sets were distributed to willing listeners who would gather groups together for prayer in the barrios throughout the countryside.¹⁷⁴ Magsaysay “...discovered that they had a daily audience of thousands, sorted throughout the danger-laden areas of Luzon where the Huks were operating—including some barrios which government officials didn’t dare visit.”¹⁷⁵ Magsaysay co-opted this network to clarify the ethics behind government action, and talked directly to the people to ask for their understanding.¹⁷⁶ By linking in to the churches’ pre-established communications network, Magsaysay effectively maximized his ability to project the government’s message.

Appropriate funding and economic reform were needed to solidify gains in the contested areas. Magsaysay was able to elicit the support of Vice-President Fernando Lopez, who ran a peace fund campaign toward the end of 1950, to help with Magsaysay’s reform efforts. Filipino citizens donated two million pesos (\$1 million US) that went into the EDCOR program.¹⁷⁷ Next, Magsaysay targeted agrarian lending reform. He had strong feelings about the existing system and felt that a liberalization of rural credit was needed. Through COL Lansdale and JUSMAG, Magsaysay met with the Chinese

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁷⁴ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*, 81.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 81

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

community to ask for its assistance. A deal was negotiated whereby the Chinese would provide credit to the rural areas in contested areas in return for the government's assistance in eliminating the racketeering that was destroying their businesses.¹⁷⁸ Thus, Magsaysay was able to indirectly assure the tenant farmers of Huklandia they would receive credit while simultaneously fighting corruption and eliminating racketeering back in Manila. This represented a short-term fix as Magsaysay, working through Congress, labored to redesign a more permanent solution.

5. Cognitive Liberation

The perception of the government changed for the better in the eyes of the Filipino population as a result of the cumulative effect of Magsaysay's efforts against the Huks. Magsaysay solidified this support by establishing a telegraph system whereby Filipinos could send a message directly to his headquarters. He wanted "the people to write him about both good and bad things they saw troops doing, as well as anything they wanted to tell him about the Huks."¹⁷⁹ This flattened line of communication helped achieve numerous operational successes, which in turn fostered the belief that the government was going to win. The message was that, together, the government and the people were going to defeat corruption, eliminate the Huk threat, and right the social injustices that existed in the Philippines. By promoting a better future for the nation and exhibiting leadership, Magsaysay became a symbol of good governance and was showered with political support since, as Valeriano and Bohannon note, "...actions undertaken to build support for the government will almost inevitably build political support for the leader who, by his words and actions, exemplifies the intentions of government and the aspirations of the governed."¹⁸⁰ Not only was Magsaysay able to project his vision, frame issues to align multiple groups towards achieving his vision, and

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 76.

¹⁷⁹ Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars*, 48.

¹⁸⁰ Napoleon D. Valeriano, and Charles T.R. Bohannon, *Counter-Guerilla Operations: The Philippine Experience* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 164.

develop a realistic strategic narrative that the military and population both bought into, but he used his popularity to win the Presidential election of 1953 and end the Huk Rebellion.

6. Leadership Team

Ramon Magsaysay, with advice from COL Lansdale, developed a leadership team that allowed him to maintain influence across information operations, politics, and in the operational fight against the Huks. The composition and trust he had in his leadership team allowed Magsaysay to sustain effort along multiple lines of operation. COL Lansdale acted as an unofficial chief of staff and provided oversight for Magsaysay.

The EDCOR was created by COL Ciriaco Mirasol as a means to provide rehabilitation to Huk fighters. COL Mirasol was appointed the head of the program and subsequently ran development efforts for Magsaysay.¹⁸¹ Magsaysay quickly gained the support of Manuel “Dindo” Gonzales following Magsaysay’s nomination as Secretary of National Defense. Dindo Gonzales, who led the Philippine Information Council, proved influential in linking Magsaysay with local clubs and the local and foreign press.¹⁸² Gonzales’s council acted as a conduit for Magsaysay’s information operations and provided widespread distribution of Magsaysay’s messages. Gonzales was directly responsible for linking Magsaysay with Edgar Elbert, the President of the Lions International. Elbert viewed Magsaysay’s efforts as significant and added credibility to Magsaysay in the international fight against communism in Asia; Elbert also connected Magsaysay to the Lions Clubs from Nevada and California, which provided farming implements, clothes, and items for Magsaysay to distribute.¹⁸³ Major Jose Crisol was known for possessing an uncanny understanding of psychological operations and was thus appointed the Under-Secretary of National Defense. He was particularly influential creating the appearance of legitimacy for elections.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Lansdale, In the *Midst of Wars*, 52.

¹⁸² Romulo and Gray, *The Magsaysay Story*, 125.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

Magsaysay's ability to generate political support among the Filipino Congress and Senate was also important. Emmanuel Pelaez, a liberal congressman, aided Magsaysay by acting as the mouthpiece to connect Magsaysay to sympathetic politicians. Through Pelaez, Senator Lorenzo Tanada (Citizen's Party Leader), Claudio Teehankee, Jose P. Laurel (Nationalist Party) and Claro M. Recto (Nationalist Party) generated political opportunities for Magsaysay. Laurel and Recto were persuasive in getting Magsaysay to switch political parties from the Liberal Party to the Nationalist Party, which eventually led to Magsaysay's election as President of the Philippines in 1953.¹⁸⁵

Lastly, Magsaysay was able to recruit Huk commanders to the government's side in order to promote rehabilitation to the Huks. Two key previous commanders were Commander Gipana and Nava. Both commanders were important leaders within the Huk rebellion who, once they were turned, became rabid supporters of Magsaysay.¹⁸⁶ It was through defectors such as these two commanders that Magsaysay was able to systematically dismantle support for the Huk Rebellion.

7. Traits of a Leader

Magsaysay proved that he was not only able to manipulate the political process to consolidate and control a social movement, but he also possessed the key elements necessary to be a good leader. Magsaysay made use of all three forms of authority described by Weber –traditional, legal/ rational, and charismatic –¹⁸⁷utilizing each when appropriate to promote his vision. His authority enabled him to manipulate his environment and bypass bottlenecks by having supporters help him achieve his desired end-state.

Magsaysay was viewed as a "people's" politician. His modest upbringing in Zambales, differentiated him from members of the political aristocracy in the capital whose status signaled they were corrupt. He was empathetic to the struggles of the poor

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 184.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 138-9.

¹⁸⁷ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, Falcon's Wing Press, 1947), 57–65.

in Central Luzon after having lived among them for so long. He understood the peasants and they understood him. He believed, “communism could not be eradicated so long as millions owned no land, but were merely peons tied to the master’s soil.”¹⁸⁸ Perhaps the fact that Filipinos lack the strong tribal ties that are present in so many other countries helps explain how Magsaysay was able to resonate with so many people. He was considered trustworthy and his crusade to combat corruption proved he was on the people’s side.

Magsaysay possessed unprecedented legal authority during both his time as the Secretary of National Defense and later as President of the Philippines. As previously mentioned, he had the power to reorganize both the military and the constabulary. Thanks to his legal authority, he had the political capital to modify economic conditions, start community programs like EDCOR, and end rampant graft in rural areas. The fact that he was a high-ranking government official surely assisted in his winning public support away from the Huks. In short, Magsaysay used this institutional authority to change the system by using the system, while at the same time developing processes that would solidify the changes he introduced over the long-term.

Finally, Magsaysay’s charismatic authority granted him the political space in which to operate. Magsaysay was viewed as a charismatic leader by the officers of JUSMAG PHL who were responsible for assisting with the campaign against the Huks. JUSMAG PHL advocated both for his appointment as Secretary of National Defense and that he be given far reaching power over the military. More importantly, Magsaysay’s charismatic authority ensured that he resonated with the military and with the population. He smartly played on his appeal to achieve tactical and operational successes in order to further consolidate broad approval. In sum, he utilized his charisma and combined it with his legal authority and traditional standing to advance his vision and defeat the Huks.

E. TAKEAWAYS

It is difficult to identify a leader’s potential. However, Magsaysay’s example highlights some factors that were key to his being successful. Among them: Magsaysay

¹⁸⁸ George Farwell, *Mask of Asia: The Philippines Today* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967), 79.

identified the socioeconomic issues that were stimulating the rebellion and enabling it to thrive. He reoriented the military's efforts to address these grievances and usurp the Huks' main issue. In addition, he was able to take advantage of political opportunities and shape perceptions to complement his vision. He also proved able to build his network by allying with groups that had complementary goals to his own. Furthermore, he found means to identify latent networks and used established organizations, rather than individuals, to gain support for his vision, which resulted in their rapid shift to the government's side. Lastly, Magsaysay was very successful at providing people with cognitive liberation. This, in turn, fed the self-sustaining momentum that led to the Huks' defeat.

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V. THE UGLY: HAMID KARZAI

A. INTRODUCTION

So far, examples of the “Good” (Magsaysay) and “Bad” (Chalabi) have given us several things to consider in terms of identifying, vetting, and working with indigenous leaders in order to create and lead a successful movement. This chapter presents a far messier and less straight-forward case. Hamid Karzai’s case in Afghanistan highlights that sometimes an individual may be “Mr. Right” initially, but when conditions change and opportunities are squandered, an individual’s shelf-life as the right indigenous leader may expire. Also, this case suggests that sometimes conditions may exist that prevent anyone from succeeding in uniting disparate groups in such a broken country as Afghanistan.

Here we examine the leadership value and partnership potential that Karzai possessed during his initial selection in 2001. We then compare his initial feasibility as a leader to his viability as an institutional/political leader during later stages of the U.S.’s partnership with him.

To be clear, this case study will show that Karzai was initially the correct choice in 2001 to lead Afghanistan towards a new future. He was imbued with traditional authority and later developed a level of charismatic following, along with being assigned legal authority upon becoming president. However, as time progressed, and without meaningful improvements to Afghanistan’s political stability, the indigenous population and Karzai’s international partners lost faith in his government’s ability to provide a stable transition and consolidate opportunities presented by the Taliban’s initial defeat. Karzai’s value as a partner varied over time and therefore his case exemplifies the need to continually reevaluate indigenous leaders in order to assess the utility of continuing the partnership.

We examine what changed with Karzai and the environment that transformed his value from one of high potential for partnership to a much murkier relationship. Was it the change in conditions from his serving as a “resistance” leader to the more formal

setting of state leader that altered his value? Did Karzai ever have viability as a long-term partner? Perhaps what is required in statesmen calls for different attributes and effort than those found in initial movement leaders. Or, is it simply that the strategic end-states of the U.S. and Karzai's vision of Afghanistan's future became unaligned? These questions will be addressed in this chapter in order refine the leadership heuristic presented in the final chapter.

B. BACKGROUND—WHO IS HAMID KARZAI?

Hamid Karzai is currently the tribal chief (or khan) of the Pashtun Popalzai tribe (of roughly 500,000 individuals), centered in Kandahar, which is one of the major sub-tribes of the Durrani Tribal Confederation. His family has historical prominence in Afghanistan and his lineage has long led the Popalzai tribe. Karzai replaced his father, Abdul Ahad Karzai, as the head of the tribe after Abdul Ahad's assassination in 1999 in Quetta, Pakistan, likely by the Afghan Taliban.¹⁸⁹ Karzai spent his childhood between his home province of Kandahar, where he was born in 1957, and the country's capital of Kabul, because his father, in addition to being a prominent tribal chief, was also a member of the Afghan Parliament during the period when King Zahir Shah led a constitutional monarchy.¹⁹⁰

Karzai's upbringing allowed him to observe the two sides of Afghan politics. First, Karzai witnessed the deeply tribal society and traditions that existed outside of metropolitan areas in Afghanistan. He often traveled with his father around southern Afghanistan, as his father settled disputes based on his authority as a tribal chief.¹⁹¹ Second, based on his time spent in Kabul witnessing his father's relationship with the king and national government, and given his education and interactions with the mujahedeen, Karzai carried with him a deeply nationalistic view of Afghanistan.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Seth Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 93.

¹⁹⁰ *Hamid Karzai: Biography*, Biography.com, accessed September 3, 2013, <http://www.biography.com/people/hamid-karzai-537356>.

¹⁹¹ Nick Mills, *Karzai: The Failing of American Intervention and the Struggle for Afghanistan* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2007), 29.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 20.

From these experiences, Karzai early on understood the power of traditional authority, as well as the reaches of legal authority in Afghanistan. An important point to emphasize here is that even during the golden years of democracy in Afghanistan under King Zahir Shah, more political power resided at the local khan level than in the legal authority vested in elected officials.¹⁹³

When Karzai was 14 years old, the king's cousin, Mohammed Daoud Khan, conducted a coup supported by the Soviet Union.¹⁹⁴ This event initiated Afghanistan's descent into chaos. This coup was eventually followed by two successive coups, all led by communist leaning individuals, and finally by the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, and the Soviet's emplacement of Babrak Karmel and then Mohammad Najibullah (in 1987) as presidents. Two of the coup leaders, Nur Muhammed Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, began to degrade Afghan traditions and normative culture through their especially heavy-handed and brutal methods of governance.¹⁹⁵ Taraki detained large numbers of political prisoners. Karzai's father was one of them.

While his father was imprisoned, Karzai pursued his undergraduate and graduate level education in India. He majored in International Affairs and Political Science.¹⁹⁶ When Babrak Karmal came to power, Karzai's father was released from prison and began working with his friend, Professor Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, in Mojaddedi's Soviet resistance group. The group was the Afghan National Liberation Front (ANLF) based in Quetta, Pakistan, one of the few moderate and nationalist mujahedeen groups.¹⁹⁷

Upon completing college, Karzai joined his father and worked for the ANLF as an operations organizer and interlocutor between it and other mujahedeen groups and with

¹⁹³ Mills, *Karzai*, 27.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42, 48.

¹⁹⁶ *Hamid Karzai Biography*, Office of the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, accessed September 13, 2013, <http://president.gov.af/en/page/1043>.

¹⁹⁷ Mills, *Karzai*, 50; The ANLF sought to re-establish a constitutional monarchy, but called for a Loya Jirga upon the defeat of the Soviet Union. Other groups, such as Gulbuddin Hekmaytar and Abul Rashid Sayyaf's groups, which were largely bent on Islamic extremist ideology, were the favorites of the Pakistani government, and thus received the majority of the aid from Pakistan and international donors (funneled through Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (or ISI)). See Mills, *Karzai*, 62–63.

international organizations and governments.¹⁹⁸ His lineage, education, linguistic ability (he speaks several languages), ability to relate to people, and his charismatic disposition made him an invaluable asset to the ANLF.¹⁹⁹ Though Karzai was never recognized for his prowess as a warrior, he did participate in combat on a small scale in order to achieve credibility as a mujahid.²⁰⁰

Upon the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989, several hundred Afghan tribal and opposition leaders met in Islamabad, Pakistan and established a government-in-exile, which eventually took over following the surrender of Mohammad Najibullah's government in 1992.²⁰¹ Karzai was subsequently appointed to be the deputy Foreign Minister.²⁰² He only held this position for two years before resigning and leaving Afghanistan for Quetta due to growing instability and infighting in Afghanistan.

Stability in Afghanistan was short lived, as the mujahedeen groups led by Ahmed Shah Massoud and Gulbuddin Hekmatyr began to fight for control of Kabul.²⁰³ Intense infighting ensued within the interim government, which further prevented progress towards good governance and stability. The instability caused by this fighting paved the way for the Taliban to eventually take control of Afghanistan in 1996.

C. THE SITUATION FROM THE FALL OF THE MUJAHEDDEEN GOVERNMENT TO PRESENT

1. Karzai During the Taliban Years

Karzai initially aligned himself with the Taliban, but soon found their policies

¹⁹⁸ Mills, *Karzai*, 68, 79.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁰² *Hamid Karzai: Biography*, Biography.com, accessed September 3, 2013, <http://www.biography.com/people/hamid-karzai-537356>.

²⁰³ Mills, *Karzai*, 85.

untenable and overly influenced by extremists.²⁰⁴ The Taliban courted Karzai to participate in its government as their ambassador to the United Nations, but he declined.²⁰⁵

Karzai spent the years that the Taliban were in control (1996-2001) in Pakistan, where he emerged as one of their primary Pashtun opponents. His efforts were almost exclusively diplomatic and political. He called for international assistance to topple the Taliban regime and for a Loya Jirga to be held to organize a new government. This included organizing and attending several anti-Taliban dialogues in Islamabad, Istanbul, and Frankfurt.²⁰⁶ He also conducted propaganda efforts, including a leaflet drive in Kandahar, and participated in radio interviews that were broadcast into Afghanistan by international media.²⁰⁷

Karzai was recognized by the non-Taliban aligned Pashtun population in Afghanistan as a prominent and visible opposition leader.²⁰⁸ However, unlike other opponents of the Taliban regime, such as the Northern Alliance, an amalgam of ethnic Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Hazaras led by Ahmad Shah Masoud, Karzai and the Pashtun opposition did not have a large militia with which to confront the Taliban. The absence of a cohesive Pashtun fighting force would eventually have an impact on the fight from the south in 2001; it also affected Karzai's ability to project power to maintain law and order against the various warlords once he was appointed as the leader of Afghanistan. Even without the existence of a large resistance network inside Afghanistan, Karzai decided to launch an insurgency effort in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks in the U.S., likely anticipating U.S. and international involvement in his country.

²⁰⁴ Eric Blehm, *The Only Thing Worth Dying For: How Eleven Green Berets Forged a New Afghanistan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010), 27.

²⁰⁵ "Hamid Karzai: Fast Facts," *CNN*, December 12, 2012, accessed September 3, 2013 <http://www.cnn.com/2012/12/17/world/asia/hamid-karzai---fast-facts>.

²⁰⁶ Mills, *Karzai: The Failing of American Intervention and the Struggle for Afghanistan*, 107.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 108, 210.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

2. The Fall of the Taliban

Karzai's march to fame as a resistance leader began in mid-October 2001 when he and three followers entered Afghanistan on motorcycles.²⁰⁹ While Karzai had minimal experience in warfare and virtually no supplies with which to conduct operations against the Taliban, he relied on his position as a khan and opposition leader to mobilize the populace. He first went to Kandahar province, before moving north to Uruzgan province. Karzai met with tribal leaders and achieved only limited overt military support from the population, as they remained dormant waiting to see how events would unfold. However, the population did provide intelligence and early warning regarding the Taliban's force movements, and Karzai was able to gain moral support and a small following of 150 or so militants.²¹⁰

During this initial period, Karzai maneuvered to avoid a direct confrontation with the Taliban while rallying the population and calling for a Loya Jirga. He was eventually airlifted from Uruzgan to Pakistan by the U.S. military in order to avoid being overrun by Taliban forces.²¹¹ Abdul Haq, another prominent anti-Taliban Pashtun and viable leader, likewise tried to do what Karzai did in mid-October, but was immediately caught and executed by the Taliban.²¹² Haq's death left Karzai as the principal Pashtun leader with whom the U.S. had to work.

Subsequently, Karzai was able to engage the Taliban with the aid of the U.S. military in the form of Special Forces Operational Detachment Alpha (or ODA) 574 from 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne) and U.S. air support. Karzai identified Tarin Kowt, the capital of Uruzgan province, as a key target, describing it as the Taliban heartland. He maintained that taking it would cause a large portion of the population to break with

²⁰⁹ Eric Blehm, *The Only Thing Worth Dying For: How Eleven Green Berets Forged a New Afghanistan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010), 71.

²¹⁰ Mills, *Karzai*, 159.

²¹¹ James Dobbins, *After the Taliban*, Potomac Books (Washington D.C.: 2008), 30.

²¹² "Interview: Captain Jason Amerine," *Public Broadcast Station (PBS) Frontline*, July 9 and 12, 2002, accessed September 3, 2013, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/interviews/amerine.html>.

the Taliban.²¹³ Prior to his arrival on November 16, Karzai received word that the population of Tarin Kowt had toppled local Taliban forces there.²¹⁴ Karzai soon learned that the Taliban were sending forces from Kandahar to Tarin Kowt.²¹⁵ It was evident from the flow of information that Karzai had an extensive information network and connections throughout the Pashtun Tribal Belt.²¹⁶ This aided him in gathering intelligence and updating key local leaders, which helped him instigate resistance and eventually led to the defeat of the Taliban.

On November 18, Karzai's 800-man force with ODA 574 and U.S. air support engaged a force of approximately 1,000 Taliban fighters near Tarin Kowt. Karzai's forces managed to force a retreat of the Taliban back to Kandahar.²¹⁷ News of this victory spread, with Karzai named as the victor, which lent him credibility as a guerrilla leader.²¹⁸

As Karzai and his forces moved on Kandahar, they met minimal resistance thanks to the population rising up against the Taliban.²¹⁹ Eventually, in early December, a Taliban envoy sent by Mullah Omar officially surrendered to Karzai. During this southern campaign, Karzai gained credibility as the military and political leader responsible for the uprising against the Taliban in southern Afghanistan.²²⁰ One early observation by ODA 574's commander was that Karzai had not named a second-in-command in order to prevent any infighting or tribal pandering that might have resulted from an appointment.²²¹ This decision was indicative of the complicated relationships and rivalries that came to the fore during the political phase of Karzai's operations.

²¹³ "Interview: Captain Jason Amerine," *Frontline*.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ "Chronology: Campaign against Terror," *Public Broadcast Station (PBS) Frontline*, accessed September 3, 2013 <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/etc/cron.html>.

²¹⁸ "Interview: Captain Jason Amerine," *Frontline*.

²¹⁹ Mills, *Karzai*, 177.

²²⁰ "On the Ground: The Fall of Kandahar," *Public Broadcast Service (PBS) Frontline*, accessed September 5, 2013, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/ground/kandahar.html>.

²²¹ "Interview: Captain Jason Amerine," *Frontline*.

3. Karzai and the Presidency

During the initial phase of combat in Afghanistan, members of the U.S. government were conducting meetings with members of the Afghan opposition and several representatives of interested governments (such as Pakistan and Iran, among others). One of the key players in this effort was James Dobbins, who served as the lead U.S. diplomat at the Bonn Conference in 2001. According to Dobbins, Hamid Karzai was identified by most of these factions and the governments of Iran and Pakistan as a leader capable of running a transitional government.²²² Many viewed Karzai as a safe choice (or compromise candidate), one of a very small number of Pashtun leaders not associated with the Taliban who were acceptable to most parties. In addition, Karzai was a nationalist who had continually advocated for a non-ethnicity based Afghan government. He was also not closely associated with the Northern Alliance, which eased Pakistan's concerns about the post-Taliban era.

According to Dobbins, the U.S. was leaning towards finding a credible Pashtun to lead a new Afghanistan. Selection priorities included having no association with the Taliban and being palatable to other opposition groups, chiefly the Northern Alliance.²²³ This was based on the need to placate the Pashtun tribes, which made up 60 percent of Afghanistan's population.²²⁴ Karzai also broadly appealed to members of the U.S. government. General Tommy Franks, commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), stated that upon meeting Karzai prior to military operations in southern Afghanistan, he found Karzai to be the "...right Pashtun leader to build that [a Pashtun opposition] force."²²⁵ The CIA, who had worked with Karzai during the 1980s and 1990s, also supported him as a future national leader.²²⁶

²²¹ "Chronology: Campaign against Terror," *Public Broadcast Station (PBS) Frontline*, accessed September 14, 2013, www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/etc/corn.html.

²²² James Dobbins, *After the Taliban*, 57, 72–75, 90–91.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 20.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

²²⁵ Tommy Franks, *American Soldier: General Tommy Franks* (New York: Regan Books, 2004), 311.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 311.

Karzai was inaugurated as the head of the interim Afghan government on December 22, 2001, under the Bonn Agreement. Unlike Chalabi, who continued to wear western-style suits during his engagements in Iraq, Karzai, during his inauguration and beyond, wore an outfit that represented a blend of Pashtun, Tajik, and Uzbek traditional dress, physically symbolizing a unified Afghanistan.²²⁷ Also, he showed an adept understanding of his environment when he decided to enter Kabul alone once the Taliban surrendered. This was a symbolic act designed to avoid conflict between militia factions and it emphasized Karzai's approach to nationalism.²²⁸

During his early years in office, Karzai maintained broad support internally and abroad. During the country's first post-Soviet democratic election in 2004, Karzai won 55.4 percent of the votes, with a voter turnout of 80 percent.²²⁹ He also ushered in a new permanent government consisting of a presidential-system with a parliament comprised of an upper and lower house. This occurred through Loya Jirgas held in 2002 and 2004 to solidify a constitution and pave the way to national elections in 2005.²³⁰

4. Afghanistan and Complications with a Central Government

However, several problems emerged for the Karzai government, which were exacerbated by the nature of U.S. activities, commitment and assistance. These problems were a detriment to the U.S.-Karzai relationship. They included the existence of a security vacuum upon the fall of the Taliban, the history of Afghanistan prior to U.S. involvement (including the track record of central governments), the presence of warlords and the threat of fiefdoms developing, Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan, and rampant corruption throughout the new government.

²²⁷ Dobbins, *After the Taliban*, 115.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

²²⁹ Kenneth Katzman, *Afghanistan: Politics, Elections, and Government Performance* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2012), 7.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

Ryan Crocker, the former U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, has commented that Karzai has the most difficult and dangerous job in the world.²³¹ Since taking office, Karzai has had to struggle to project his government's authority outside of Kabul. The monstrous task of establishing a strong central government has culminated in mixed results and damaged relationships. Dobbins points out that the U.S. government initially desired to keep its involvement in Afghanistan minimal. Dobbins and Zalmay Khalilzad (then-National Security Advisor to President Bush) disagreed with the U.S. government's insistence on setting geographic limits on ISAF forces (which relegated them to Kabul). According to Khalilzad, the idea that Afghans could provide local security throughout the country was irresponsible and naïve.²³² From the start, Karzai wanted international forces to deploy throughout the country to secure major population centers and project broader security.²³³ Other leaders, such as Muhammad Qasim Fahim and Abdul Rashid Dostom, also urged a more robust international security presence around the country.²³⁴

The U.S. initially pledged only a little over five percent of the total aid provided to Afghanistan in the first year after the fall of the Taliban.²³⁵ The U.S. did not want to get heavily involved or drawn into nation-building in Afghanistan. As an example, in 2003, U.S. aid was \$500 million (versus \$18 billion aid authorized by Congress for Iraq in 2003).²³⁶ These early commitments (or lack thereof) were also early harbingers of the quagmire and lack of good governance to come.

The U.S. did step up its aid (to \$2.2 billion) and its security effort in 2004, but by that time, two years where visible changes could have been observed by the population had been squandered.²³⁷ Since then, between 2002 and 2013, the U.S. has provided \$100

²³¹ Emma Graham-Harrison, "Hamid Karzai: 'I Have to Be at the Frontline of Hardship and Hard Work,'" *The Guardian*, February 3, 2013, accessed September 5, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/03/hamid-karzai-frontline-hardship-work>.

²³² Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires*, 110.

²³³ Dobbins, *After the Taliban*, 105, 107, 128.

²³⁴ Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires*, 110.

²³⁵ Dobbins, *After the Taliban*, 120.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 165.

billion in non-military aid to Afghanistan, with an additional \$51 billion going to build and train the Afghan military.²³⁸ There is little, however, to show for such an investment. Though lack of U.S. oversight of spending is partly to blame, corruption became so rampant that the Karzai government began to fall from U.S. favor in recent years.

The U.S.'s relationship with and assistance to warlords, in their quest to hunt down remnants of al Qaeda and stem a growing insurgency, also weakened the central government's control.²³⁹ The U.S.'s relationship with these warlords solidified their autonomy early on. The population recognized the problems warlords pose; during a poll, many respondents indicated that local warlords brought insecurity to their district.²⁴⁰

Karzai's efforts to marginalize powerbrokers, by offering them positions in the Kabul government and away from their constituencies (such as with Ismail Khan in the west, Rashid Dostom in the north, and Sher Mohammad Akhunzadeh in the south), has done little to achieve centrally-controlled governance in those areas. A point to consider though is that efforts by past Afghan governments to push central authority too quickly to the Afghan hinterlands without buy-in from local powerbrokers led to their collapse (King Amanullah Khan in the 1920s and the regimes of the 1980s and 1990s).²⁴¹ Though many disparage Karzai's government, it has prevented the outbreak of a civil war similar to what occurred after the mujahedeen government took control in 1992.

Douglas Ollivant, an advisor to General David Petraeus (when Petraeus was top U.S. and NATO commander in Afghanistan) has written that the district level was the decisive point for the U.S. effort, since it is where Karzai-appointed governors interact

²³⁸ Joel Brinkley, "Money Pit: The Monstrous Failure of US Aid to Afghanistan," *World Affairs* (January–February 2013) accessed September 5, 2013, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/money-pit-monstrous-failure-us-aid-afghanistan>.

²³⁹ Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires*, 131.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁴¹ Richard J. Ponzio, "Transforming Political Authority: UN Democratic Peacebuilding in Afghanistan," *Global Governance* 13, no. 2 (April–June 2007), accessed on August 27, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800657>, 263.

with a traditional council of elders.²⁴² However, the American effort to create a synergy between the local and national levels failed.

The Taliban finding sanctuary in Pakistan is another factor that has hurt the central government's ability to govern. Karzai repeatedly warned the U.S. and the international community that the Taliban's ability to maintain sanctuaries in Pakistan would have negative effects.²⁴³ However, the U.S. has done little to address the symbiotic relationship between the Afghan Taliban and Pakistan, or to degrade the safe havens the Taliban enjoys in Pakistan. Karzai pointed out in 2010 that, along with damaging his ability to project good governance, the U.S.'s ineffectiveness in reining in the ISI and their relationship with the Taliban has forced Karzai to "...deepen his relationship with Pakistan if he wants peace talks with the Taliban."²⁴⁴ Also, corruption and incompetence in the police force and judiciary, along with corrupt and inept administrators at the district level, have inherently weakened Kabul's capacity to govern, and have left room for the Taliban to fill the void.²⁴⁵

In 2009, Transparency International listed Afghanistan as second only to Somalia for public-sector corruption.²⁴⁶ General David Petraeus remarked to President Obama that elements of Karzai's government were better viewed as crime syndicates.²⁴⁷ The U.S. has continually engaged the Karzai government on anti-corruption, which led to a 2011 effort by the Afghan government to focus on low-level corruption (not high-level corruption).²⁴⁸ In 2011, Petraeus listed anti-corruption as a top priority of his counter-

²⁴² Paula Broadwell and Vernon Loeb, *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2012), 26.

²⁴³ Barnett Rubin, "Saving Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 1 (January–February 2007): 71–72, accessed August 28, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032211>.

²⁴⁴ Ahmad Rashid, "Why a Forlorn Karzai is Breaking with the West," *Financial Times* (Asia Edition 1), November 19, 2010, accessed September 6, 2013, [http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.nps.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/?verb=sr&csi=293847&sr=HLEAD\(Why+a+forlorn+Karzai+is+breaking+with+the+west\)%2BAND%2BDATE%2BIS%2B2010](http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.nps.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/?verb=sr&csi=293847&sr=HLEAD(Why+a+forlorn+Karzai+is+breaking+with+the+west)%2BAND%2BDATE%2BIS%2B2010).

²⁴⁵ Rubin, "Saving Afghanistan," 74.

²⁴⁶ James Fergusson, *Taliban: The Unknown Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2010), 252.

²⁴⁷ Peter Baker, "How Obama Came to Plan for 'Surge' in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, December 5, 2009, accessed October 4, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/06/world/asia/06reconstruct.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

²⁴⁸ Katzman, *Afghanistan: Politics, Elections, and Government Performance*, 41.

insurgency strategy.²⁴⁹ Karzai has verbally supported anti-corruption efforts to international donors, but none of these initiatives have been enacted as laws.²⁵⁰ Also, Karzai has often balked at confronting corrupt power brokers, likely due to his inability to effectively diminish their influence and power base, as well as to retain their general support. As an example of how Karzai has refused to seriously tackle corruption, in 2010, he fired a senior prosecutor for investigating corruption of senior members of the government, including 17 members of his cabinet.²⁵¹ Also, though some government officials have been removed from their positions, there has never been a high profile individual criminally prosecuted and charged for corruption.²⁵²

5. Karzai and the Souring Relationship with the U.S.

With President Obama's military "surge" in 2009 and the end of large-scale U.S. involvement in Iraq, aid and military support to Afghanistan has drastically increased. The surge was considered necessary in order to stabilize Afghan enough to hand over security to Afghan security forces and set conditions for a speedier withdrawal of the majority of U.S. combat forces.²⁵³ Rajiv Chandrasekaran claims that Karzai never agreed with U.S. counterinsurgency strategy, but viewed infiltration from Pakistani as Afghanistan's most pressing security problem.²⁵⁴ Though Karzai did not publicly denounce the idea of a U.S. military surge, many of his close associates expressed the view that a "surge" was the wrong strategy. Several tribal leaders, as well as some of Karzai's aides stated, in effect, that more foreign military forces would bring more

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 42.

²⁵¹ Broadwell and Loeb, *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus*, 76.

²⁵² Matthew Rosenberg and Graham Bowley, "Intractable Afghan Graft Hampering U.S. Strategy," *The New York Times*, March 7, 2012, accessed September 9, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/08/world/asia/corruption-remains-intractable-in-afghanistan-under-karzai-government.html?pagewanted=all>.

²⁵³ Peter Baker, "How Obama Came to Plan for 'Surge' in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, December 5, 2009, accessed October 4, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/06/world/asia/06reconstruct.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

²⁵⁴ Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "The Afghan Surge is Over: So, Did it Work?," *Foreign Policy*, September 25, 2012, accessed October 4, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/25/the_afghan_surge_is_over?page=0,0.

bloodshed, and that creating jobs and using local leaders to negotiate would produce better results.²⁵⁵ Thus, in 2011, it was not hard for Karzai to publicly express his pleasure at the withdrawal of “surge” troops, pointing that Afghans needed to take responsibility for security and highlighting his frustration with the way U.S. forces were conducting counterinsurgency.²⁵⁶

Prior to the surge, there were only 38,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan; with the surge, an additional 21,000 deployed, with 4,000 earmarked to train and advise.²⁵⁷ However, the Obama administration had little hope of creating a “perfect” Afghan state, as evidenced by its announcement (in 2011) of a 2014 withdrawal of major U.S. forces and a transition of security responsibility to the Afghan government.

Illustrating the Obama administration’s lack of confidence in Karzai, a State Department cable from 2009 reported that Vice President Biden (among others in the U.S. administration) was skeptical of the prospects of a legitimate central government in Afghanistan. The cable noted that in several areas local officials had no idea how to govern, and there was no realistic hope of strong rule of law under a centralized, Karzai-led government.²⁵⁸

Since at least 2007, Karzai’s relationship with the U.S. has been spiraling downward. This is when Karzai began to publicly, and emotionally, berate ISAF for its excessive use of airpower, which was causing civilian casualties.²⁵⁹ He has since accused foreigners of “‘pursuing their own interests’ while claiming to want to help Afghans, adding that ‘a very thin curtain distinguishes between cooperation and assistance with the invasion.’”²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Anand Gopul, “Karzai Aides, Tribal Leaders say Surge is Wrong Strategy,” *The Wall Street Journal*, December 1, 2009, accessed October 4, 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125960550353170023.html>.

²⁵⁶ “Karzai Welcomes U.S. Troop Withdrawal,” *CNN*, June 23, 2011, accessed October 4, 2013, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/asiapcf/06/23/afghanistan.karzai/index.html>.

²⁵⁷ David Sanger, *Confront and Conceal: Obama’s Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power* (New York: Random House, 2012), 23.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁵⁹ James Fergusson, *Taliban: The Unknown Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2010), 253.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 254.

In the run-up to the 2009 Afghan presidential election, the U.S. did not endorse Karzai (as it had done in 2004), which created paranoia that the U.S. was against him.²⁶¹ This paranoia was not completely misplaced. In a 2009 (leaked) cable, then-Afghanistan Ambassador Karl Eikenberry remarked that “...any American president who puts the success of his strategy in Karzai’s hands ought to have his head examined...[Karzai] is not an adequate strategic partner...[and] continues to shun responsibility for any sovereign burden.”²⁶² He further reported on, “...Karzai’s fundamental incompetence, citing his ‘inability to grasp the most rudimentary principles of state-building.’”²⁶³

But, Karzai’s relationship with the U.S. really began to publicly sour in 2011, with his comment that if war broke out between Pakistan and the U.S., Afghanistan would side with Pakistan. Since then, he has made numerous public statements debasing the U.S. as an unreliable and inconsistent partner. The most recent example involves the U.S.’s handling of negotiations with the Taliban reconciliation process. All the while, though, Karzai has urged more U.S. commitments to Afghanistan militarily and monetarily.²⁶⁴ Karzai appears acutely aware of his country’s vulnerabilities and the geopolitical forces operating in the region, and he appears to be taking a realist approach to the situation. He recognizes that Afghanistan needs continued international help to move the state towards a safe and stable environment.²⁶⁵ But Karzai has also begun to look towards “political alternatives” to NATO, to include depending on regional countries such as Iran and Pakistan for support.²⁶⁶

Karzai has continually expressed frustration with the way that the U.S. has prosecuted its counterinsurgency in Afghanistan by relying too heavily on body-counts

²⁶¹ David Sanger, *Confront and Conceal: Obama’s Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power*, 23–24.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁶⁴ For a list, see “Hamid Karzai Chronology,” *The New York Times*, accessed September 14, 2013, http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/k/hamid_karzai/index.html.

²⁶⁵ Mills, *Karzai*, 203.

²⁶⁶ Ahmed Rashid, “Why a Forlorn Karzai is Breaking with the West” accessed September 6, 2013, [http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.nps.edu/hottopics/Inacademic/?verb=sr&csi=293847&sr=HLEAD\(Why+a+forlorn+Karzai+is+breaking+with+the+west\)%2BAND%2BDATE%2BIS%2B2010](http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.nps.edu/hottopics/Inacademic/?verb=sr&csi=293847&sr=HLEAD(Why+a+forlorn+Karzai+is+breaking+with+the+west)%2BAND%2BDATE%2BIS%2B2010).

and empowering local militias (such as through the establishment of Afghan Local Police (or ALP)), which Karzai believes alienate the population.²⁶⁷ However, despite Karzai's deep concerns about the ALP spiraling out of control and creating unruly militias, in 2010 he authorized its implementation after extensive discussions and urging by General Petraeus.²⁶⁸

In 2011, Karzai called for an end to U.S. night raids, and recently (March 2013) he has gone so far as to order the withdrawal of U.S. Special Operations forces from Wardak province, accusing U.S. forces and/or their local partners (ALP) of conducting war crimes (the order has since been rescinded).²⁶⁹ Petraeus, like General Stanley McChrystal before him, understood the negative effects that civilian casualties were having on counterinsurgency efforts and the U.S. relationship with the Karzai government overall (as it received increasing domestic pressure over civilian casualties), and in 2011, Petraeus stated, "...if there was too much fog and friction, ISAF troops should pull back, not press on."²⁷⁰

Other tensions have arisen over settlement talks with the Taliban. Karzai has expressed frustration with the U.S. for meeting independently with Taliban envoys in 2013 to pursue independent peace talks. He recently stressed that the Afghan government will not conduct talks with the Taliban until representatives from the group contact the Afghan government directly, stating that the peace-process must be Afghan-led.²⁷¹ In the aftermath of Karzai's recent remarks, President Obama publicly announced the potential for a total U.S. withdrawal forces in 2014;²⁷² he likely did so in order to pressure Karzai to step back from his rhetoric.

²⁶⁷ Ahmed Rashid, "Why a Forlorn Karzai is Breaking with the West"

²⁶⁸ Broadwell and Loeb, *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus*, 44.

²⁶⁹ Bill Ardolino and Bill Roggio, "Afghan President Orders US Special Forces to Leave Wardak Province," *The Long War Journal*, February 24, 2013, accessed September 9, 2013, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2013/02/afghan_president_ord.php.

²⁷⁰ Broadwell and Loeb, *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus*, 282.

²⁷¹ "Obama break up with Karzai? US considers total Afghanistan pullout," *Russian Times News*, July 9, 2013, accessed September 5, 2013, <http://rt.com/news/afghanistan-pullout-karzai-obama-824/>.

²⁷² "U.S. Troop Withdrawal: Obama May Speed up Full Military Pullout from Afghanistan, NYT Reports," Reuters, July 8, 2013, accessed September 5, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/08/us-troop-withdrawal-from-afghanistan_n_3564139.html.

The situation looks bleak for Afghanistan. The government has not created revenue streams apart from international aid. As reported by the International Crisis Group in 2011, Karzai's government is "...hopelessly corrupt, ineffectual, and close to collapse," and the report concludes, "Failure in Afghanistan is not inevitable, but without a recalibration of the current counterinsurgency strategy, success is far from guaranteed."²⁷³

D. VETTING FOR THE RIGHT MOVEMENT LEADER AND KARZAI'S CHARACTERISTICS

Karzai was one of only a few Pashtun leaders to choose from during 2001. His personal attributes and the structural conditions that existed made him an ideal candidate, at least initially. He had support from a broad set of interested parties. Also, his nationalistic leanings made him a low-threat option given the disparate indigenous groups and the international community writ large.

In the following, we discuss Karzai's suitability for the roles he held, both as resistance leader (circa 2001) and then as president (circa 2013).

1. Authority and Leadership Capital

Karzai always represented some level of authority. First, based on his familial role as khan of the Popalzai tribe, Karzai held a substantial degree of traditional authority over a large portion of the Pashtun population in southern Afghanistan. Based on this role, he also received respect from other tribal leaders and powerbrokers. However, the disparate and combative nature of Afghanistan society meant that Karzai's level of traditional authority did not always induce compliance and support from all sectors. By the time he was "selected" by the U.S. as its man, Karzai had a high level of traditional authority, and a marginal (but growing) level of charismatic authority, but little legal authority. Karzai did gain additional charismatic authority during his time as the leader of the uprising against the Taliban in southern Afghanistan in 2001.

²⁷³ Broadwell and Loeb, *All In: The Education of General David Petraeus*, 313.

After the Taliban's defeat, Karzai's charismatic authority helped him be selected and then elected as president. This position granted him legal authority. However, the level of electoral authority afforded to national leaders in Afghanistan is much lower than that found in western countries. Karzai's legal authority did not secure him the level of leadership resources required to achieve security and governance throughout Afghanistan. Instead, he had to rely more on historic and traditional sources of Afghan national power that depend heavily on conciliations/pandering to local powerbrokers. As Nick Mills points out, tradition rules the countryside.²⁷⁴ Even so, we can say that upon becoming president Karzai had at least moderate levels of all three types of authority.

However, with his 2005 election victory, Karzai gradually began to lose the charismatic authority he had earned, and the level of perceived authority that government officials had (legal authority) began to diminish. This was largely due to the government's inability to provide essential services, rule of law, or mechanisms to curb rampant corruption. Karzai still maintained his traditional authority and some degree of legal authority (or at least he had more than anyone else), but the central government failed to wrest authority and control away from the warlords who had slowly amassed their own authority over decades.

Mills points to the Afghan tradition of Buzkashi (or "goat grabbing")²⁷⁵ to illustrate how Afghan leaders view and use authority and leadership capital, in what he refers to as the "Buzkashi mentality."²⁷⁶ This mentality is useful to illustrate the Afghan governance process and specifically how Karzai operates.²⁷⁷ Karzai understands the

²⁷⁴ Mills, *Karzai*, 27.

²⁷⁵ See Mills, *Karzai*, page 30: Buzkashi is the closest thing to a national sport that Afghanistan has, and involves using a goat carcass and riding horses into melees in order to earn points. Taking a wider view of the game, khans historically hosted large Buzkashi tournaments, which would last several days. Khans who held tournaments were rewarded with status. However khans would only organize a tournament if they had adequate wealth and prestige to ensure that they could provide food, accommodations, and ensure no fighting occurred between rival clans. If the khan organized a tournament and anything went wrong, he would lose power and status.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 29, 219.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

limits of his legal and traditional authority and is hesitant to overextend his capabilities beyond what he knows he can accomplish, specifically in terms of his dealings with warlords and other powerbrokers.²⁷⁸

As far as Karzai's personal attributes, he has always displayed confidence shaped by his ability to synthesize information and effectively communicate both locally and to an international audience. His education and experiences as a khan and mujahedeen leader (especially as a liaison to local and international players) provided him with a solid relational foundation as a resistance leader. His previous positions also made him ideal for tying together the disparate indigenous groups. Initially, everyone seemed to respect Karzai and sublimate their own ambitions for national power.

In terms of leadership capital, Karzai had a deep level of cultural capital. Initially, his social and symbolic capital were equally substantial. As a resistance leader, he was able to bridge the gap between activist and non-activist groups, local and international authorities, and achieve a level of mutual appreciation and understanding among the various factions. His cultural understanding (across Afghans ethnicities) and his narrative about nationalism greatly enhanced his appeal. Karzai's influence remained mostly intact during the first few years of his presidency. However, his social and symbolic capital has decreased significantly in recent years. Having once represented the potential future of Afghanistan, touting nationalism and security, Karzai's regime has since come to represent government dysfunction to both Afghans and others.

2. The Environment: Expanding (and Then Shrinking) Political Opportunities

Afghanistan in 2001 was rife with system strain, primarily due to the repressive Taliban regime, poor economic conditions and lack of basic government services. The population was tired after 20-plus years of fighting, and yearned for liberation from the Taliban, as well as for social and political instability. Karzai was able to exploit this strain, assisted by U.S. military aid, sufficient to create a tipping point in the population.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 30.

Richard Ponzio summarizes the challenges that confronted Karzai: "...postwar democratization efforts are fraught with challenges and, when poorly managed, can lead to instability and violence...why then did the international community...pursue a high-risk democratic peace-building strategy with a 'light footprint' [in Afghanistan]...?"²⁷⁹ The U.S.'s (and international community's) under-emphasis on capacity building and providing security allowed warlords and eventually the Taliban to fill the governance and security void that a weak national government created. This was exacerbated by rudimentary infrastructure, the absence of a national military or professional police force, and a shortage of educated and experienced Afghan administrators and technocrats, which was a byproduct of 20-plus years of civil strife.²⁸⁰

Afghan history militates against Karzai developing strong central control and authority. In fact, a national survey in 2005 found that religious scholars, warlords, tribal elders, and then elected officials (in that order) were listed as those who command "...power and the capability to influence the behavior of Afghans."²⁸¹ As Ponzio notes, often Afghans' concept of authority puts them at odds with external actors, as Afghans see authority imbued in "...traditional rules, dominant individuals, and personal relationships..."²⁸² To exercise a level of legitimacy and maintain central government control outside of Kabul, Karzai found himself having to make concessions to warlords and local powerbrokers. This has devolved into Karzai having to rely on traditional deal-making and pandering to local powerbrokers to solidify support for "central" control. In turn that means Karzai has had to turn a blind eye to corruption and powerbrokers' involvement in narco-related activities.²⁸³

Karzai's understanding of Afghanistan's dynamic environment, and his ability to navigate through it, is certainly impressive, but it has not set well with the U.S. or the

²⁷⁹ Richard J. Ponzio, "Transforming Political Authority: UN Democratic Peacebuilding in Afghanistan," *Global Governance* 13, no. 2 (April–June 2007), accessed on August 27, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800657>, 257.

²⁸⁰ Mills, *Karzai*, 203.

²⁸¹ Ponzio, "Transforming Political Authority: UN Democratic Peacebuilding in Afghanistan," 264.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ Katzman, *Afghanistan: Politics, Elections, and Government Performance*, 40.

ISAF coalition. Put differently, since the population has failed to move away from local powerbrokers towards the central government, several fiefdoms exist across the country, and the central government lacks the capacity or capability to confront the country's most daunting problems.²⁸⁴

3. The Network: Indigenous Organizational Strength

Failing to build and maintain cohesive national governance is one of Karzai's biggest failings. Though he had (and still has) a strong information network and Pashtun tribal network in the south to rely on, Karzai proved unable to bring together the opposition to overthrow the Taliban prior to U.S. and international intervention in 2001. Karzai did succeed in putting together agreements with powerbrokers in traditional Afghan national government fashion, but that has only enabled warlords and different groups to vie for control and power and undermine the central government. Karzai has also struggled to effectively harness the traditional/tribal local governance mechanisms due to the existence of warlords, narco-leaders, and the reemergence of the Taliban. This has all caused the general population to lose whatever trust and confidence they initially had in the central government.

4. Cognitive Liberation

Cognitive liberation existed in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2005, when the primary goal was to liberate the country and reestablish a central authority apart from the Taliban. Karzai initially arrived on the scene calling for a Loya Jirga and promising national unity. However, as time went on, Afghanistan largely devolved into the factionalism and regional affiliations that existed during the 1980s and 1990s. Nationalism quickly became subordinated to ethnic and regional affiliations, and the old status quo returned. Cognitive liberation in terms of a nationalistic vision of Afghanistan has all but disappeared, and the international community and locals have all but accepted the fractured state that Afghanistan has become. In fact, the Taliban have crafted an anti-government narrative that amounts to a counter-cognitive liberation. In Taliban-

²⁸⁴ Mills, *Karzai*, 218–219.

dominated areas, many Afghans question the permanence of the central government, which limits their support often purely out of fear of reprisals and retaliation by the Taliban.

5. Leadership Team

Karzai has always lacked a strong leadership team to help him effectively bridge all (or most) ethnic and interest groups. While he has delegated some governance tasks to a team of close associates, it has rarely been functionally broad or politically representative in its composition. Karzai heavily relies on Pashtun powerbrokers for their advice about governing and leadership matters. Several observers point out that Karzai's cabinet and his advisors in the presidential office consist of a "narrow spectrum of Pashtuns."²⁸⁵ He has a mix of educated and westernized Pashtuns, as well as southern Pashtun tribal/factional leaders, and has been able to cobble together alliances (both formal and informal) based on handouts of appointments, and by turning a blind eye to nefarious activities, by several powerbrokers.²⁸⁶

The National Assembly, the legislative body, is meant to check the president's power, create laws and approve budgets, and approve the president's cabinet selections (independently versus en bloc).²⁸⁷ In order to establish a sizable bloc of support in the National Assembly, Karzai has handed out high-level appointments to likely opponents and critics. This has proven particularly problematic as anti-Karzai blocs have developed in the assembly (aligned around former Northern Alliance leaders).²⁸⁸ As president, Karzai also appoints district and provincial governors, though generally he has named prominent provincial ethnic leaders to the posts, and has consulted with provincial power brokers on these selections.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ Katzman, *Afghanistan: Politics, Elections, and Government Performance*, 8.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

Karzai's inability to create a cohesive and broad leadership team has become a major weakness of his administration. The longer Karzai has been president, the more he has been forced to spend political capital pandering to domestic and regional power brokers in order to stay in power.

6. U.S. Perceptions: Mixed Feelings

Much like Chalabi and Magsaysay, Karzai's personality resonated with westerners. The main difference between Karzai and Chalabi in this respect is that Karzai's leadership capital has some grounding with the local population. While Karzai was a good choice for Afghanistan initially, he has failed to live up to the vision that the U.S. had for him. The main tension between Karzai and Washington seems to have emerged from differing views on not only how the central government operates, but also rampant corruption and graft (to include within Karzai's family and administration). It is clear that Karzai's strategic vision does not align with that of the U.S. Arguably, it may never have.

The U.S. initially aimed to dismember al Qaeda and set the conditions to prevent their reemergence in the region, as part of the Global War on Terror. Obama came to power claiming that the focused goal for the U.S. towards Afghanistan (and Pakistan) was to defeat al-Qaeda,²⁹⁰ though developing an independent and sustainable Afghan government was also a priority. For his part, Karzai has continually reiterated his frustrations with foreign military involvement and the effects it is having on civilians. Yet, despite his misgivings and his vocal opposition to several U.S. policies in Afghanistan, Karzai still has maintained an open dialogue with American officials and still supports many aspects of Washington's strategy in Afghanistan, however reluctantly (such as the ALP). Yet, no matter how adept he has proven at working the traditional angles of authority and central governmental control, Karzai has come to symbolize to the U.S. and, to many Afghans, corruption and ineffectiveness. He has lost credibility, trust, and his former ability to influence both constituencies.

²⁹⁰ David Sanger, *Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power*, 19.

7. Karzai's Advisors

One point that has not yet been mentioned in this thesis is the advisor dilemma. As president, Karzai has worked with 15 International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) commanders over the past 12 years (as well as with several U.S. ambassadors to Afghanistan).²⁹¹ In one five year span, between 2007 and 2012, five commanders cycled through.²⁹² Though this does not directly pertain to identifying and vetting the right indigenous leader, it is worthy of comment. Compared to Magsaysay, who worked exclusively with COL Lansdale (to great effect), both Chalabi and Karzai dealt with several advisors/handlers. At the very least, this lack of continuity had to result in shifting policy, diminished institutional memory on environmental and situational nuances, and lags as trust needed to be reestablished between advisor and leader. At worst, such churn at any level allows leaders to “pull fast ones” on new advisors and take advantage of their naivety about the situation. Though new advisors potentially bring new ideas and a fresh perspective, an advisor cannot develop a deep understanding and a reciprocal relationship of trust given such frequent rotations.

8. Effects of Backing Karzai

Afghanistan is a messy and decentralized environment in terms of security and governance. Despite his recent fall from grace, Hamid Karzai *has* ushered in a new chapter in Afghanistan history, pulling the country out of 20-plus years of chaos and holding democratic elections. Perhaps this was not lost. Certainly, Karzai has proved to be more successful as a resistance leader than president. This may be due to many of the environmental effects that existed prior to his rise, which could be insurmountable for any leader.

²⁹¹ “About ISAF: History,” *Afghanistan International Security Assistance Forces*, accessed October 4, 2013, <http://www.isaf.nato.int/history.html>.

²⁹² Lolita C. Baldor and Patrick Quinn, “Afghan Revolving Door: 5 Years, 5 Generals,” *Marine Corps Times*, November 20, 2012, accessed October 4, 2013, <http://www.marinecorpstimes.com/article/20121120/NEWS/211200302/Afghan-revolving-door-5-years-5-U-S-generals>.

E. KEY TAKEAWAYS

The case study presented in this chapter offers an example of how messy working with indigenous leaders can become, especially in a country as conflicted and war-torn as Afghanistan. There were initially limited Pashtun leadership choices, the environment was chaotic and unstable, and the U.S. misread the environment and arguably missed several opportunities. Our analysis suggests that Karzai was the right individual to lead the insurgent movement in the south and to unite all of Afghanistan under one national government. Karzai is an insider who understands the cultural and historic dynamics of Afghanistan. He has been involved with Afghan politics for his entire adult life. Even without a strong, representative leadership team, he initially managed to bridge the gap between disparate indigenous groups that have traditionally been at odds.

However, over time, much of this broad support was lost as the central government failed to subdue the power of regional/local influencers, as well as failed to project good governance and the rule of law to rural areas throughout the country. Karzai's lack of a cohesive and representative leadership team has exacerbated other systemic problems such as corruption and warlordism. While he worked well with the international community between 2001 and 2005, the realities on the ground quickly led Karzai to fall back on traditional means to cement his role as president and his ability to at least maintain nominal control over the country.

Over time, Karzai's government has lost the trust of the indigenous population as well as of international partners. In sum, the decision to work with Karzai was based on a narrow and myopic leadership analysis that ultimately failed to factor in the socio-cultural and political intricacies of Afghanistan. Had these factors been better understood, the U.S. may have better understood the environment and developed more realistic expectations of Karzai and the national government. Finally, selecting a good insurgent leader does not guarantee a robust political leader who can build a nation.

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VI. FINDINGS

A. FINDINGS

Taken collectively, the opening vignette and the case studies presented point to the difficulties in selecting and vetting an indigenous leader, difficulties that exist whether working at the local level or at the national level. Based on the authors' experiences at the local level and the research presented, a crucial step in non-lethal targeting is to correctly identify, select, and vet a potential indigenous leader-partner. If the analysis is correctly done, this will drive the operational planning for how to recruit and empower a viable indigenous partner. The proposed heuristic is meant to help operators identify the elements in a successful selection process.

Before an operator arrives in the field, exhaustive static social network mapping and ethnographic research should be undertaken. Understanding the human domain intimately will shorten the time required to begin assessing potential partners. Structural social network mapping, which requires in-depth analysis, helps operators shorten their list of potential leader-partnership options by "selecting in" and "selecting out" potential leader candidates. With a deep understanding of the local context and ethnographic data, the operator will be able to interpret and assess an individual's viability as a leader in relation to his potential constituency.

Step 2 is to verify and vet the kinds of authority that candidates possess. The relational aspects of traditional and legal authority can often be quickly confirmed on arrival, but charismatic authority requires an operator's immersion in the society so he can accurately assess the potential partner's effect on likely followers. At this stage, the assessment is all about selecting out inappropriate individuals.

The operator next needs to consider an individual's leadership capital combined with personality aspects such as confidence, ability to synthesize information, communication skills, education, ability to work within the local context, and whether he can assemble a helpful leadership team. The operator will need to weigh not only what the potential partner says he can accomplish, but whether the partner's vision is shared by

his would-be supporters. Often these two factors are not aligned, as we saw in the case with Chalabi, which should raise an immediate “red flag” for developing or continuing a partnership.

Finally, structural and environmental resources are as important as the personal resources of the would-be leader. Here, the operator can use the political process model to gauge whether the right structural/system requirements exist for a would-be leader to succeed. Also critical is the prospective leader’s understanding of existing socioeconomic realities since how he addresses these is what will link him to the population and vice versa. The strength and potential of a movement will depend on the nature of networks and political opportunities available. Most importantly, a potential partner’s vision needs to resonate with the population and provide cognitive liberation to draw in more followers. For the operator, it is essential that this vision aligns with the goals of the U.S.; if not, the partnership will be unstable and possibly futile.

In the following section, we will use the leadership selection heuristic (LSH), initially described in Chapter II, to assess Ahmed Chalabi, Ramon Magsaysay, and Hamid Karzai. It is important to note that the LSH cannot unequivocally identify the perfect candidate. Rather, it helps to facilitate analysis by keying operators to elements discussed throughout the thesis. Additionally, the LSH can be used to see changes over time, which is what we have done with Hamid Karzai, comparing Karzai in 2001 with Karzai in 2013.

B. LEADER ASSESSMENTS

1. Ahmed Chalabi Assessment

In 2003, Ahmed Chalabi possessed inadequate levels of traditional and charismatic authority as a leader. Chalabi’s detachment from the Iraqi population, as a result of his exile, degraded what influence his familial position may have lent him. Chalabi exuded charisma, particularly to his international benefactors, but this did not translate into charismatic authority as far as Iraqis were concerned. He also had low degrees of leadership capital.

Figure 4 displays a completed leadership selection heuristic (LSH) for Chalabi.

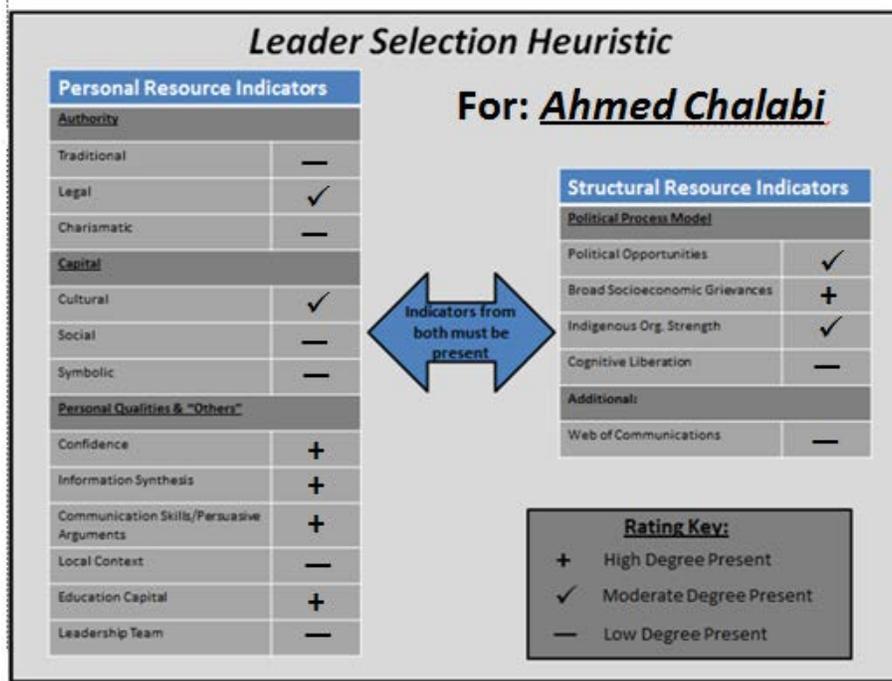


Figure 4. Ahmed Chalabi LSH

There is no doubt that Chalabi possessed an influential personality, but he did not have what it takes to lead a movement. Chalabi’s other intangible personal qualities may have suited him to be part of a leadership team. However, he did not possess the leadership authority or leadership capital necessary to serve as *the* leader.

Most importantly, Chalabi’s vision did not resonate with the Iraqi population. He continually displayed an inability to muster broad support for his movement, which should have indicated his inability to grow support for his movement and his lack of a strong connection with the population. Finally, his vision was divergent from that of the United States. In-depth analysis indicates that he agreed with the United States regarding regime change in Iraq, but viewed this as a means to achieve political power for himself following regime change.

2. Ramon Magsaysay Assessment

Ramon Magsaysay offers an excellent contrast to Ahmed Chalabi. Magsaysay possessed high degrees of legal and charismatic authority and an adequate level of traditional/relational authority. Magsaysay's position as Secretary of Defense allowed him to make structural changes in the government to yield more professional employment of the military. His leadership capital endeared him to members of the military and to the population. Also, his social leadership capital assisted him in manufacturing political coalitions, which resulted in a unified front against the Huks. His approach differentiated him from other members of the elite who were viewed as corrupt by the population.

Figure 5 represents a completed leadership selection heuristic for Magsaysay.

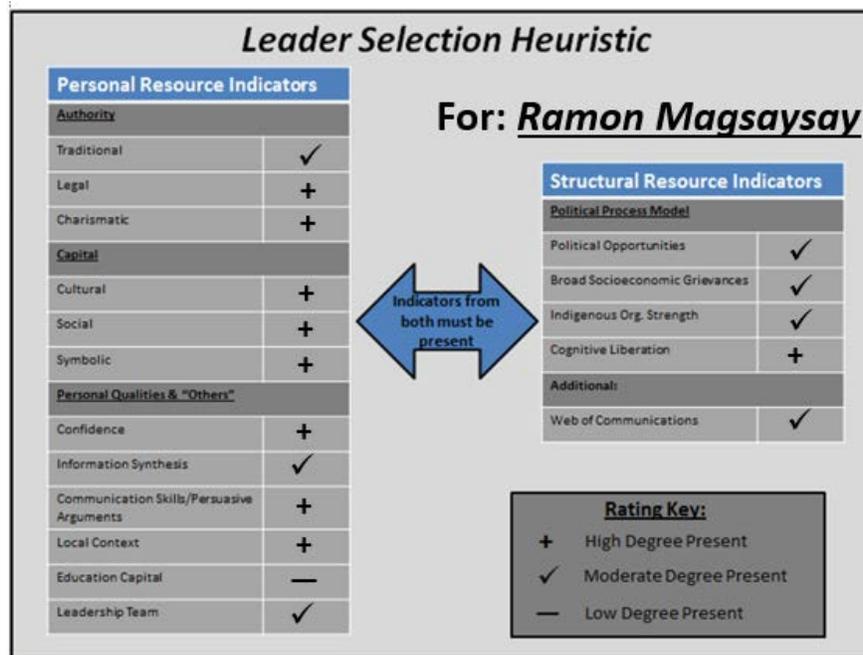


Figure 5. Ramon Magsaysay LSH

Magsaysay's greatest strengths were his understanding of his environment and how to take advantage of opportunities. His modest upbringing provided him with an intimate understanding of the socioeconomic issues and public grievances that fueled the Huk Rebellion, and his education allowed him to effectively act as a bridge between the educated elite and the population. Magsaysay was adept at political maneuvering, which

helped him to identify and take advantage of political opportunities. His legal authority allowed him to reshape the military to neutralize political antagonists and build a supportive indigenous network within the military and the population that helped to build momentum for his movement. Magsaysay's efforts to combat government corruption and represent the population provided an alternative to the Huks. His vision of a government that represented the people, when combined with operational victories against the Huks, led to overwhelming support for the government. His desire for a democratic, capitalist Philippines aligned with the United States' national interests. Magsaysay's selection for partnership proved to be an excellent choice and developed into long term success.

3. Hamid Karzai Assessment

Hamid Karzai provides a unique case when compared to that of Ahmed Chalabi or Ramon Magsaysay. He was chosen for partnership first as a leader against the Taliban in 2001, and then served as the leader of Afghanistan for 12 years. The following two LSH charts assess his potential as a partner in 2001 and then reassess him based on his conduct as President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in 2013. One clearly sees how the value of a partnership can change depending on changes in a dynamic environment.

a. Karzai (2001)

Hamid Karzai possessed a high degree of traditional authority as the head of the Popalzai tribe. He lacked legal authority as the result of not possessing a position within the Taliban government, which at the time ruled most of Afghanistan. Although Karzai possessed high levels of charisma after the fall of the Taliban, he initially only possessed a small degree of charismatic authority when it came to motivating resistance against the Taliban. His degree of charismatic authority eventually rose after his perceived victory against the Taliban during his southern campaign, when Taliban forces were defeated in Uruzgan and Kandahar Provinces. Tactical victories by his force against the Taliban, with extensive support from U.S. forces, created momentum for his movement, which assisted in attracting members.

Figure 6 represents the initial leadership selection heuristic evaluation for Karzai for 2001.

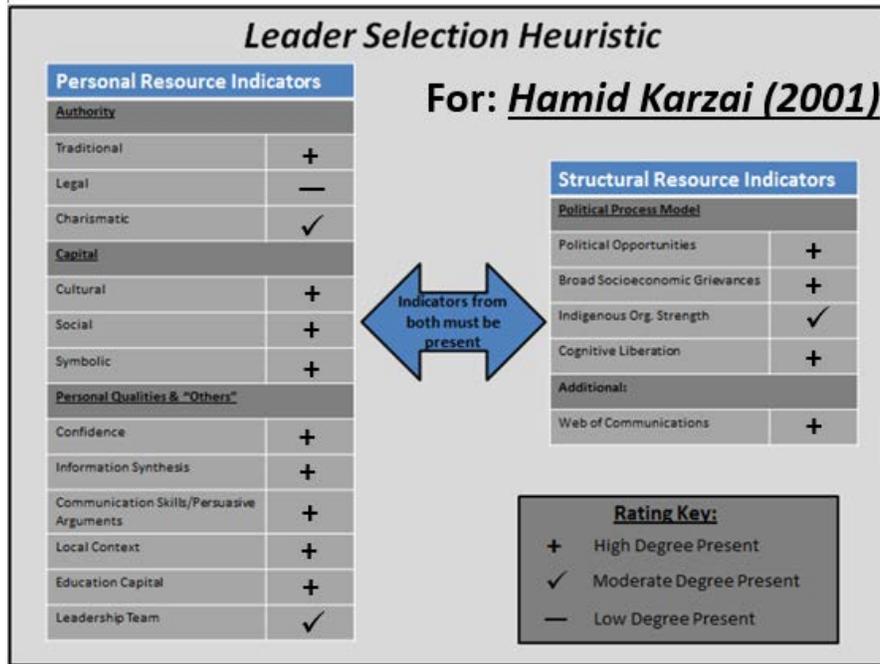


Figure 6. Hamid Karzai (2001) LSH

Hamid Karzai’s greatest strengths came from his high degree of leadership capital and other personal qualities. His elevated traditional role provided him with in-depth cultural understanding of Afghanistan, particularly about the Pashtun tribal belt in southern Afghanistan. His past experience, both within government and as a tribal leader, allowed him to resonate both with the international community and with tribal leaders within Afghanistan. Most importantly, he was the most influential Pashtun leader fighting against the Taliban who also had broad appeal to unite and gain acceptance from non-Pashtun ethnic minorities (Uzbek, Tajik, and Hazara) in Afghanistan.

The environment in Afghanistan was advantageous to Hamid Karzai’s efforts in 2001. The Taliban’s enforcement of strict adherence to its view of Islam had alienated large portions of the Afghan population. Karzai’s efforts to overthrow the Taliban aligned well with the United States’ retaliatory attacks against both the Taliban

and al Qaeda. The American attacks against the Taliban provided Karzai the political and physical maneuver room in which to develop a network to challenge the Taliban's rule. He was able to link resistance groups against the Taliban, even though his indigenous network in Afghanistan was limited and existed primarily as a tribal/informational network. Most beneficial of all, Karzai provided a more attractive alternative than any other. The cognitive liberation that Karzai provided, calling for a Loya Jirga, and the national symbolism he used resonated with both the international community and with Afghans.

b. Karzai (2013)

Hamid Karzai faces a much different environment in 2013 than he did in 2001 as a result of being a state leader who oversaw the dramatic transition of a country that went from 20-plus years of war to becoming a democratic state. His personal resource indicators have altered in response to the changing environment he helped create and the position he fills. He maintains strong traditional authority among the tribal leaders of Afghanistan thanks to his status as the khan of the Popalzai tribe. Legally, as the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, he possesses the ability to affect change throughout Afghanistan by directly appointing district and provincial leaders. However, the high degree of legal authority he could have is tempered by the decentralized, tribal rule that still exists in much of the country. Throughout rural Afghanistan, tribal decisions still usually outweigh the central government's influence. Karzai has seen a significant degradation of his charismatic authority, which has resulted from the population's reduced expectations and loss of trust in his administration. Compared to 2001, his ability to generate popular support for action has weakened, and his power outside of Kabul is largely contingent on relationships he has with local powerbrokers.

Figure 7 represents a re-evaluation of Karzai in 2013 using the leadership selection heuristic.

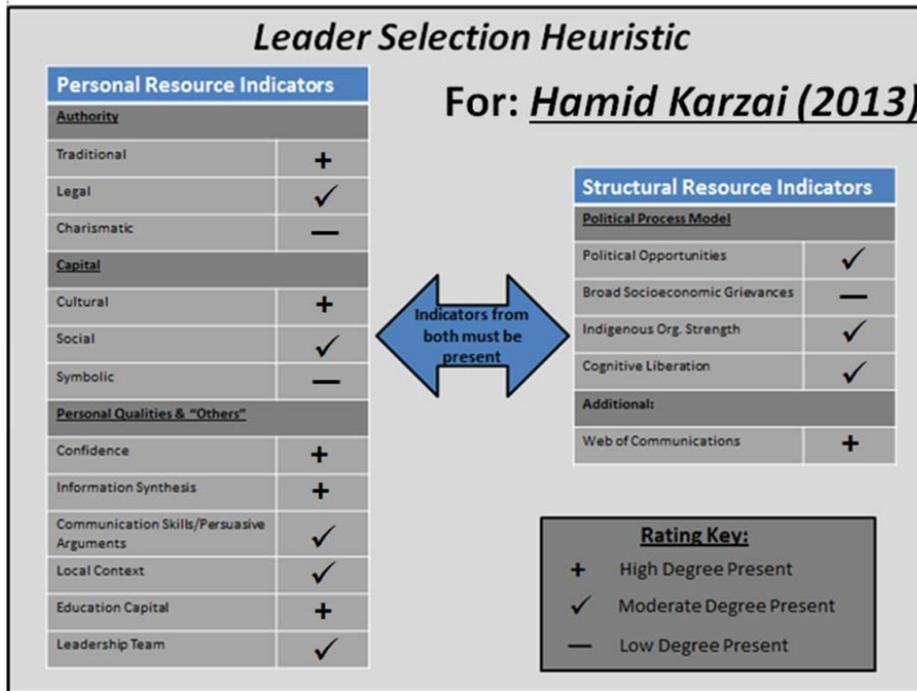


Figure 7. Hamid Karzai (2013) LSH

In 2001, Hamid Karzai’s leadership capital was one of his most positive attributes. However, this drastically changed by 2013. He still maintains a high degree of cultural understanding, but has lost social and symbolic capital. Karzai’s balancing of foreign policy posturing with the international community and messaging to foster domestic support have often worked at cross-purposes. His relationship with his international supporters, particularly in the United States, has been especially turbulent since around 2007. This has resulted in his administration expending political capital both internationally and domestically, as well as playing into Taliban and other power brokers’ narratives regarding the ineffectiveness of the central government. The most drastic change has been to Karzai’s image as a unifying leader. His administration has been tarnished by corruption, nepotism, and an inability to deliver development and justice in Afghanistan.

Karzai’s personal qualities remain unchanged. But his ability to improve people’s understanding of the local context and his communication skills have degraded as a result of perceptions that he has misplayed political opportunities. The appointment

of corrupt and/or ineffective district and provincial governors has stirred dissatisfaction. Karzai's political maneuvering to appease regional powerbrokers often is viewed as his lending support to local strong men, though by doing so he is building coalitions and solidifying efforts against the Taliban. His lack of a strong leadership team prevents him from consolidating his efforts and forces him to spend political capital both domestically and in the foreign policy arena. Although eschewing a strong leadership team may have been necessary while creating the government to prevent internal power struggles, it has since become a detriment. Having a strong deputy for domestic policy might have let Karzai focus internationally and could have protected him from appearing to be venal and corrupt.

The broader environment is much different today than it was in 2001, and it is ever changing. Socioeconomic grievances have likewise changed. Once Afghans had been liberated from Taliban rule in 2001, they desired good governance and development. The government has shown a profound inability to provide these. Fears about the return of the Taliban plague efforts by the Karzai administration. Also, the Afghan population, particularly in the south, remains hesitant to overwhelmingly support the government out of fear that the Taliban will retaliate should they return to power.

c. Comparing Karzai (2001) to Karzai (2013)

Several points must be considered when comparing our two assessments of Karzai. Karzai was originally selected as a resistance and interim leader. Initially the United States and Karzai's goals were much more closely aligned. Karzai's election as President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan increased his need to meet the wishes of his domestic audience. This changed the relationship dynamic between the U.S. and Karzai. The U.S.'s strategy in Afghanistan is to defeat al Qaeda and extremists. The U.S.'s survival does not depend on Afghan domestic support; Karzai's does. Karzai's appointment as president merits that he be reassessed in that position. He did well on the LSH as an interim and resistance leader. But when we assess him as a potential head of state, his attractiveness as a leader decreases dramatically. Karzai's example highlights that situations change and the person who is initially a good fit may not be a good fit as a

partner later on. However, that said, he may also remain the best available option at the moment. Ideally, additional LSHs would be conducted to compare Karzai to another potential partner in Afghanistan.

4. The Importance of the Advisor

Apart from the observations made using the LSH, another key takeaway to be drawn from the case studies is the negative effects of using multiple advisors and how this may have impacted the outcomes with Chalabi and Karzai. As the Magsaysay example suggests, selecting the right advisor and maintaining continuity through that advisor may contribute greatly to a leader's success. As the only advisor to Magsaysay at the national level, Lansdale was able to recognize that Magsaysay was the right individual to work with, thanks to his deep understanding of the environment and the different players. Once he began to work with Magsaysay, Lansdale was able to effectively provide assistance and guidance, and act as a sounding board for Magsaysay's ideas. Perhaps just as importantly, he was with Magsaysay until the Huk rebellion was subdued. Contrast this with Karzai, who has had a parade of U.S. and ISAF advisors. He has had no one with whom to consistently de-conflict efforts or who fully appreciates the nuances of the situation and all the different players. This lack of continuity may very well have impacted the current outcome in Afghanistan. Or, as in Chalabi's case, we also see how a leader can exploit the lack of a single counterpart or advisor to "work the system" for himself.

C. CONCLUSION

2013—Now in command of a Special Forces company, newly promoted Major Steele finds himself deployed to the same country where he had served as an ODA commander. The province his company deployed to has not progressed in terms of a solid local partnership and, as a result, security and development are shaky, and the population is not accepting of the central government. Learning from his past experiences with Haji Halim, Steele had developed a plan to approach selecting and vetting potential leaders to work with in his area of operation.

His company intelligence section works closely with the intelligence sergeants on each of the ODAs to conduct static social mapping of the several areas where the teams are operating. They use survey data, personal interviews, and historic ethnographic data in order to develop situational understanding. Thanks to this effort, Steele's company has a fair grasp of who the key players are, as well as the tribal and other social factors at play. In most of the ODAs' areas, there are several individuals who are selected by the company as possible leaders to partner with. This effort is methodical and takes several weeks to complete. But, Steele's company identifies possible targets for influence and his teams understand the dynamics of the environment that they are working in. His ODAs next conduct an assessment of these potential leaders against the LSH to vet the suitability of each individual.

Through the selection and vetting process that Steele's company uses, each team narrows down its search to a single leader. Some of the selections come as no surprise, as several are prominent tribal khans who already have a visible following, as well as relatively homogenous tribal make-ups in their areas. However, in several areas, no such strong choice is evident. These areas have complicated tribal dynamics and many of the traditional leaders are absent, as they were in the area that Haji Halim operated. There are also several other system strains, such as the heavy presence of illegitimate warlords, insurgents, and/or narco-traffickers. However, through using the LSH to carefully guide their decision-making process, each team identifies an individual who has several of the desired personal resources, and the team understands that the environment presents several of the desired structural resources and, importantly, there is initially at least a small level of reciprocity between the potential leader and the population. Steele has thus far avoided the mistakes he made with Haji Halim of misjudging the individual and the environment.

Indeed, four months into the partnering efforts, Steele is pleased with the results. Unlike his experiences with Haji Halim, there have been no major surprises for any of the ODAs. The populations of the areas seemed to recognize the leaders' authority, and the leaders have listened to Steele's advice about developing leadership teams that represent the diverse interest groups in their areas. Security is improving and public

sentiment is shifting away from the insurgency. Though progress is slow in several areas, Steele's teams are working vigorously to bolster the population's commitment to the leaders the company chose to partner with. Steele is sure that because care was taken in selecting and vetting the right individuals there is now less uncertainty to deal with in creating a more secure and stable environment locally. The next step: ensure that the right leaders at the district and provincial level exist to partner with as well.

The LSH can be a valuable tool for assessing leaders to partner with, from the local to the national level. Based on our combined experiences, we believe that these techniques are scalable, and will prove useful in selecting a local leader, regional leader, or national leader. We also believe that these processes are applicable across the full spectrum of Irregular or Unconventional Warfare. In closing, we would simply reiterate that the key to creating and maintaining a multi-level partnership network for influence depends first on identifying the right individual(s), and then vetting their potential for long term partnering.

The development and use of a non-lethal targeting process, such as MIDEA (mentioned in Chapter I and Appendix B), has the potential to link partnership operations from the state down to the lowest leader level, and should be used and synchronized at and between each echelon. Such a non-lethal targeting approach requires further development and validation, but in our view such a non-lethal, influence-based process is necessary for future U.S. military operations. The selection and vetting method outlined in this thesis needs to play a major part in such a process.

APPENDIX A. PERSONAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

This appendix offers an in-depth overview of each of the social movement theory topics discussed in Chapter II.

A. PERSONAL RESOURCES

1. Max Weber's Tenets of Authority

Max Weber's theory on authority offers a foundational framework from which to draw when identifying and vetting a movement leader. According to Kenneth Allen, Weber's concepts of authority are based on legitimacy, which includes socialization and the internalization of cultural norms and values, and therefore requires low levels of external social control (or coercion).²⁹³ Weber's three types of authority are traditional-cultural, rational-legal, and charismatic. Though Weber identifies "pure" categories of authority, in reality legitimate authority may exist as a mixture of these categories.²⁹⁴

Traditional-cultural authority is based on followers' beliefs in time and custom, which are hinged on honoring the past.²⁹⁵ This type of authority, often manifested in the role of a "chief," is found predominantly in traditional, tribal cultures; usually passed down (oftentimes hereditarily), based on personal loyalty; and hinges on an individual's (or individuals') authority by virtue of traditional status and a population's "...traditionally transmitted rules."²⁹⁶ As long as a leader's actions follow the population's "...substantive ethical common sense, of justice, or of utilitarian expediency" and do not overstep traditional limitations obedience by the population is often unlimited.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Allen, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World*, 169.

²⁹⁴ Parkin, "Max Weber," 86.

²⁹⁵ Allen, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory*, 170.

²⁹⁶ *Max Weber: Selections from His Work*, translated and edited by S. M. Miller (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), 75.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

Rational-legal authority is based on followers' beliefs in procedure, or an individual's appointed bureaucratic role or position.²⁹⁸ People see leaders as having the legal right to lead by virtue of their leadership position and in accordance with normative rules.²⁹⁹ A population's obedience comes through adherence to these rules and rights, which manifest in a system of uniform principles, norms, and/or laws.³⁰⁰ Important to note, this type of authority is not based on allegiance to an individual, but rather upon deference to the position and order within the established system.³⁰¹

Charismatic authority is based on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person..." and the normative order s/he establishes.³⁰² Individuals with charismatic authority are followed based on their followers' voluntary devotion.³⁰³ This form of authority, though the only pure form of legitimacy according to Weber, is not formal or lasting.³⁰⁴ A leader must continually perform "...miracles and heroic deeds" in order to secure authority and control over a population; failure to live up to this status leads to a loss of influence over followers.³⁰⁵ The relationship that a leader with charismatic authority has with his constituents is key. Many theorists have inadvertently fallen into a reductionist trap in terms of misidentifying individuals with a charismatic personality as having charismatic authority.³⁰⁶ Also, making charismatic authority routine is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain and/or pass on, and charismatic authority often transforms into, or co-exists with, another form of authority.³⁰⁷

²⁹⁸ Allen, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory*, 170.

²⁹⁹ *Max Weber: Selections from His Work*, translated and edited by S. M. Miller, 63.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁰¹ *Max Weber: Selections from His Work*, translated and edited by S. M. Miller, 65–66.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁰³ Frank Parkin, "Max Weber," 84.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ Stutje, *Charismatic Leadership and Social Movements: The Revolutionary Power of Ordinary Men and Women*, 5.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

2. Nepstal and Bob's "Leadership Capital"

Nepstal and Bob characterize the "Leadership Capital" into three sub-categories: cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Individuals who rise to movement leadership positions and effectively lead movements possess substantial levels of leadership capital, in one or more forms of these.³⁰⁸ A key point that Nepstal and Bob make is that leaders do not have to possess all three of these leadership capital characteristics.³⁰⁹

Cultural capital entails a leader's "...knowledge, skills, and abilities..." to influence the target community and external parties, including having a firm grasp of local practices and value systems.³¹⁰ Cultural capital can also be further segmented into "localized cultural capital," "universalistic cultural capital," and "transcultural skills."³¹¹ Localized cultural capital refers to a leader possessing and transmitting an understanding of the circumstances and experiences that his followers and would-be followers endure.³¹² Universalistic cultural capital is an important trait to have in order for a leader to be able to reach a broad public, and includes understanding the larger "...values, sympathies, cultural principles and political trends..." in addition to possessing personal attributes such as media skills, strong rhetoric, and an innate ability to exploit opportunities in the political arena.³¹³ Transcultural skills involve a leader's capacity to effectively express ideas to disparate audiences, specifically being able to appeal to movement constituents and outside backers.³¹⁴ Cultural capital's relevance is best illustrated through concept of frame alignment by Snow et al. in which movements align their efforts and goals with those of larger clusters, thereby using public sentiment to

³⁰⁸ Nepstad and Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements," 4, 5.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 5.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 4, 5.

³¹¹ Ibid., 4.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

recruit participants and adherents in order to mobilize the population at large toward the movement's goals.³¹⁵

Social capital involves having “strong ties to activist communities and weak ties to broader mobilizing networks.”³¹⁶ This type of capital involves examining social networks, along with the “norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness” associated with them.³¹⁷ Strong ties correlate with face-to face interactions, relationships, and locations where a leader directly connects with followers.³¹⁸ Weak ties, also referred to as brokerage ties or intermediary ties, link a leader to a larger pool of followers through trusted intermediaries placed throughout the network (who themselves have strong ties to lower level networks and groups).³¹⁹ These weak ties are important for validating leaders across the broader network, for disseminating critical information and guidance, and for recruiting individuals and groups to the movement.³²⁰ As Mark Granovetter points out, weak ties are indispensable to integrate individuals into larger communities and are imperative for tying disparate groups/networks together into a cohesive movement.³²¹

Symbolic capital consists of personal charisma, respect, social prestige, and moral authority.³²² This form of capital is a precursor to the development of charismatic

³¹⁵ David A Snow, E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation,” *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 465, accessed June 4, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2095581.pdf?&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

³¹⁶ Nepstad and Clifford Bob, “When Do Leaders Matter?,” 4, 5.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 4.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78 no. 6 (May 1973), accessed September 12, 2013, <http://sociology.stanford.edu/people/mgranovetter/documents/granstrengthweakties.pdf>.

³²² Nepstad and Clifford Bob, “When Do Leaders Matter?,” 5.

authority, though it can also reinforce or strengthen other forms of authority. Nepstal and Bob point out that this form of capital is useful when building a constituency, as well as for developing followers' trust in a leader.³²³

3. Leadership Teams

According to the social movement literature, movements that are led by teams comprising of both insiders and outsiders have higher rates of success.³²⁴ Barker et al. find that leadership teams with the ability to respond creatively to complex situations (or that have high strategic capacity) are often better and more disparately networked.³²⁵ They also earn acceptance by conducting regular deliberations with varied constituencies."³²⁶ Marshall Ganz further argues that "effective strategy is usually the product of a 'leadership team' rather than an individual leader, and... diverse leadership teams increase strategic capacity."³²⁷

4. Education Capital

Morris and Staggenborg write that "[t]o be successful, social movements require that a myriad of intellectual tasks be performed extremely well."³²⁸ They point out that successful movement leaders are more likely to possess formal education, often afforded by growing up in more affluent households (relative to the general population).³²⁹ Education is often important given the number of tasks that leaders are required to perform, including "framing grievances and formulating ideologies, debating, interfacing with media, writing, orating, devising strategies and tactics, creatively synthesizing information gleaned from local, national and international venues, dialoguing with

³²³ Ibid., 5.

³²⁴ Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter?," 38.

³²⁵ Barker, "Leadership Matters: An Introduction," 19.

³²⁶ Ibid., 19.

³²⁷ Morris and Staggenborg, "Leadership in Social Movements," 181.

³²⁸ Ibid., 175.

³²⁹ Ibid.

internal and external elites, improvising and innovating, developing rationales for coalition building and channeling emotions...[and] manipulation of language and other symbols.”³³⁰

B. THE POLITICAL PROCESS MODEL

1. Socioeconomic Factors: Grievances and Agency

Broad socio-economic factors can be used to incite and grow a social movement against a state. Discontentment with the status quo helps a social movement begin to draw support away from the state and towards the movement. Understanding the socio-economic issues and grievances of the population is critical to the survival of a social movement, and particularly to its progression toward revolution. Peoples’ attitudes directly affect the movement’s ability to attract sympathizers and full participants.³³¹ However, this shift is not always automatic. Leveraging or accentuating existing collective discontent requires agency. Some leaders with a high degree of cultural and social resonance must translate objective conditions into a systemic critique of the state. A leader’s ability to identify bargaining positions and expanding opportunities for collective action depend on how effectively he understands the underlying socioeconomic issues and their subsequent effects on the population.

Framing socioeconomic conditions is also relational as they encompass a broad spectrum of affected groups. Race, gender, class, religion, and economic factors all affect the perception of the population’s understanding of the status quo, and several of these factors coexist and affect each other.³³² The ability to understand these relationships is inherently more difficult for an outsider than for someone whose is

³³⁰ Morris and Staggenborg, “Leadership in Social Movements,” 175.

³³¹ Mayer N. Zald and Roberta Ash, “Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change,” *Social Forces* 44, no. 3 (1966): 330, accessed June 4, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2575833.pdf?&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

³³² P.H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 8.

actively a part of the society. It is important for a would-be leader to be cognizant of the factors to relate to the society as a whole and identify political opportunities in order to take advantage of grievances.

2. Political Opportunities: Political and Structural Resources and Agency

Recognizing and using emerging political opportunities is necessary to create the operational space in which a movement can grow. Developing political opportunities can “...facilitate increased political activism on the part of the excluded groups, either by seriously undermining the stability of the entire political system or by increasing the political leverage of a single insurgent group.”³³³ The presence of political opportunities and their potential effects vary and change over time. The state’s inability, or reluctance, to adapt to the evolving political environment will prevent the state from maintaining absolute control over the political environment and will diminish its ability to counter the social movement.

Political instability disrupts the status quo and encourages all organized groups to challenge the state, hereby creating friction that assists in the establishment of a new political order.³³⁴ Successful social movements, and follow-on revolutions, are created “out of broad social processes that strengthened the political position of the challenging group.”³³⁵ The social movement’s ability to survive increases as its political strength grows; the movement gains credibility, reduces the power gap between itself and its opponents, and gains political leverage against the state the longer it proves able to take advantage of political opportunities.³³⁶

³³³ P.H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 42.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Joseph C. Jenkins and Charles Perrow, “Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946–1972),” *American Sociological Review* 42, no. 2 (1977): 266, accessed July 15, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2094604.pdf?acceptTC=true&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

³³⁶ McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, 43.

3. Indigenous Organizational Strength: Relational Resources and Agency

The organization relies on itself to recruit new members and to strengthen the logistical system it requires in order to operate. McAdams points out, “[i]t is the resources of the minority community that enable... [movement] groups to exploit these opportunities.”³³⁷ In other words, the network’s ability to collect and redistribute resources determines its survivability. Similarly, Oberschall points out, “[i]f no network exists, the aggrieved population is capable of little more than ‘short-term,’ localized, ephemeral outbursts and movements of protest such as riots.”³³⁸ A social movement’s longevity depends on an indigenous infrastructure that acts as a bridging mechanism linking groups together into an organized campaign of resistance.³³⁹

Identifying the political beliefs of preexisting groups allows for political maneuvering and reframing of the narrative to recruit additional groups. The recruitment and co-option of entire groups results in bloc recruitment and stimulates rapid growth for the social movement.³⁴⁰ Rapid mobilization and the continued participation by members “occurs as a result of recruiting blocs of people who are already highly organized and participants.”³⁴¹ Bloc recruitment not only expands the physical size of the movement, but also rapidly increases its communication network by making use of the communication networks of the newly recruited groups.

The social movement itself should possess a multi-layered structure. Those at leadership level need to be able to position himself where they can operate free from selected targeting by opponents. The protection of the leadership requires that there be communication cells, or “connective tissue,” to link the operation cells with the

³³⁷ Ibid., 43.

³³⁸ Anthony Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1973), 119.

³³⁹ Jo Freeman, “The Origins of the Women’s Liberation Movement,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, no. 4 (1973): 792-811.

³⁴⁰ McAdams, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, 45.

³⁴¹ Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements*, 285.

leadership.³⁴² The communication cells deliver strategic guidance and spread information to multiple operational cells. The connective tissue should have certain redundancies built in to protect leaders and members alike.

4. Cognitive Liberation: Cultural Resources and Agency

Cognitive liberation of the population is arguably the most important objective for the social movement. Leaders of the movement must make an effort to modify the population's perception of the status quo in order render the movement's resistance worthwhile. For Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, this cognitive awakening consists of three important elements: First, the current system needs to be made to lose legitimacy.³⁴³ Second, perceptions about the longevity of the system need to be attacked to stimulate the desire for change.³⁴⁴ Third, the population needs to believe that it can change its situation and is not helpless against the establishment or status quo.³⁴⁵ The cognitive liberation of the population will stimulate recruitment and solidify gains, thereby creating momentum for the social movement.

The social movement's narrative needs to assign blame for current socioeconomic problems and simultaneously offer an alternative for a better future. The responsibility for the population's grievances should be pinned on those in power. Examples of corruption and nepotism should be used as rallying points for the injustice of the status quo. The future as envisioned by the social movement should be vague. There should be no firm promises that the enemy can then counter-attack as unfulfilled or as having led to failure.

Initially, the movement will be a weaker position than that of its opponent. But by taking advantage of developing political opportunities, it should be able to improve its bargaining position and creates more chances to pursue collective action. Its improved position should then raise "significantly the costs of repressing the insurgent

³⁴² Doowan Lee, "DA3800: Seminar on Social Movements and Unconventional Warfare," (presented at Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, April 15, 2013).

³⁴³ Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*, 3-4.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

action[;]...[r]epression of the group involves increased risks of political reprisals than before and is thus less likely to be attempted even in the face of an increased threat to members' interests."³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ McAdams, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, 43.

APPENDIX B. MIDEA NON-LETHAL TARGETING PROCESS

This appendix provides a brief overview of the five steps of the “MIDEA” non-lethal targeting process, as proposed in Chapter I. We believe that adjusting the way that the targeting process focuses on population-influencing efforts in irregular and unconventional warfare settings, will enhance the understanding of military commands. The tactical through the strategic level and, as a result, improve their ability to affect complex environments in their favor.

A. STEP 1: MAP HUMAN/ENEMY INFRASTRUCTURE & TERRAIN

This step coincides with the traditional “Decide” phase of targeting. This step should result in a robust understanding of the political and social networks/groups, as well as the political and social factors at play in a given area. According to FM 3-60, “[The Decide phase] provides the overall focus and sets priorities for intelligence collection and attack planning...[and] draws heavily on a detailed intelligence preparation of the battlefield (IPB) and continuous assessment of the situation.”³⁴⁷ There are multiple things to be considered when trying to understand the operating environment. Using historical ethnographies may provide a starting point for assessing social and cultural factors that shape the society/system. Conducting surveys and face-to-face interviews to collect data for social network analysis can also help with understanding the system players and dynamics. As Anna Simons points out, understanding a cultural system involves a delicate balance of understanding social structures, social relationships and organizations, and paying attention to personal exchanges.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-60, The Targeting Process* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2010), 2-2.

³⁴⁸ Anna Simons, “Understanding ‘Culture,’” In *Gangs & Guerrillas: Ideas From Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism* (NPS-DA-11-001), ed. Michael Freeman and Hy Rothstein (Naval Postgraduate School Technical Report, Monterey, CA, 2011, 41–42.

B. STEP 2: IDENTIFY PEOPLE OR GROUPS TO TARGET

In order to be able to influence a population appropriately, units must identify focal individuals or groups within the population to leverage. This step also falls within the traditional “Decide” phase of targeting. According to FM 3-24:

Intelligence personnel provide information on the relative importance of different target personalities and areas and the projected effects of lethal and nonlethal engagement...intelligence analysts need to identify individuals and groups to engage as potential...supporters, targets to isolate from the population, and targets to eliminate.³⁴⁹

As this thesis suggests, identifying and vetting the right leader(s) represents a critical step, specifically in terms of first identifying a group to influence and then searching for the best person(s) to lead it.

C. STEP 3: DESIGN A STRATEGY TO INFLUENCE PEOPLE OR GROUPS

This step falls into the traditional “Detect” phase of the targeting cycle. As mentioned in FM 3-24, “Intelligence regarding the perceptions and interests of the populace requires particular attention...[i]t is also important for developing political, social, and economic programs.”³⁵⁰ The goal here is to develop a strategy that triggers or feeds a collective effort within the population to support the selected leader, who in turn will work to remedy key causes/issues that are negatively affecting the population. The goal is also to develop, reinforce, and/or strengthen legitimate governance, whether at the local or national level. As explained in this thesis, we believe this can be done by supporting the right leader and leveraging available assets to reinforce the leader’s influence over the population.

D. STEP 4: EMPLOY MEASURES TO INFLUENCE PEOPLE OR GROUPS

This step occurs during the “deliver” phase of D3A. Efforts undertaken should focus on empowering leaders and influencing chosen population segments; in a

³⁴⁹ Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2006), 5-29.

³⁵⁰ Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2006), 5-30.

counterinsurgency environment, efforts should be made to tie the leader to the government whenever possible. Every action should be undertaken with an end-state in mind and with the aim of creating stability as the status quo is overturned.

This effort requires seamless interaction and collaboration among civil and military organizations, staff and battlefield operating systems (BOS) (such as fires, intelligence, operations, civil affairs, etc.), and host nation and international forces in a targeting working group.³⁵¹ All organizations and sub-sections need to be integrated and share the same objectives and vision, operate toward the same goal, collect similar data, and feed it into the same process.

E. STEP 5: ADJUST THE STRATEGY AS NECESSARY BASED ON CIRCUMSTANCES.

This step falls within the “Assess” phase of D3A. Targeting is a dynamic, repetitive, and adaptive process that is based on continuous assessments and situational understanding.³⁵² Complex environments may produce unexpected factors. As such, vigilance is necessary to monitor outputs, refine situational understanding, and the common operating picture, validate information, readjust strategy, and/or reassess which individuals and groups to support and/or target for influence.

³⁵¹ Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2006), 2-3; Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-60, The Targeting Process* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2010), 1-1 and 4-28.

³⁵² Headquarters, Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Field Manual 3-60, The Targeting Process* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 2010), 2-2 and 5-31.

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