

# Command, Control, and Communications of the Iraqi Insurgency



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## Executive Summary

The ongoing insurgent movement in Iraq has so far confounded Coalition forces tasked with subduing revolts and violent attacks throughout the country. The insurgents' means of command, control, and communications remains furtive, yet their methods of attack have seemingly become more innovative and coordinated. This report seeks to illuminate the clandestine C3 system of the Iraqi insurgency in order to enhance the counterinsurgent efforts and restore peace in Iraq. Conclusions about the ongoing insurgency's C3 system will be derived from analyses of historical case studies which parallel the current situation in one of three critical facets: urban-based, Muslim-centered, or multi-factional.

The urban setting of the Iraqi insurgency makes it comparable to the Algerian and Irish Republican Army insurgencies. In these cases, the high population density and built-up infrastructure of the urban setting distinctly shaped the insurgency's C3. Densely populated areas provide cover for clandestine meetings, countless potential recruits, and camouflaged methods of evasion. Built-up infrastructure gives insurgents an advantage by hampering the maneuverability of counterinsurgent forces, covering the movement of insurgent groups, providing logistical support such as water and power, and supplying communications capabilities such as radios and telephones. The Iraqi insurgency has likely capitalized on each of these distinctly urban advantages to shape and improve its C3 system.

The Muslim identity of the Iraqi insurgents parallels the religious beliefs and culture of the insurgents in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Algeria. The Islamic nature of these historical insurgencies impacted C3 in five primary ways. First, the concept of jihad illustrates the fundamental worldview and motivations of Muslim insurgents and is therefore essential to understanding the foundation of Muslim insurgencies. Second, Islam has the ability to unify its

followers under a common purpose, which facilitates C3. Third, the religion has shaped culture by instilling social structures and obligations. Fourth, the cause of Islam invigorates the devout, which aids the solicitation and enlistment of recruits. Finally, religious schools educate young people, thereby indoctrinating future leaders with Muslim ideology. The command, control, and communications system of the Iraqi insurgency has undoubtedly been impacted by the religious beliefs, culture, and educational institutions characteristic of Islam.

The multi-faceted nature of the ongoing Iraqi insurgency is comparable to the Afghan, Lebanese, Kashmiri, and earlier Iraqi insurgencies. The historical insurgencies comprised of disparate groups suffered from a leadership void, a lack of vision, and foreign intrusion, each of which deeply impacted C3. A void in leadership precludes a single, unified head of a C3 system, resulting in inefficient coordination. A lack of long-term goals or vision creates a sporadic and disjointed C3 system because groups only join forces for brief missions, quickly disbanding once their common, short-term goal has been met. In the wake of a leadership void and a lack of vision, insurgencies become increasingly susceptible to foreign involvement. Acting in their own interests, foreign actors often step in to fill the power vacuum, thereby recreating the insurgency's C3 and imposing themselves as de facto commanders. The Iraqi insurgency, which is undeniably multi-faceted, shows signs of similar impacts on its command, control, and communications system.

In short, this report finds that the urban, Muslim, and multi-faceted nature of historical insurgencies illuminates important dimensions of the Iraqi insurgency's evolving C3 system. These lessons are useful to Coalition forces as they seek to halt violent attacks throughout the country. Ultimately, this information will further the U.S. government's goal of defeating the insurgency and support a democratic government in Iraq.

## **Introduction**

Three years since the invasion to liberate Iraq, fear continues to rule the day. As citizens face murder, torture, civil strife, and vengeful attacks, daily life is anything but routine. While the insurgents continue to disrupt the Iraqi political process, kill Americans, and turn on each other, Iraqi leaders and the international community are painstakingly trying to thwart subversive operations. To subdue the growing Iraqi insurgency it is imperative that American forces and Iraqi security personnel understand the structure of the insurgents' command, control, and communications system.

The knowledge of this information can provide some hope of reversing reality in Iraq. This report defines the Iraqi insurgency as urban-based, Muslim-centered, and multi-factionous; each of which distinctly affects the insurgency's C3. Historical cases of insurgencies provide applicable lessons pertaining to these distinguishing characteristics, which, we believe, illuminate the current C3 of the rebel forces. This report will consist of the methodology utilized to undertake this study, an analysis of the historical case studies with their implications for Iraq, followed by a conclusion. The case studies are divided into three sections according to one of the identifying characteristics. In the urban-based section, the cases of the Algerian FLN uprising against the French and the Irish Republican Army revolt against the British will be considered. In the Muslim-centered section, we will discuss Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Algeria. Finally, in the section discussing multi-factionous insurgencies, we will return to the cases of Afghanistan and Kashmir, accompanied by the examination of Iraq in the 1920s and Lebanon. There is also an appendix which provides a background for each insurgency.

## Methodology

### The Approach

In designing this paper, we considered two different approaches. One approach involved using media reports from the last several years to try to directly discover the nature of the Iraqi insurgency, specifically its C3. The other approach employed historical case studies that share important attributes with the Iraqi insurgency to see what lessons history might have to offer. Using these case studies as the basis of our research, we could gain insight into the nature of the Iraqi insurgency.

We noticed obvious strengths in the first approach. Foremost is the direct application that media reports offer. Our research gave us clear indications of what is happening in Iraq. Another strength of this approach is the easy access to information about the war. Despite these strengths, there were several drawbacks. The two most significant drawbacks are that most information on the insurgents' C3 is classified and that few media reports directly relate to command, control, and communications. The media tends to focus on more sensational issues, such as the number of casualties or the whereabouts of high-profile terrorists. Usually, information that pertains to C3 is interspersed within articles focused on other topics. One additional drawback is the difficulty of staying current. The media reports on Iraq every day, and it would not have been possible to frequently update the results of our research. The final drawback is that this information is already being monitored closely by government agencies and think tanks, minimizing the value of our analysis.

While evaluating the use of historical case studies, it quickly became apparent that this approach had drawbacks and strengths as well. Historical data does not give us any direct insight into the Iraqi insurgency. Consequently, assumptions and inferences must be made in

order to link the findings from the case studies to the situation in the Middle East. As in the previous method, there is an enormous quantity of writing on previous insurgencies from Kashmir to the Peninsular War, but very little written on C3 from the insurgents' perspective. A final drawback is the overwhelming number of relevant case studies that could be examined.

Despite these drawbacks, the historical approach has many strengths. First, as previously mentioned, this method requires that assumptions and inferences be made. While this could be viewed as a drawback, it can be a strength for two reasons. Because it depends on analysis, it has the potential to identify trends, lessons, and ideas that might be missing from an analysis of current media reports. Second, historical analysis has the potential to make a more useful and more unique contribution to understanding the insurgency in Iraq.

### Who are the Insurgents?

There has been considerable debate over the nature of the Iraqi insurgency. One of the more pressing questions is: who are the insurgents? Some have said that they are foreign jihadis, while others claim that they are Ba'athist supporters of the Hussein regime. To add to the confusion, the insurgency is constantly evolving.

The make-up of the insurgency has varied, but the general identities of the participating groups have been identified. As Jeffrey Record, a professor at the Air War College, and W. Andrew Terrill, Middle East specialist for the Strategic Studies Institute, describe the inception of the insurgency, "the most important and dangerous enemy elements were clearly Ba'athist regime remnants apparently fighting to restore some semblance of the old Saddamist order."<sup>1</sup> As the insurgency has progressed however, there is an "increasing appearance of anti-American

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey Record and W. Andrew Terrill. "Iraq and Vietnam: Differences, Similarities, and Insights," (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2004), <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB377.pdf> (accessed 12 April 2006), p. 14.

Islamic militants in the struggle with coalition forces and their Iraqi collaborators,” as Record and Terrill explain.<sup>2</sup> These authors and others suggest that Ba’athists still make up the majority of the insurgency.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this majority group, there are substantial numbers of Shi’ite extremists, Kurds, and al-Qaeda operatives present in the insurgent ranks.<sup>4</sup>

There has also been some debate about how to characterize this violence. Some have suggested guerrilla war, others have labeled it insurgency, and still others have said it should be considered a terrorist campaign. Ian Beckett, a professor at University College in Northampton, UK, gives his opinion that the difference between the classic definition of a guerrilla war and an insurgency is that a significant economic and political element has been added to the latter. He further says that terrorist campaigns are marked by indiscriminant attacks and are set apart by their lack of any intention to take over the state. Insurgency then, as Beckett defines it, implies the attempt to cultivate popular support and establish an opposing infrastructure with the eventual goal of taking control of the state. According to this definition of insurgency, the different groups in Iraq could be considered terrorist or insurgent groups, depending on whether or not they have plans to consolidate power over the state.<sup>5</sup>

The Iraqi insurgency is marked by a lack of cohesive leadership, coherent ideology, or common vision. Melvin Laird, writing for *Foreign Affairs*, argues that “the insurgency is fragmented, with no identifiable central leadership and no unifying theology, strategy, or vision other than to get the United States out of the region.”<sup>6</sup> This lack of organization has led to what

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.15; Ian F.W. Beckett. “Insurgency In Iraq: An Historical Perspective,” (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2005), <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB592.pdf> (accessed 12 April 2006), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Record and Terrill, p. 16-17; Melissa S. M. Bazarian. “Whither the Iraqi Insurgency: Prospects for Counterinsurgent Success” *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement* 13 (Spring 2005): p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Beckett, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Melvin R. Laird. “Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam” (Foreign Affairs, 2005), <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20051101faessay84604/melvin-r-laird/iraq-learning-the-lessons-of-vietnam.html> (Accessed March 2006).

some have called “netwar.” Bruce Hoffman, a counterterrorism expert for RAND, and Melissa Bazarian, an expert in low-intensity conflict, have commented on the nature of this Iraqi netwar. Hoffman says, “Iraq is the closest manifestation yet of *netwar*, the concept of warfare involving flatter, more linear networks rather than the pyramidal hierarchies and command and control systems (no matter how primitive) that have governed traditional insurgent organizations.”<sup>7</sup>

Bazarian quotes John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, authors of the RAND publication, “Networks and Netwars,” when saying the insurgency operates in “small groups who communicate, coordinate, and conduct their campaigns in an internetted manner, without a precise central command.”<sup>8</sup>

### What Characterizes this Insurgency?

In trying to identify characteristics that would describe the Iraqi insurgency, we found it necessary to focus on broad themes rather than specific details to ensure applicability. The process began with a list of insurgencies which were researched, reviewed and discussed. The group then decided on three characteristics central to the Iraqi insurgency. The three characteristics were: the combat in Iraq has a high proportion of attacks in urban environments; the insurgency is being prosecuted by a Muslim-majority population, many of whom are primarily motivated by religion; the insurgency is multi-factional. In other words, it has no cohesive leadership, no coherent ideology, and no common goals or productive vision for the future.

When selecting the case studies, the process of narrowing down possible candidates was guided by several factors. We wanted case studies that matched important aspects of the Iraqi

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<sup>7</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq* (Santa Monica: CA: Rand Corporation, 2004), p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Bazarian, p. 40.

situation and that were varied enough to ensure broad applicability. Finally, we were somewhat guided by the amount of available information. It must be acknowledged that there were many case studies other than those that were chosen that would have also made excellent studies. For the sake of brevity and time constraints, it was necessary to limit the number of case studies, and in some cases a choice had to be made between viable alternatives. Further research of historical case studies would likely produce a more complete look at the Iraqi insurgency and prove worthwhile.

### What is C3?

C3 is a complicated concept and is often used without precise definition. The Department of Defense's Dictionary of Military Terms does not define C3, but does define C4 (command, control, communications, and computer systems): "Integrated systems of doctrine, procedures, organizational structures, personnel, equipment, facilities, and communications designed to support a commander's exercise of command and control across the range of military operations."<sup>9</sup> Another definition, from the Federation of American Scientists, is "an information system employed within a military organization. It is a general phrase that incorporates strategic and tactical systems. Consequently, a combat direction system, tactical data system, or warning and control system may each be considered C3 systems."<sup>10</sup>

For simplicity and clarity, we will use our own definition derived from those given above. In this paper, C3 will be defined as: the exercise of authority, the ability to implement and modify plans of action, and the capacity to convey information between elements of a group,

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<sup>9</sup> Joint Chiefs of Staff. "Joint Publication 1-02: Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms," (Department of Defense, 2005), [http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new\\_pubs/jp1\\_02.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf) (accessed April 12, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> United States Naval Academy. "Fundamentals of Naval Weapons Systems," (Federation of American Scientists, 1984), <http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/navy/docs/fun/part20.htm> (accessed on 12 April 2006).

as well as the means (organizational structures, procedures, and equipment) for this to be accomplished.

## **Urban Insurgencies**

**Dwain Atkinson and Matthew Collins**

The urban combat environment poses the most atypical challenges to a military commander, especially in the realm of C3. This difficulty is further complicated when combating an insurgency whose fighters can easily blend into the local population. The two primary complications of fighting in an urban area are the high-population density and the city's infrastructure. These challenges can affect both the insurgents and counterinsurgents as they strive to accomplish their goals.

The implications of urban warfare in Iraq can be better understood by utilizing historical case studies that resemble the Iraqi insurgency. These examples will focus on the ways in which the high-population density and infrastructure of the urban environment affected the C3 of these insurgent groups. The two case studies that will be evaluated are the Algerian War of Independence and the IRA's fight against the British.

### High-Population Density

According to RAND researchers Jennifer Morrison Taw and Bruce Hoffman, the high-population density of urban environments enables insurgents to “use the civilian population as cover, trading the concealment of the jungle for the anonymity of crowds of people.”<sup>11</sup> When not actively engaged in rebellious activities, the ability to blend in with the population enables insurgents to live relatively normal lives, or at least hide their abnormal activities. Cities commonly provide benefits to insurgents by disguising their approach to and retreat from a target. Insurgents also know that operating amongst a civilian population will provide them with

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<sup>11</sup> Jennifer Morrison Taw and Bruce Hoffman. *The Urbanization of the Insurgency: The Potential Challenge to U.S. Army Operations* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1994), p. 20.

some protection against retaliation. The counterinsurgent forces are often not able to retaliate with the full extent of their firepower for fear of inflicting civilian casualties. Also, by blending in with the population, the insurgents create an environment of uncertainty where the military is constantly surrounded by citizens who could be insurgents. This quickly becomes a stressful operating environment for counterinsurgent forces.

Conflicts in areas of high-population density exploit the weaknesses of a larger, occupying power and maximize the strengths of the insurgency. Although urban warfare is waged differently than conventional warfare, most armies train only for the latter. “Contested zones,” as defined by MIT professor Barry R. Posen, are arenas in which an inferior force still has a hope of defeating a superior military power.<sup>12</sup> The following section examines the National Liberation Front’s (FLN) ability to use the urban contested zone to fight the superior French military.

### *The Influence of High-Population Density Upon the C3 of the Algerian FLN*

The urban environment gives an insurgency the ability to disappear into a crowd following an attack. The FLN chose to specialize in small ambushes and night raids rather than engage French forces’ superior firepower in direct combat. In these attacks, the FLN targeted small French patrols, military encampments, police posts, and centers of transportation and communications. This style of attack would typically involve a small number of attackers with a few lookouts posted some distance away to warn of approaching French troops. These attacks relied on surprise and needed to be completed quickly to allow the insurgents to hide their weapons and assimilate into the local population. The French military’s morale suffered because

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<sup>12</sup> Barry R. Posen. “Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation to US Hegemony.” *International Security* 28 (2003): p 5.

of their inability to stop these “Mosquito attacks.”<sup>13</sup> These tactics also emphasized the French inability to locate attackers. According to noted historian Alistair Horne, when insurgent members could not be found, it became impossible not to “regard almost every Muslim as a potential killer.”<sup>14</sup> This element naturally made French soldiers less confident in their Muslim allies and brought out previously suppressed ethnic tensions.

An insurgency’s second advantage is that combatants can obtain assistance from willing local supporters to improve the C3 of their group. In most cases it is the ability of guerillas to obtain support from the local population that will determine their success or failure. The local population assisted FLN leaders by creating organized trade routes from Egypt and Libya. These routes followed the traditional nomadic paths that avoided the French-occupied roads.<sup>15</sup> This method enabled them to receive much-needed weapons and supplies. Food was also in low supply in some regions, which led FLN members to demand food from the urban populace. To ensure widespread local support, many regional insurgent commanders inflicted torturous punishments on uncooperative people, such as cutting off their hands and noses.<sup>16</sup>

Improved communications capability is an insurgency’s third advantage in a densely-populated area. Insurgents can employ low-tech communication methods. They may send messages via runners and flags or hold meetings in traditional gathering places. In Algeria, the “Kasbah,” a traditional Muslim marketplace where only Arabs gather, doubled as FLN headquarters. It functioned as a sanctuary in which the insurgents could meet, sow discord, and

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<sup>13</sup> Edgar O’Ballance. *The Algerian Insurrection 1954-1962* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1967), p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> Alistair Horne. *The Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York, New York: Viking Press, 1978), p. 115.

<sup>15</sup> Mounir Elkhamri, Lester W. Grau, Laurie King-Irani, Amanda Mitchell and Lenny Tasa-Bennett. “Urban population control in a Counter Insurgency” (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Foreign Military Studies Office) October 2004. p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> O’Ballance (1967), p. 46.

recruit new members. Furthermore, the Kasbah simplified recruitment because half of the men living there were unemployed and under twenty years old.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Influence of High-Population Density upon the C3 of the IRA*

A densely-populated environment has provided the Irish Republican Army (IRA) with one of its most valuable assets – anonymity. As discussed previously, the ability to blend in with crowds aids insurgents in the execution of operations as well as in communications. James Dingley, a terrorism expert and professor at the University of Ulster, comments that in the city of Omagh, “Even known terrorists could pass by the security forces without attracting comment as they would be local people.”<sup>18</sup> This gave the IRA the capability to use face-to-face meetings to plan and coordinate operations, even when other forms of communications were compromised.

Anonymity not only gave the IRA the ability to conduct face-to-face meetings, but also the ability to maintain a sophisticated command and control structure as well. Richard English, a professor at Queen’s University in Belfast, gives an example of the size and make-up of the meetings the IRA was able to hold because of the anonymity provided by the densely-populated environment. Among the participants in the meeting, he lists: “members of the Army Council, representatives of the Executive, GHQ Staff and departments, Northern and Southern Command Staffs, brigades, battalions and units.”<sup>19</sup> This quote shows the existence of a robust command and control system. Such a complex structure might only be possible in extreme isolation or in the urban environment because without the anonymity and secrecy provided by these environments, the insurgents would be easily discovered. In isolation this structure would be

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<sup>17</sup> Mounir et al., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> James Dingley. “The Bombing of Omagh, 15 August 1998: The Bombers, Their Tactics, Strategy, and Purpose Behind the Incident.” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 24 (2001), p. 459.

<sup>19</sup> Richard English. *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 250.

crippled by an inability to maintain correspondence channels, yet nestled among the population, this organization was able to communicate effectively and maintain its campaign.

Even with the advantages provided by high-population density, the IRA was forced to adapt its C3 structure during its thirty-year campaign against the British. Although the military-like structure of the IRA took advantage of communication opportunities and provided adequate command and control, its size and complexity made it vulnerable to penetration. David Pearson says that the British “forced the PIRA [Provisional IRA] to restructure into small ASUs [Active Service Units].”<sup>20</sup> These smaller groups more successfully maintained their anonymity and allowed command and control to continue in the face of increasing British pressure. This new structure was so successful that the IRA’s enemies even began to copy their new organizational structure. RAND expert Ian Lesser describes how these groups began to emulate the organization that the IRA was compelled to adopt, saying that “they too were now increasingly ‘running their operations from small cells, on a need to know basis.’”<sup>21</sup> This small-cell structure allowed the IRA to maintain its anonymity. The ability for even these small cells to blend into the population depended primarily on the high-population density that urban centers offer.

Finally, according to J. Bowyer Bell, a professor at the University of Columbia’s School of International and Public Affairs, the IRA was able to make use of what he calls “urban Catholic districts...where the population had already felt the brunt of Protestant wrath and the British army” as places of refuge.<sup>22</sup> Some of these urban Catholic districts became hostile zones for the British; the IRA openly ruled these areas and even went so far as to place guards at

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<sup>20</sup> Michael Desch et al. *Soldiers in Cities: Military Operations on Urban Terrain* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2001), p. 117.

<sup>21</sup> Ian O. Lesser et al. *Countering the New Terrorism* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1999), p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> J. Bowyer Bell Jr. “The Escalation of Insurgency: The Provisional Irish Republican Army’s Experience, 1969-1971” *The Review of Politics* 35 (1973), p. 40.

fortified positions near the entrances.<sup>23</sup> This overt display of power would not have been possible without significant support from the population. Dingley further explains that in areas of above-average Republican support, “operatives cannot only move easily and without comment but also can find easy and relatively willing popular refuge.”<sup>24</sup> This refuge facilitates communications by providing safe places for meetings and eases the collection of intelligence, which increases the IRA’s ability to communicate and move about. As Dingley says, this refuge afforded a “steady stream of locally provided information in addition to conducting their own surveillance without generating adverse attention.”<sup>25</sup> This local intelligence was a vital asset to the IRA’s efforts.

Overall, the presence of large crowds, often sympathetic to the Republican cause, provided the IRA with freedom of movement, freedom to meet, and shelter that promoted communications and simplified command and control. It also had other operational advantages such as access to intelligence and providing a target-rich environment.

### Urban Infrastructure

The nature of urban infrastructure lends many advantages to the insurgent. These advantages are derived from the structure and proximity of buildings and the available communication and transportation systems. These factors both aid insurgent forces and hinder those of the counterinsurgency. Counterinsurgent forces often must rely on their own communications equipment as well as provide water and electricity to soldiers while the insurgents can make use of city services. This occurs because combat operations often take

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<sup>23</sup> Michael Dewar. *The British Army in Northern Ireland* (London: Arms and Armor Press, 1985), p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> Dingley. p. 459.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

place inside a city, but an occupying military will usually be forced to live outside of the city where access to services is limited.

Another characteristic of urban infrastructure that supports insurgents is that cities conceal movement. Roads and alleys in cities allow insurgents to move in ways that counterinsurgents cannot detect. Insurgents can use the unique three-dimensional nature of the urban environment to assist them in attack and escape. These urban elements allow insurgents to attack from either above or below an enemy position. For example, an insurgent force might simultaneously utilize a sewer and a rooftop to mobilize their forces, mount an attack, or retreat. These three-dimensional capabilities are seldom as readily employable in a rural scenario.

City infrastructure can also hinder the movement of counterinsurgent forces. The buildings and roads force a counterinsurgent military to move in predictable ways and in confined areas. Such movement makes it easier for the insurgents to ambush enemy forces and cut off escape routes, much as mountains, rivers, and forests do in rural areas.<sup>26</sup> This limited mobility of the counterinsurgent forces also simplifies the problem of escape and evasion for retreating insurgent forces after an attack.

The urban environment decreases the effectiveness of a technologically-superior force's primary assets: firepower, communications, and mobility. The density of urban structures typically necessitates small-unit action. The most important units in urban warfare are small teams of soldiers rather than large brigades or divisions.<sup>27</sup> This small-unit action lessens the counterinsurgents' ability to bring to bear their usual advantage of overwhelming firepower. In cities, the overwhelming firepower used by technologically-superior forces can demolish a

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<sup>26</sup> Olga Olikier. *Russia's Chechen Wars: 1994-2000* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), pp. 19-20.

<sup>27</sup> Timothy L. Thomas. "The Battle of Grozny: Deadly Classroom for Urban Combat," (Parameters, 1999), <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/99summer/thomas.htm> (accessed April 14, 2006).

combat zone, resulting in the destruction of a city or its inhabitants' homes, which is often just as undesirable as civilian casualties.

Urban infrastructure also degrades communications. Buildings and other structures can cause interference with electronic communications, such as radio signals on which the counterinsurgent military relies.<sup>28</sup> Sean Edwards of RAND says that, “the growing reliance of the U.S. military on ‘information superiority’ underscores the need to address problems of military communication in urban areas.”<sup>29</sup> Conversely, the city can provide the insurgents with cellular networks, telephone wires, and established social networks that can all be used for covert communications by insurgents who easily blend into the populace.<sup>30</sup>

The urban infrastructure has an added advantage to the insurgents: the established media in the city makes sure that the insurgents’ propaganda reaches a worldwide audience within minutes. In a rural setting the insurgents may have difficulty getting their message to reach enough people, but in a city rapid dissemination is almost inevitable. This can drastically increase the political value of each of the insurgents’ attacks.

### *The Influence of Urban Infrastructure upon the C3 of the Algerian FLN*

In an effort to simplify C3 while operating in the difficult urban environment, the FLN typically used a single team or small-unit tactics. Consequently, the FLN was organized around six geographic military zones called Wilayas. Each Wilaya had a regional commander, who was selected by the nine founders of the insurgency. According to British military journalist Edgar O’Ballance, the leader of each Wilaya maintained autonomous responsibility in their region and

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<sup>28</sup> Sean J. A. Edwards. *Improving Communications in Urban Warfare Research Brief* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002), p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Oliker, pp. 18-19, 70.

was responsible for “raising, arming, and training a field force of insurgent fighters and supporting auxiliaries, [to] pursue active operations.”<sup>31</sup>

At the beginning of the insurgency, the FLN faced setbacks in urban battles against French forces. To better adapt to the urban environment, FLN leaders decided to restructure their C3 around a plan developed by Chinese revolutionary Mao Tse-tung. This plan involved clandestine and defensive action, larger ambushes and raids, and a full-scale offensive campaign. The first stage, clandestine and defensive actions, was aimed at recruitment, publicity, harassment, and gathering war materials. The second phase involved more direct engagements to demoralize the enemy while the insurgency built up its own strength. The final stage was to engage the enemy in conventional warfare using regular military units and equipment to force the enemy’s withdrawal.<sup>32</sup> Many times, these autonomous FLN leaders attempted to employ a mixing of all phases and moved too rapidly from one to another without having the support in place, thus limiting their effectiveness.<sup>33</sup>

The French construction of the Morice Line in 1957 severely limited foreign command, control, and communications of insurgent forces in Algeria. This fortification system was heavily defended with artillery and air support that could be instantly directed at any breach along its border with Tunisia and Morocco. The closure of these borders prevented urban FLN commanders from employing a foreign-trained army that had laid in wait across the border. The Morice Line was successful at preventing FLN members from receiving any further outside assistance in manpower, equipment, or provisions.<sup>34</sup>

The FLN took advantage of the urban infrastructure, such as the limited access regions in the Kasbah, to further its private and public communications. Established in 1956, the FLN’s

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<sup>31</sup> O’Ballance, p. 41.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>34</sup> Charles R. Schrader. *The First Helicopter War* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1999), p. 103.

newspaper, *El Moudjahid*, was secretly distributed throughout the city of Algiers. Near the end of 1956, the FLN created a clandestine radio station, Voix de l'Algerie, with the purpose of bolstering morale and generating supporters. Prior to the creation of this station, Algerians were unfamiliar with the transistor radio, but afterwards Algerians obtained every available unit in the country. According to Alistair Horne, the insurgency's communication was changed as "the transistor radio became a major weapon of war."<sup>35</sup> The French first tried to combat the effectiveness of this radio station by prohibiting the sale of radios, but when this did not succeed, French authorities jammed transmissions. In the end, both methods did little to combat the popularity of Voix de l'Algerie, which brought the FLN into the mainstream.<sup>36</sup>

The FLN routinely used street-gathered intelligence to gain an advantage over the enemy. The FLN relied on prostitutes, beggars, and drug dealers that would usually be out on the street, and would not arouse suspicion. These spies kept the insurgency informed about enemy troop whereabouts and provided information to aid the insurgents in protecting their own C3 system. The FLN was also able to set up many double agents within the local French government to provide false reports.<sup>37</sup>

### *The Influence of Urban Infrastructure upon the C3 of the IRA*

Unlike rural environments where internet access, cell-phone towers, and phone lines are not as prevalent, the urban environment is full of communications options for insurgents. Internet blogs and forums, telephones, cell phones, e-mail, and videoconferencing can all be found and used without much trouble and within a convenient geographical area. The RIRA (or Real IRA, a group that broke off from the PIRA), for example, made use of videoconferencing

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<sup>35</sup> Horne, p. 133.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>37</sup> Mounir et al., p. 5.

during their campaigns.<sup>38</sup> This infrastructure however, can both help and hinder an insurgency's C3.

In an example of how this infrastructure has influenced command and control capabilities, the RIRA became notorious for the execution of one particular bombing incident, in which they made use of local telephones. Dingley, describing a last-minute alteration in RIRA plans says, "two calls were made giving coded warnings from telephone boxes in South Armagh...It is unlikely that they would have said 'we planted the bomb' or anything similar. Instead, they probably had an agreed signal of letting the phone ring a certain number of times to be repeated another number of times. This would have made it difficult to communicate any change in location."<sup>39</sup> The positives and negatives of urban infrastructure can be seen in this case. Telephones provided command and control, and allowed the plan's execution; however, the inability to communicate a change in plans (without alerting authorities) and exercise control over operations limited the group's flexibility, and resulted in many unintended casualties and a public outcry that the organization did not want.

Urban infrastructure grants significant operational benefits to an insurgency. This infrastructure allows increased command and control during operations. As an example of these benefits, an FBI and MI5 spy within the RIRA purchased electronic organizers for the IRA's use, not expecting that they could be used in any dangerous way. He was horrified however, when the RIRA's engineers told him that they planned to use the organizers as time-delay mechanisms for bombs. They further informed him that they had perfected a way to use cell phones to trigger an explosive device.<sup>40</sup> These cell phones could not have been used in an area absent of the required infrastructure to support cellular networks, and they provided a means to execute a

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<sup>38</sup> John Mooney and Michael O'Toole. *Black Operations: The Secret War Against the Real IRA* (Ashbourne, Co. Meath: Maverick House, 2003), p. 245.

<sup>39</sup> Dingley, p. 460.

<sup>40</sup> Mooney and O'Toole, p. 248.

mission without being physically present. This allowed those executing the operation to stay in closer contact with their comrades without arousing suspicion.

Another way the IRA took advantage of C3 opportunities in the urban environment is through the use of media to amplify the significance of events. In rural areas a bomb blast at a local gas station, which would likely kill just a few people, would not attract the same degree of attention as a bomb blast on a subway, which would likely kill many more. The increased numbers of casualties combined with greater access to media gives urban insurgencies an ability to make better use of their attacks as propaganda. Dingley relates the influence of the media on IRA campaigns in Northern Ireland,

As a center for most of County Tyrone any event occurring there would naturally have greater follow-on effects both in terms of practical disruptions of services and in generating gossip and word of mouth propaganda. Media reporting would also be relatively easy as it not only has its own local newspaper with all its reporting facilities and links to the national media but also houses local studios of the regional branches of both national broadcasting organizations (the British Broadcasting Corporation and Independent Television). Propaganda by deed as well as by media was thus assured.<sup>41</sup>

The IRA used mainstream media, but it also made use of pro-IRA media institutions. The IRA's use of sympathetic media to spread its propaganda can be seen in the press reaction to a 1971 bombing where a pro-Nationalist newspaper countered the blame placed on the IRA by Loyalist papers by printed headlines blaming others for bombings.<sup>42</sup>

Although media attention does not at first seem to be a C3 issue, one author has made a suggestion of how the information-rich, urban environment affects an insurgency. Bell has suggested that it lessens the need for conventional communication. He proposes that conventional communication could be replaced to some extent. The alternative is that C3 is maintained by external information sources instead of direct communication. This external

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<sup>41</sup> Dingley, p. 458-459.

<sup>42</sup> Alfred McClung Lee. *Terrorism in Northern Ireland* (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc. Publishers, 1983), p. 178.

information maintains a unity of purpose for the organization. This unity eliminates the need for most communication and allows independent units to operate without guidance.

J. Bowyer Bell explains this concept further. He says, “security forces cannot easily prevent Republican communication that takes place without visible form, instantly, over great distance...much of the time there are no orthodox channels to find, to cut, to manipulate.”<sup>43</sup> He further explains, “This means in the most meaningful terms that an Active-Service Unit (ASU) does not need to communicate conventionally because all relevant data is at hand [often through the mainstream media]; and ‘new’ data from command and control are often unnecessary.”<sup>44</sup> Although this seems at first to contradict the idea that effective and clear communications are necessary for insurgents, this concept may lessen the need for active command and control and should not be discounted.

### Iraq: The Influence of High-population density and Urban Infrastructure upon C3

From the preceding case studies, the reader may make some educated guesses regarding the nature of the Iraqi insurgency’s C3. The urban environment, specifically its high-population density and its distinct infrastructure, should affect the Iraqi insurgency in many of the same ways that it did in the Algerian or the Irish insurgencies.

First, the FLN used many underground communications methods. Newspapers and radio stations were both located in hostile urban zones where French forces seldom ventured. These media outlets were used to raise morale and spread propaganda. They were even able to aid in collecting information about French forces and help plan attacks. The IRA also made extensive use of sympathetic media outlets and hostile urban zones.

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<sup>43</sup> J. Bowyer Bell. *The IRA, 1968-2000* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), p. 200.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

As most people know, the Iraqi insurgency has used videos to disseminate its message. This is similar to the Algerian and Irish insurgencies. Sending video tapes to television stations such as al-Jazeera is a favorite of insurgent forces. A New York Times article by John F. Burns and Erik Eckholm relates that Zarqawi had his followers kidnap the sons of a provincial governor, send a video tape of the kidnapping to their father, and force him to record an announcement of his repentance for cooperating with Americans. This announcement was then sent to Al-Jazeera.<sup>45</sup> Insurgents have issued statements via numerous videos as well. Edward Wong reports for the New York Times that Al-Jazeera aired a video of an insurgent group holding a hostage and demanding that Poland withdraw its troops.<sup>46</sup>

Professor J. Bowyer Bell's suggestion that the IRA used the media to lessen the need for C3 also applies to Iraq. The insurgents are using the media to glean lessons learned from the attacks of other insurgents. Anthony Cordesman, from the Center for Strategic and International Studies, says that:

The insurgents also can take advantage of new reporting on the internet, the steady growth of Iraqi media and near-real time new reporting, and other media coverage of the fighting, particularly by Arab satellite television. This coverage has often provided a near-real time picture of what tactics and weapons work, what strikes have most media and political impact, and often what targets are vulnerable.<sup>47</sup>

The use of street-gathered intelligence is prolific in Iraq just as it was in Ireland and Algeria. The insurgents have been very successful in collecting this type of intelligence, often by penetrating their enemies' organizations. Cordesman says that, "the insurgents have good

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<sup>45</sup> John F. Burns and Erik Eckholm. "In Western Iraq, Fundamentalists Hold U.S. at Bay," (New York Times, 2004), <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/29/international/middleeast/29province.html?ex=1251518400&en=f564fdf54e7c722b&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt> (accessed April 14, 2006).

<sup>46</sup> Edward Wong. "9 Marines Die as Insurgents Mount Attacks," (New York Times, 2004), <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/31/international/middleeast/31iraq.html?ei=5088&en=b499ad7198e6791c&ex=1256875200&partner=rssnyt&pagewanted=print&position=> (accessed April 14, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman. *The Iraqi Insurgency and the Risk of Civil War: Who Are the Players?* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2006), p. 8.

sources within the Iraqi Interim Government and forces, Iraqi society and sometimes in local U.S. and Coalition commands.”<sup>48</sup> This has been commonly seen in the news reports from Iraq stating that the insurgents had used both Iraqi police and military equipment to conduct their operations.

The anonymity of crowds aided both the insurgents of the FLN and IRA. The FLN used the crowds to surround themselves with willing civilians when firing at French forces to conceal the identity of the shooter, and help them to rapidly disperse after an operation. After disposing of their weapons and merging back into the population, there was almost no chance of finding them. The IRA used these crowds to hide their operational movements and to mask planning meetings of all shapes and sizes. These large, concentrated crowds also made word-of-mouth communication possible and effective. This method was used extensively for all types of communication in the FLN, often throughout the Kasbah. The IRA was able to take advantage of these crowds of people to move and meet unhindered by British authorities.

The Iraqi insurgents also make use of crowds and local support to aid them in C3 and in operations. Todd Pitman of the Washington Post relates how the insurgents use the population as cover; he says that U.S. forces had “come under fire by a dozen insurgents who were holding children and firing at U.S. forces – knowing Marines would not return fire.”<sup>49</sup> They also use the crowd to hide when not attacking. The same article also says, “they hide among the population, among families, women, and children.” The New York Times also reported in a Q&A article that the insurgents “appear able to hide among the population.” These insurgents are making use of the high-population density to facilitate movement, security, and attack.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>49</sup> Todd Pitman. “Ramadi Insurgents Develop Clever Tactics,” (Washington Post, 2006), [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/04/09/AR2006040900559\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/04/09/AR2006040900559_pf.html) (accessed April 14, 2006).

Insurgents in Iraq use both low-tech and high-tech means of communications. Although the FLN did not have access to much high-tech equipment and mostly made due with messengers and other low-tech methods, the IRA makes good use of modern technology. The IRA has displayed an interesting mixture of low-tech and high-tech communications methods to avoid detection by opposing forces. Everything from low-tech, face-to-face meetings to telephones to videoconferencing was used to confuse the British and evade detection.

Insurgents in Iraq, similar to the ones in Algeria and Ireland, have displayed a particular brilliance in combining increased sophistication with traditional, often low-tech, methods of communication. The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) recently released a report on national security threats that addressed al-Qaeda's sophisticated communications methods. The report says, "al-Qaeda and associated jihadist groups utilize Internet technology for communications and propaganda. Technology, including e-mail, password-protected chat rooms, and websites, is used to communicate and reinforce jihadist ideology and promote anti-U.S. sentiment."<sup>50</sup> Todd Pitman has reported on some of the low-tech methods used by the Iraqi insurgency, such as kites and pigeons to communicate and coordinate attacks.<sup>51</sup> This combination increases the effectiveness of their communications system because counterinsurgent forces cannot direct their attention on any single method.

Like the FLN and IRA, the various Iraqi insurgent groups use hierarchical organizations whose units have a high degree of independence and vary in size. Cordesman says that some cells could be just two or three men, while others sometimes operate in groups of 30-50 men, though they only gather for one operation.<sup>52</sup> Record and Terrill claim that most Iraqi fighters

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<sup>50</sup> Michael D. Maples. *Current and Projected Threats to the United States: Statement for the Record: Senate Armed Services Committee, 28 February 2006* (Defense Intelligence Agency, 2006), p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> Pitman.

<sup>52</sup> Cordesman (2006), p. 14.

operate in units no larger than squads (usually eight to 12 men).<sup>53</sup> As the example of the FLN demonstrates, using these small groups aids in moving undetected, retreating from an attack, and simplifying command and control.

As we have seen, the high population density and urban infrastructure can be used by an insurgency to increase its chance of success. The tactics of command, control, and communication are modified to fit the situation and exploit an enemy's weakness. An urban insurgency will likely incorporate the advantages that come from a densely-populated environment, such as the ability to conceal movement, allow face-to-face meetings, and obtain local intelligence. An urban insurgency will also likely incorporate the advantages offered by the urban infrastructure: supply networks, technical communication opportunities, increased freedom of movement for the insurgency, and restricted movement for the counterinsurgent forces. The insurgents will organize into small, somewhat independent units that can take advantage of these opportunities, and give them the ability to defeat or wear-down superior military forces.

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<sup>53</sup> Record and Terrill, p. 17.

## **Role of Islam in Insurgencies** Glenn Welling and Kyle Ritter

Islam has displayed the capacity to influence insurgencies through a variety of means; five primary aspects of the religion's influence will be examined here. The notion of jihad, the ability to unify disparate groups, the impact on the surrounding culture, the capability to recruit insurgents, and the effects of religious education all constitute significant influences on Muslim insurgencies and affect their C3. These five aspects will be examined by analyses of the Afghan insurgency against the Soviet Union, the modern Kashmiri insurgency, and the Algerian insurgency against France. These historical lessons will then be applied to the current Iraqi insurgency.

### The Role of Jihad in Insurgencies

Jihad, the first aspect of Islam's influence, has often been perceived by Westerners as a war against non-believers, but this viewpoint warrants re-examination.<sup>54</sup> Robert Canfield, a sociocultural anthropologist who has spent nearly a decade in Afghanistan, stresses:

The ritual that most effectively joined Islamic notions of virtue with notions of public obligation was the jihad or 'holy struggle.' The jihad is the highest, most honorable quest of a Muslim. It is the struggle for a pure inner life as well as for upright relations in one's social affairs and a just society in the world at large—inner purity, upright relations, and social justice.<sup>55</sup>

Despite the Western misperception, there are areas where jihad has spread peacefully, suggesting that the military aspect is not the essence of jihad.<sup>56</sup> Because the idea of jihad appears to be imprecise in nature, it can be exploited by charismatic leaders who define jihad and preach it in a

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<sup>54</sup> Ahmed Rashid. *Jihad: the Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Mike Hauner and Robert L. Canfield. *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1989), p. 23.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* Rashid, p. 2.

manner supportive of their causes. It is precisely this capacity that makes jihad a significant characteristic of Islam that can influence insurgencies.

The “greater” jihad, as espoused by Mohammed, involves the effort of each human being to strive for self-improvement. It has been described by Ahmed Rashid, a Pakistani journalist who has covered Central Asia for 25 years, as, “the inner struggle of moral discipline and commitment to Islam and political action.”<sup>57</sup> Jihad can also become the means for mobilizing political and social struggle. When Muslims focus too much on the political aspects, they can neglect the spiritual dimensions that emphasize inner meditation. When jihad is exploited for political reasons in this way, it can be described as lesser jihad.

Although Islam *does* sanction rebellion against any unjust ruler, today’s leaders of jihad often tend to embrace the lesser instead of the greater jihad.<sup>58</sup> Lesser jihads are frequently characterized by a lack of desire to transform culture positively; they do not have plans for better government or economic situations, but simply focus on a single charismatic leader as opposed to a democratically arranged organization. They often desire to implement Sharia, or Islamic law, to regulate the personal behavior of Muslims instead of seeking the creation of a just society in accordance with greater jihad.<sup>59</sup> A perfect example of the exploitation of jihad is provided by Usama bin Laden. He has worked to convince Muslims that they are defending themselves against the United States, thus promoting a defensive jihad. The anonymous Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer who wrote *Imperial Hubris* says, “For Bin Laden, the Crusaders’ offensive attacks on Islam are the main thing. The theological credibility of his call for a defensive jihad depends on Muslims being convinced that Islam is under attack by non-Muslim forces.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Rashid, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.; Oliver Roy. *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 33.

<sup>59</sup> Rashid, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Anonymous. *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror* (Dulles, VA: Brassey’s, 2004), p. 129.

Though jihad heavily influences insurgencies, it does not appear to directly shape C3. However, without jihad, the role of the other four factors would be reduced. The idea of jihad must be understood in order to have a correct perception of Islam's ability to unify disparate groups, impact the surrounding culture, aid insurgent recruiting capability, and employ religious education. Likewise, jihad could be considered a tool that *enables* C3, in part through the authority given to clerics and in part via the role of mosques and madrassas in spreading jihad.

### *The Role of Jihad in Afghanistan*

In Afghanistan in 1980, Major General Oleg Sarin and Colonel Lev Dvoretzky claim:

The mujahideen struggle was continuing to gain momentum using the powerful pull of Islamic jihad. It gave their combat activities a religious connotation and a basis that became very important for the movement, since it brought the mujahideen an aura of Allah's warriors engaged in a just struggle to save the motherland and fulfill the will of the Most High.<sup>61</sup>

The role of jihad was so pronounced in Afghanistan that Sharia routinely replaced the highly valued tribal codes and facilitated the emergence of new, non-tribal religious chiefs.<sup>62</sup> In other words, the Afghan insurgency was comprised of different groups that had not been united until religious leaders called for jihad against the "godless Communist regime in Kabul."<sup>63</sup>

In Afghanistan, mujahideen insurgents were occasionally successful in executing their command and control objectives. At times, raiding forces of about thirty men were divided into smaller groups that included maneuver elements and fire support.<sup>64</sup> They planned and executed actions in provinces close to national borders to ensure quick re-enforcement and, if necessary,

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<sup>61</sup> Oleg Sarin and Lev Dvoretzky. *The Afghan Syndrome: the Soviet Union's Vietnam* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1993), p. 78.

<sup>62</sup> Roy, pp. 61-62.

<sup>63</sup> Sarin and Dvoretzky, pp. 44, 49.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

swift and easy retreat.<sup>65</sup> In some cases, operations were planned in Iran, and then leaders would secretly return to Afghanistan to execute the plan.<sup>66</sup> Insurgents were also able to organize airplane observation networks that would observe flight paths in order to carry out stinger missile attacks.<sup>67</sup> Admittedly, the examples mentioned are not extraordinary and not exclusive to jihad, but they do illustrate how groups inspired by jihad met specific C3 objectives in utilizing manpower, mission planning, and military intelligence.

The mujahideen did not often have well-understood chains of command or effective radio communications. One self-imposed disability was that mujahideen factions did not incorporate talented officers who had served under previous Afghan regimes. Due to factional politics, many officers that desired to work with the mujahideen were not permitted.<sup>68</sup> As a result of the exclusion of these experienced officers, the mujahideen's C3 suffered.

### *The Role of Jihad in Kashmir*

Jihad elements are not quite as distinct in Kashmir, but they do exist. A senior vice president of the Congress Party in Kashmir stated that rhetoric promoting jihad is effective.<sup>69</sup> Political Scientist Rajat Ganguly used stronger language, insisting "there is a growing realization that the secessionist insurgency has been almost completely taken over and dominated by foreign jihadi outfits who are more interested in promoting the pan-Islamic cause than the cause of

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>66</sup> Roy, p. 108.

<sup>67</sup> Sarin and Dvoretzky, p. 101.

<sup>68</sup> Ali Ahmad Jalali and Lester W. Grau. *The Other Side of the Mountain: Mujahideen Tactics and the Soviet-Afghan War* (Quantico, VA: United States Marine Corps, 1995), pp. 63, 67, 158, 402.

<sup>69</sup> Sumantra Bose. *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 57.

Kashmir.”<sup>70</sup> Jihad has influenced insurgents in Kashmir, but its role appears to be largely subservient to nationalism.

### *The Role of Jihad in Algeria*

Revolutionaries in the Algerian War of Independence often framed their cause in terms of jihad because it was a struggle for social justice, an aspect of greater jihad. One small aspect of this was that some forces described their casualties as martyrs. Ray Takeyh, Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies for the Council on Foreign Relations, stated that Islamists aimed to make a connection in the minds of the people between Algerian independence and the cause of Islam.<sup>71</sup> Use of jihadi ideals facilitated the insurgency’s C3, primarily through the other Muslim characteristics that will be discussed.

The revolutionaries did not desire a war, but they were willing to utilize any means to achieve their objectives. Algerian nationalists sincerely pursued democratic methods to achieve social justice, but were consistently cheated.<sup>72</sup> They failed; peaceful efforts lent additional credibility to the war and allowed the nationalists to see themselves as freedom fighters rather than as aggressors. About one year into the war, a document signed by Algerian representatives, over half of whom were Muslim, proclaimed that the vast majority of Algerians accepted nationalist ideals.<sup>73</sup> Among the political reasons cited, the declaration focused on the fight for social justice. Clearly, the Algerian War of Independence was influenced by jihadi principles.

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<sup>70</sup> Rajat Ganguly. “India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Insurgency, Causes, Dynamics, and Prospects for Resolution.” *Asian Studies Review* 25 (2001): 324.

<sup>71</sup> Ray Takeyh. *Algeria: A Struggle Between Hope and Agony* (Council on Foreign Relations, Summer 2003), p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> Tanya Matthews. *War in Algeria: Background for Crisis* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), p. 38.

<sup>73</sup> Matthews, p. 49.

## The Unifying Effect of Islam

The second characteristic of Islam is its impact on insurgencies through the ability to unify the Muslim population. Even when Islamic groups have diverse ideologies, agendas, and support bases, they can come together to focus on a common cause.<sup>74</sup> An examination of the insurgencies in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Algeria will show that there are many differences between the groups that join forces for a greater purpose. They are founded on an understanding of Islamic ideology and their aspiration is to restructure society, beginning with the state.<sup>75</sup> The end goal of these groups is an Islamic utopia established by revolution - ideals often aligned with those of jihad.<sup>76</sup>

Usama bin Laden understands the power of Islam to coalesce both people and interest groups. According to a CIA officer who has focused on and written about al-Qaeda, bin Laden lays “blame for the decrepit conditions of Islamic civilization on the Muslims themselves,” but he condemns the West for attacking Islam. The officer reiterates that bin Laden admits “the fact that many Muslims have strayed from the path set down by Allah and His prophet and failed to join a defensive jihad to defeat the West.”<sup>77</sup> For this reason bin Laden has a desire to unite Muslims. Finally, the CIA officer states that bin Laden “emphasizes that he and al-Qaeda alone cannot produce a Muslim victory. Instead, he sees al-Qaeda’s primary responsibility as inciting Muslims to join a defensive jihad and to help to train and lead those who come forward.”<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Rashid, p. x.

<sup>75</sup> Roy, p. 6.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Anonymous, p. 114.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

### *Islam as a Unifying Factor in Afghanistan*

The mujahideen in Afghanistan joined together to defend their country and religion against a hostile foreign invader and its ideology.<sup>79</sup> Loyalties in Afghanistan were divided between the local and Muslim communities, but Olivier Roy, author of several books about the impacts of Islam, has stated that the history of Afghanistan is marked by a number of periods in which the “ruling circles came together under the banner of pan-Islamism.”<sup>80</sup> In the years preceding the Soviet invasion, there was much fighting between tribes, but they realized it would be beneficial to band together to resist the common enemy.<sup>81</sup>

Despite instances of cooperation, the mujahideen insurgency was marred by frequent disunity and a lack of coordination between the towns, the army, and the countryside.<sup>82</sup> When cooperation existed, the Islamic faith played a key role. The mosque is the center of the village in rural Afghanistan and a suitable place for communal gatherings in which men come together to discuss problems, resolve conflicts, and converse about other important matters.<sup>83</sup> Thus, it appears likely that mosques could have easily facilitated communications and organization for insurgent operations.

### *Islam as a Unifying Factor in Kashmir*

In Kashmir, unification has been driven by religious-based ethnic tension and a web of other political issues.<sup>84</sup> Throughout the last century there has been a disparity between Hindu

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<sup>79</sup> Jalali and Grau, p. xiv.

<sup>80</sup> Roy, p. 8. Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>82</sup> Roy, p. 103; Jalali and Grau, p. 401.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>84</sup> Congressional Research Service. *Kashmir: Recent Developments and U.S. Concerns* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2002), p. 4.

rulers and the Muslim majority in Kashmir.<sup>85</sup> One example is that Muslim areas were much more heavily taxed than those of other ethnic groups.<sup>86</sup> In 1931, young Muslims organized and attempted to present a list of grievances to the Maharaja. A riot ensued and 21 people were killed when police loyal to the Maharaja opened fire on the crowd. This event was a turning point in Kashmiri political organization.<sup>87</sup>

The Kashmiri National Congress, one of the most important Kashmiri political groups in the middle of the last century, had ideological and mobilization strategies that were heavily influenced by Islam.<sup>88</sup> The opposition took notice, and in August 1947, a number of prominent Muslim bureaucrats were massacred on a train by Sikhs. This and other events, including election fraud, led some to pursue militant actions.<sup>89</sup> These types of events were not forgotten.

The long history of Muslim alienation turned into bitterness and anger.<sup>90</sup> In Pakistan, home to many Muslims who desire Kashmir's accession, religious devotion plays a role in the assistance to Kashmiri insurgents.<sup>91</sup> The insurrection may be more severe in Indian Kashmir than Pakistani Kashmir because Muslims are reluctant to take up arms against other Muslims.<sup>92</sup> The religious bonds between Muslims in Pakistan and Muslims in Kashmir cannot be ignored. It is likely that some of Pakistan's assistance has aided part of the insurgency's C3, but it is not conclusive.

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<sup>85</sup> Bose, p. 16.

<sup>86</sup> Victoria Schofield. *Kashmir in Conflict* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 15.

<sup>87</sup> Bose, p. 18.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>89</sup> Schofield, p. 15. Bose, pp. 49-50.

<sup>90</sup> Schofield, p. 152.

<sup>91</sup> Chalk, Peter. "Pakistan's Role in the Kashmir Insurgency." (Rand 2001).

<http://rand.org/commentary/090101JIR.html> (accessed February 23, 2006).

<sup>92</sup> Bose, p. 100.

### *Islam as a Unifying Factor in Algeria*

Islam served as the foremost factor in unifying the revolutionaries of Algeria. This can be seen by the support received from other Muslim nations and by the initial exclusion of the Colons and other non-Muslims from their fight. The rebels benefited from material, financial, diplomatic, propaganda, and moral support from Arab countries, particularly Tunisia and Morocco.<sup>93</sup>

Algerian Muslims were not united against the French from the beginning, yet Islam united them against the French. In 1954, the inhabitants of Algeria saw the rebels as outlaws. Months later, the populace came to call them “fighters for the faith,” expressing their feeling that the cause of Islam was at stake.<sup>94</sup> Threats and assassinations by the FLN gained concessions for Muslims. Because of FLN actions, the French government was granting as much as the Muslims had hoped for by earlier peaceful methods.<sup>95</sup> The FLN’s achievements benefited other Muslims who increasingly viewed themselves as united with the FLN cause.

As the fight progressed, revolution leaders became more focused on previous military experience in their recruitment efforts. As a result, the insurgency began to draw non-Muslims, but the FLN never forgot the Islamic roots of the war. An FLN handbook stated, “It is recommended that every moudjahid [freedom fighter] practice the principles of the Muslim religion.”<sup>96</sup> In fact, Muslim insurgents often tried to convert new recruits who did not ascribe to the Islamic faith.<sup>97</sup>

Islam was a unifying factor within the revolution’s leadership in a manner particularly valuable to its C3. The command and control of the Algerian Revolution was not dominated by

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<sup>93</sup> David Galula. *Pacification in Algeria, 1956-58* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1963), p. 6.

<sup>94</sup> Matthews, p. 48.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>96</sup> Joan Gillespie. *Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution* (Westport, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 109.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

a single charismatic leader, but was bound together by the insurgents' devotion to Islam. Their refusal to rally behind a single individual made the command and control structure resilient, even when major leaders were captured or killed.<sup>98</sup> Although the leadership had its differences, it remained united due to its common devotion to Islam.

### Islam's Impact on Culture

A third characteristic of Islam is its ability to affect the local culture. For centuries, the meshing of powerful religious and political ideas has had a significant effect on Middle Eastern culture, just as Judeo-Christian ideas have impacted Western culture on a broad level. It is also clear that there are varying degrees of religious devotion, similar to what can be observed in the West. As an example, according to Canfield, "Islamists are fundamentalists in their call for a return to basic Islamic texts."<sup>99</sup> They denounce modern Islamic society for not adhering to what they perceive as fundamental Islamic values and apply radical ideals in order to restore Islam to what they view as its rightful place in society.<sup>100</sup> The 20<sup>th</sup> century Islamist movement is a blend of fundamentalism and orthodoxy that believes it offers a social cure for the modern Islamic world.<sup>101</sup> Although Islam's impact on culture has a very limited influence on C3, it is important because it has played a crucial role in the development of the insurgencies we are examining.

### *Islam's Impact on Culture in Afghanistan*

Islam has shaped the culture of Afghanistan. Canfield states that before the arrival of European influence in Afghanistan, "the established social structures of social obligation and alignment were essentially based on ethnic, sectarian, and community ties, all of which were

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, p. 102.

<sup>99</sup> Hauner and Canfield, p. 29.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

reinforced by Islamic notions.”<sup>102</sup> As Roy further describes, Islam distinctively impacted and shaped the culture “where everyday life revolves around religious practices and common law in the non-tribal zones is impregnated by the Sharia.”<sup>103</sup>

One important theological development in Afghanistan during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century stressed the importance of personal interpretation of the scriptures.<sup>104</sup> Such developmental shifts in religion are capable of eliciting profound changes when culture is so steeped in religion. The allowance of increased personal interpretation granted charismatic leaders additional license to align their followers with their personal goals.

Furthermore, the more the Soviet Union tried to stamp out Islam, the more it spread as a form of ethnic, regional, and religious resistance.<sup>105</sup> This phenomenon points to the possibility that resistance to outsiders may be an inherent characteristic of Islam, and that it influenced the Afghan culture. There is evidence to support such a possibility. Canfield asserts that Sunni leaders of the Afghan mujahideen “arose from frames of reference already in place in the Islamic world view” because Islamism was “an ideology of resistance, even revulsion, against the intrusion of Soviet military power.”<sup>106</sup> Many sought to create a truly Islamic nation where society would be based on religion as opposed to Soviet ideology.<sup>107</sup> Accordingly, some leaders supported strict observance of Islam as a means of opposition to the Soviet regime.<sup>108</sup> This type of Islam-inspired Afghan resistance against the Soviets was mainly organized by region and this type of structure affected some specific elements of C3. For example, command and control was

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<sup>102</sup> Hauner and Canfield, p. 22.

<sup>103</sup> Roy, p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>105</sup> Rashid, p. 43.

<sup>106</sup> Hauner and Canfield, pp. 26, 31.

<sup>107</sup> Sarin and Dvoretzky, p. 44.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

often established by tribal and religious leaders who decided how guerrilla actions would be executed.<sup>109</sup>

### *Islam's Impact on Culture in Kashmir*

Islamic fundamentalism had been unknown in Kashmir until the generally secular movement developed 'Islamist' overtones as a result of changes within Pakistani society and influences from Afghanistan.<sup>110</sup> By the late 1980s, Kashmiri Muslims' frustration with the Indian government finally led to a serious secessionist movement.<sup>111</sup> Following the manipulation of the 1987 elections by the Indian government, alienated youth joined "politico-religious" organizations that served as outlets to vent their frustrations. Subsequently, the armed insurgency gathered momentum. With the fall of the Soviet Union and subsequent emergence of five independent Muslim nations, the insurgency gained additional life.<sup>112</sup> After the death of more than one hundred people in a 1990 protest at Srinagar, an event that was downplayed by the Indian government, the insurgency seemed to be supported by the Muslim population as a whole, rather than only by fundamentalist groups.<sup>113</sup> The sequence of social and political events throughout Kashmir's recent history, mixed with Islamic tendencies, resulted in a more severe insurgency.

The ethno-religious and secessionist violence has developed in an atmosphere of reinvigorated religious identity.<sup>114</sup> The Pakistani Inter-Service Intelligence organization has capitalized on this environment by funding and supporting disaffected Kashmiris who have

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<sup>109</sup> Pierre Allan and Albert A. Stahel. "Tribal Warfare Against a Colonial Power: Analyzing the War in Afghanistan." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27 (1983): 599.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 77. Schofield, p. xiv.

<sup>111</sup> Rajat Ganguly, p. 310.

<sup>112</sup> Schofield, pp. 126, 138, 143.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 148

<sup>114</sup> Sumit Ganguly. *The Crisis in Kashmir* (Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Press, 1997), p. 1.

developed Islamic fervor.<sup>115</sup> Muslim parties often developed militant wings and some groups, like the Hizbul Mujahideen, sought integration into a Pakistani Muslim homeland.<sup>116</sup> The bonds between Muslims in Pakistan and Kashmir have fostered such thinking. Other groups such as the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) simply seek an independent Kashmir.

### *Islam's Impact on Culture in Algeria*

The historical Islamic culture and a deep-seated Muslim mindset were fundamental in the formation of the Algerian Revolution. The vast cultural differences between France and Muslims in Algeria played a role in the move for nationalism. France's mistreatment of Algerian Muslims also sowed the seed of national consciousness and of the unity that would lead to the Algerian revolution. Islam took this seed and cultivated it.<sup>117</sup> Without Islam affecting the culture and unifying the Muslims, the revolution may have taken longer to transpire or not happened at all. Islam became the driving force for the resurgence of national consciousness in Algeria because many sought the restoration of the independent Islamic nation of Algeria that had existed prior to 1830.<sup>118</sup>

### Islam as a Recruiting Factor

The fourth manner in which Islam affects insurgencies is its ability to recruit insurgents. Within a Muslim-based society, the unifying effect of Islam can combine with lesser jihadi ideals espoused by Muslim leaders to form a rallying effect that produces a desire for individuals to join and risk their lives for an insurgency. Those who join an insurgency because of Islam's ability to stir great passion and loyalty can make C3 easier to implement.

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<sup>115</sup> Schofield, p. 129; Sumit Ganguly, p. 77.

<sup>116</sup> Schofield, p. 143.

<sup>117</sup> Arslan, p. 26.

<sup>118</sup> Arslan, p. 27; Gillespie, p. 112.

### *Islam as a Recruiting Factor in Afghanistan*

Insurgencies cannot be sustained without recruiting the necessary personnel and the Afghan insurgency was aided by its popular support.<sup>119</sup> This backing was heavily influenced by Islam's cultural impact on the general population. In one manner, the religion played a recruiting role because in Afghanistan, as in other parts of the world, there have been time periods when being a good Muslim was defined by political action instead of religious piety. This relationship between religion and politics meant that an individual could be declared a heretic for political views.<sup>120</sup> Conversely, an individual might join a politically-based insurgent movement because of religious desires. Because insurgent leaders were aware of this fact, the fundamentalists worked hard to recruit from rural areas that were distinctively Muslim.<sup>121</sup>

To aid in recruiting, some Afghan insurgent groups used newspapers to spread their ideas while others utilized methods such as leaflets, posters, and mailing lists.<sup>122</sup> These communication methods were often used for recruiting purposes, but it is entirely possible that they could have been used for limited command and control functions as well. Madrassas and mosques could also have aided recruiting because these facilities attracted clientele who were influenced by Islam.

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<sup>119</sup> David Gibbs. "The Peasant as Counter-Revolutionary: the Rural Origins of the Afghan Insurgency." *Studies in Comparative International Development* Spring (1986): p. 53.

<sup>120</sup> Roy, p. 78.

<sup>121</sup> Gibbs, p. 46.

<sup>122</sup> Sarin and Dvoretzky, p. 48.

### *Islam as a Recruiting Factor in Kashmir*

The challenges faced by Muslims in Kashmir caused some individuals to rely on force rather than the political system for representation.<sup>123</sup> The Kashmir insurgency has also compelled people to serve out of religious obligation. In the words of one martyr, “I am going at the call of Allah and doing what God has made our duty.”<sup>124</sup> In order to help Muslim brethren, Pakistan sent “battle-hardened Afghan mujahideen.”<sup>125</sup> It is also important to note that 1999-2002 was marked by revitalization of the insurgency with radical Islamist ideological tones.<sup>126</sup> Ultimately, this Islamic ideology draws potential martyrs and induces support from other Muslim nations.

### *Islam as a Recruiting Factor in Algeria*

Islam was largely responsible for the resurgence of national consciousness in Algeria and it was the pretext for recruiting fighters for the insurgency.<sup>127</sup> Islam invokes great passion and is useful in prodding Muslims to fight for a cause. Muslims were the leaders’ ideal recruiting targets for the insurgency and Islam was used as justification of their fight.

Throughout the struggle for independence, Islam persisted as the principle recruiting factor. Educated Algerians, bourgeois, and known nationalist figures did not participate in the movement. They were deliberately left out because they were not Muslim.<sup>128</sup> Leaders of the revolution sought those who had been mistreated and repressed by the French. Consequently, the Muslims of Algeria were the ones who had significant reason to fight. On the first day of the revolution, November 1, 1954, Cairo’s “Voice of the Arabs” radio station carried a message

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<sup>123</sup> Bose, p. 99.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>125</sup> Sumit Ganguly, p. 41.

<sup>126</sup> Bose, p. 107.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Galula, p. 12.

from the new leaders of the insurrection. It stated: “Brothers! Today Algeria launched her sublime struggle for freedom and for Islam...once again begun to live with [honor]...struggle to rid themselves of the tyranny of French imperialism.”<sup>129</sup> The revolution began with a call to Muslims and a claim that the struggle would be in the name of Islam. This use of a Muslim radio station serves as an example of Islam’s impact on insurgent communications.

During the revolution, leaders circulated tracts to encourage and recruit the masses. One such tract stated:

The objective was national independence within the North-African framework. That independence was to be obtained through the restoration of the sovereign, democratic, and social Algerian state within the framework of Islamic principles, and respect of all fundamental liberties without distinction of race or creed.<sup>130</sup>

Islamic principles, though rare in the FLN’s secular and nationalist propaganda, resonated with the profoundly Muslim Algerian population.<sup>131</sup> While this tract cited nationalism as the primary cause, it made sure to include the goal of an Islamic state, which helped appeal to and recruit Muslims.

France’s forces had a difficult time distinguishing between insurgents and the remainder of the population. When they attacked innocent Muslims, more Muslim recruits were drawn to the FLN.<sup>132</sup> Similar erroneous attacks against non-Muslims, however, did not provoke a similar increase in recruitment for the FLN. The FLN and other parts of the revolutionary organization successfully set themselves up as the focal point of the Muslim struggle. Whenever the security of Muslims was threatened by the French, they sought refuge in alliances with the revolutionaries.

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<sup>129</sup> Arslan, p. 34.

<sup>130</sup> Gillespie, p. 112.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Matthews, pp. 46-47.

## Religious Education

The fifth major characteristic of Islam is its emphasis on religious education. Fundamentalism may take on many forms because it is based on adherence to the scriptures, returning to the strict religious practice of historical Islam, and moving away from new and modern tradition. Carrying out the admonitions of the scriptures is often a major aspect of fundamentalism and teaching them is a primary purpose of the madrassa.<sup>133</sup> In Islamic fundamentalism, the “enemy” is anything deterring from the tradition of the Prophet, and it is the madrassa that teaches what does or does not apply to this categorization.<sup>134</sup> For this reason, in a religion where village mullahs and religious teachers hold a virtual monopoly on all religious matters, these educational institutions are important in shaping the hearts and minds of future fundamentalists and insurgents.<sup>135</sup>

### *The Impact of Islamic Religious Education in Afghanistan*

Fundamental Islam in Afghanistan primarily started in the 1950s with a number of Islamic scholars in Kabul. They organized groups founded on the belief that Afghanistan was becoming decadent and a revival was needed.<sup>136</sup> Other influential individuals were educated and trained in Cairo in the 1950s and 1960s. During this time, they encountered the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and thereby, the influence of the radical Sayyad Qotb. Those who returned to Afghanistan influenced their own pupils towards fundamentalism and distributed leaflets about jihad.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Roy, p. 3.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>136</sup> Gibbs, p. 45.

<sup>137</sup> Roy, pp. 70-71.

Afghanistan had two educational networks of schools or madrassas. One was governmental and the other was private, which pervaded rural areas.<sup>138</sup> After completing the private village school, an individual could go to another location for “graduate school” at a mosque, and subsequently open his own madrassa. In order to regulate the education of future religious leaders, the state tried to set up its government schools in a fashion paralleling the network of private madrassas.<sup>139</sup> This happened because the Afghan government realized the influence and organizational power of a madrassa and its leaders. The mujahideen also recognized the value of this resource and determined to use it to their advantage.

During the 1980s, certain madrassas offered scholarships to attract students and teach them how to prepare for an Islamic war in Afghanistan.<sup>140</sup> Militants who wanted to develop a modern political ideology based on Islam became teachers in village schools. In some cases, the madrassas became military academies with teachers serving as military officers and the pupils becoming soldiers.<sup>141</sup> These madrassas were typically of the Sufi order.<sup>142</sup> The networks of private madrassas remained influential in villages that were not destroyed by the Soviets.<sup>143</sup> Well-organized Sufi sects demonstrated a propensity to clandestinely publish religious literature and it is likely that they continued their service during the insurgency against the Soviets.<sup>144</sup> Because the networks of the madrassas overlapped into a nodal network, they provided an excellent means to transmit information vital to command and control.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Hauner and Canfield, pp. 40, 42.

<sup>139</sup> Roy, p. 45.

<sup>140</sup> Rashid, p. 44.

<sup>141</sup> Hauner and Canfield, p. 41.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Rashid, p. 41.

<sup>145</sup> Roy, pp. 115, 131.

### *The Impact of Islamic Religious Education in Kashmir*

The situation in Kashmir is also impacted by madrassas. A 1976 massacre of Muslims residing in a village in Assam prompted many Muslims from the area to flee to Kashmir. Some of the clergy became employed in the growing number of madrassas and educated their pupils in a manner that bred ethno-religious hatred of India.<sup>146</sup> In recent years, Kashmir has seen a large increase in madrassa education, and combined with today's growth of electronic media, a generation of Kashmiris is even more politically aware.<sup>147</sup>

The role of the madrassa in the Kashmir conflict is not limited to Kashmiri territory because group leaders are often educated in fundamentalist madrassas outside the borders.<sup>148</sup>

RAND policy analyst Peter Chalk points out:

Pakistan remains a pivotal center of ideological indoctrination for the Kashmiri conflict, much of which is coordinated through the country's burgeoning network of theological madrassas. Many of these schools equate the concept of jihad - which most Islamic scholars interpret as 'striving for justice' - with guerilla warfare and explicitly exhort their students to fulfill the 'spiritual obligation' by fighting in the name of the pan-Islamic cause.<sup>149</sup>

This shows that religious educational institutions have influenced the insurgency in a very important manner.

### *The Impact of Islamic Religious Education in Algeria*

Religious education was not a significant factor in the Algerian insurgency because the French developed a way to counter its influence. French rule virtually destroyed Muslim society as it had existed before 1830. The French spent very little money on educating Muslims in their colony, especially when compared to the amount allocated for the education of other ethnic

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<sup>146</sup> Sumit Ganguly, p. 76.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., pp. 32, 35-37.

<sup>148</sup> Bose, p. 106.

<sup>149</sup> Chalk.

groups, particularly the Colons. In addition, the French government realized the potential recruiting and training power of the madrassas, so it employed French teachers to quell the influence of Islam on the insurgency.<sup>150</sup> Due to the French exploitation of madrassas, religious education played less of a role in Algeria than it has in other conflicts involving predominantly Islamic nations.

### Implications for Iraq

The tendency for Islam to have an influence on insurgencies in countries where it is the dominant religion can be mirrored in the current conflict in Iraq. The notion of jihad, the unifying power of Islam, the impact of Islam on culture, Islam's ability to recruit, and Islamic religious education have all been evident in the Iraqi insurgency. The future of the insurgency may be affected by these aspects.

### *The Influence of Jihad in Iraq*

As in other Islamic insurgencies, jihad has played a role in the current Iraqi conflict. Leaders of the insurgency have used the rhetoric of jihad to stir some to fight or yearn for a righteous martyr's death.<sup>151</sup> This mindset can enable insurgents to inflict more damage and terror when they are less concerned for their own lives.

Among the insurgents are fighters from several foreign countries.<sup>152</sup> Muslims from across the Arab world have converged in Iraq to fight a jihad. According to Council of Foreign Relations writer Lionel Beehner, they aim to "restore an Islamic caliphate, a theocracy based on

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<sup>150</sup> Gillespie, pp. 172-173.

<sup>151</sup> Borzou Daragahi, "Rising call by clerics for jihad: Question is not whether but how to defeat U.S. aims," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 22, 2004. <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2004/09/22/MNGLM8SQOC1.DTL> (accessed April 1, 2006).

<sup>152</sup> Lionel Beehner, "IRAQ: Insurgency Goals." *Council on Foreign Relations* (2005), <http://www.cfr.org/publication.html?id=8117> (accessed March 18, 2006).

Islamic law that spanned the Muslim world for 12 centuries.”<sup>153</sup> Hoping to implement a domino effect, foreign fighters consider Iraq the first step to establish greater Islamic rule in the region.<sup>154</sup> In sum, the restoration of Islamic rule is a recurring theme in Islamic insurgencies and a common goal of jihads.

### *Unifying Power of Islam in Iraq*

Within the dominant Muslim sects, Islam has shown its ability to unify Iraqis. Some Iraqi clerics have political agendas and are using their positions to assemble forces for their own gain in the insurgency.<sup>155</sup> Their religious roles place them in a unique position to offer command and control in a manner that can help bring their desired results to fruition. They have considerable influence and power over the Iraqi Muslims they lead, and have led their followers to believe that they are on the side of Allah.

Another way that Islam is serving as a unifying force in the Iraqi insurgency is through the use of mosques to spread messages to followers.<sup>156</sup> Spreading messages in this way circumvents the ability of the Americans to intercept or stop communication. The ability to use Islam to incite followers through such means has been shown to be a pattern in other insurgencies, including Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Algeria.

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Lionel Beehner. “Iraq: Status of Iraq’s Insurgency.” *Council on Foreign Relations* (September 13, 2005). <http://cfr.org/publications/8853/iraq.html?breadcrumb=default> (accessed March 9, 2006).

<sup>155</sup> Robert F. Worth and Edward Wong, “Younger Clerics Showing Power in Iraq’s Unrest,” *New York Times*, February 26, 2006.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/26/international/middleeast/26clerics.html?ex=1298610000&en=5e375361c34b1e3a&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss> (accessed February 27, 2006).

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

Iraq is a nation where people often identify more with their religious sect than a unified national identity.<sup>157</sup> Like past insurgencies, Iraq's insurgent groups are widely divergent in their interests and ideologies, but there are appearances of unity via their Islamic faith. One example of this can be seen by tracing the actions of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. He condoned violence against Muslims who supported the Americans. His influence suffered a major blow when the Salafi Higher Committee rejected Zarqawi's policy and stated that spilling Muslim blood was forbidden.<sup>158</sup> This statement reflects a minor disagreement between leading groups, but it also conveys the implicit acceptance of murdering non-Muslim outsiders.

Anthony Cordesman, a military affairs and Middle East expert, states that the Sunni portion of the insurgency "has become the equivalent of a distributed network...of organized cells."<sup>159</sup> This nodal network, fostered by Islamic ties, likely offers a variety of advantages, including the facilitation of command, control, and communications. This type of establishment might be compared to the Afghan mujahideen, but modern communication devices remove many of the communications challenges that were suffered in Afghanistan.

### *Cultural Impacts of Islam in Iraq*

The insurgencies in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Algeria have shown that nationalism and Islam are often mixed. The fine line between these two causes is also being blurred in Iraq. For example, Moqtada al Sadr is blending Iraqi nationalism with Shi'ite radicalism in order to further

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<sup>157</sup> Sabrina Tavernise and Edward Wong. "Struggle for Iraq: Sectarian Forces; Religious Strife Shows Strength of Iraqi Militias" *New York Times*, February 25, 2006.  
<http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=FA061FF8345A0C768EDDAB0894DE404482> (accessed February 27, 2006).

<sup>158</sup> Cordesman (2006), p. 35.

<sup>159</sup> Anthony Cordesman, (2005)*The Iraq War and Its Lessons for Counterinsurgency*, p. 3.

his goals.<sup>160</sup> The combination of motivations has become important to attract those who ascribe to either ideology.

A piece of Iraqi culture that plays a major role in the insurgency is the extraordinary power of Muslim clerics. They are able to exert major influence and control over Iraqi society.<sup>161</sup> Sadr again provides an excellent example. His group has been improving its organizational capacity with a more structured hierarchy, clearer lines of communication, and an effective social service network.<sup>162</sup> Overall, Sadr has used his role to establish a formidable network of command, control, and communications in Iraq.

Ayatollah Sistani, a major cultural and religious figure in Iraq, has played a role in the insurgent culture and used a religious context to appeal for civility between Shi'a and Sunnis. In response to the bombing of a Shi'ite mosque, he urged the faithful to refrain from attacking any Sunni holy sites.<sup>163</sup> This example shows how direction from a religious leader is important in controlling the actions of violent Iraqis. Guidance from religious leaders via electronic sources and mosques is imbedded within the Iraqi culture and has been significant in the insurgency.

### *The Impact of Islam on Recruitment in Iraq*

Iraqi insurgents have utilized Islam to recruit more Muslims. An important element of recruitment is the notion of jihad. Neo Salafi extremists have utilized religious rhetoric effectively in Iraq. They have drawn parallels to other, commonly accepted struggles for Islam, such as in Palestine, Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Kashmir. These examples have been used to

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<sup>160</sup> *BBC News*. "Who's Who in Iraq: Moqtada Sadr," August 27, 2004.  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3131330.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3131330.stm) (Accessed March 28, 2006).

<sup>161</sup> Tavernise and Wong.

<sup>162</sup> Shadid, Anthony. "Sadr's Disciples Rise Again to Play Pivotal Role in Iraq" *Washington Post*, August 30, 2005, p. A01.

<sup>163</sup> Cordesman (2006), p. 35.

convince fellow Muslims that there is a worldwide struggle between Islam and the West.<sup>164</sup> The examples are often seen as legitimate Islamic struggles and have been used to bring credence to the cause of Iraqi insurgents.

Zarqawi has focused on recruiting Sunni Muslims. He recently stated, “If you do not join the Mujahideen to defend your religion and honor, by Allah, sorrow and regret will be your lot, but only after all is lost.”<sup>165</sup> Such rhetoric is a perfect example of how the Islamic faith is used as a basis for recruitment. Zarqawi has also used Internet video to appeal to other Muslim clerics for support.<sup>166</sup>

### *Religious Education in Iraq*

At this point in time, the role of madrassas in Iraq is unclear. There is a precedent that would suggest serious long-term implications for religious education in the context of the Iraqi insurgency. What can be inferred is that madrassas in other nations played a role in educating fighters who have gone to Iraq to participate in the insurgency against coalition forces. Though the impact of Iraqi religious education is still uncertain, there can be no doubt that mosques have been used to preach messages about the pillage of Iraq by foreigners.<sup>167</sup> In short, counterinsurgency effort should monitor the role of all aspects of Islamic education.

### Conclusion

Insurgencies in Islamic-dominated areas exhibit certain characteristics and influences that recur across various historical examples. C3 within these insurgencies has been shaped to varying degrees by Islam, but the religion is somewhat limited in its application to C3. For this

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>167</sup> Hashim, p. 14.

reason, it is useful to study history in order to better understand the current insurgency in Iraq. Aspects of these insurgencies that have been especially powerful include the idea of jihad, the unifying capability of Islam, the impact of Islam on culture, the utilization of Islam as a recruitment tool, and the use of religious education.

It has been shown that these aspects have played a role in the methods of C3. Under an umbrella of jihad, religious unification has aided the operation and coordination of Muslim insurgents through religious institutions and the structure of Islamic society. Madrassas have indoctrinated and recruited new insurgents. The organization of mosques and religious hierarchies has proven to be a useful conduit for C3. There can be no question that Islam has been a foundation of other insurgencies and that it is in Iraq today. The difficult task, which appears to be impossible to measure, is to determine how much Islam affects insurgencies.

While religion has played a major role in the Iraqi insurgency since 2003, there has been a recent shift towards an even greater use of religious rhetoric and themes among the insurgency. Islam is influencing Iraqis even more due to a religious revival, which is currently taking place in Iraq at this time of uncertainty. The full impact of this change in Iraqi religion and culture, and how it might affect C3, remains to be seen.

## **Multi-Factional Insurgencies**

**Carla McBane and Monica Colmenares**

Cohesion greatly eases the organization and operation of an efficient command, control, and communications system. By contrast, the lack of cohesion amongst divergent groups complicates the critical C3 functions of a multi-factional insurgency. Cohesion requires a common leader and vision, which includes goals, hopes, and plans, under which the disparate groups may unite. A common leader facilitates the receipt and completion of complementary orders by ideologically- and geographically-disjointed groups. A common vision attracts support for the insurgency's cause from the domestic population and international benefactors. When disparate groups are linked under a single commander and popular support for them grows, the insurgency's C3 system can function more efficiently, thereby increasing the movement's power.

It is this increase in power which is needed for an insurgency to survive and ultimately defeat a dominant adversary. To acquire the necessary power for success, groups often look towards foreign states or actors, further complicating the insurgency's C3 system. Foreign involvement affects the C3 system of a multi-factional insurgency because the outside actor may either insert itself as the de facto leader of the movement or impose its version of command, control, and communications via manpower and training. The uprisings against the Soviets in Afghanistan and against the British in Iraq demonstrate the negative consequences of an insurgency's lack of leadership on its C3 system. The Afghanistan and Lebanon cases show the damaging impact that a lack of vision can have on an insurgency's C3 system. Finally, Lebanon and Kashmir exemplify the capacity foreign involvement has to revitalize an insurgency's C3 system.

## Leadership Void in Multi-Factional Insurgencies

The nature of multi-factional insurgencies obliges a void in leadership, which implies that no common leader exists to help establish and manage an efficient C3 system. This is understandable in light of the different motivations by which insurgent actions are inspired. As numerous groups fight a dominant adversary, but remain disjointed in their organization and operation, minor leaders vie for command positions over the forces. This occurred in both Afghanistan and historic Iraq, thereby providing examples of the impact a void in leadership can have on multi-factional insurgencies.

### *Leadership Void in the Afghan Insurgency*

The twelve-year insurgency staged by Afghans residing both in and outside of their country was never able to unite under a common leader, which greatly hindered their ability to organize and operate a formidable C3 system. Even before the Soviet invasion in 1979, Afghanistan did not have a strong, centralized government. A country with numerous ethnic and religious groups, it was ordered more by kinship and tribal loyalties than by political ones. Its central government relied upon foreign nations for military and financial aid because its weak organization prevented the extraction of sufficient resources from its own territory and population.<sup>168</sup> After the Soviets overthrew Kabul and assumed control of the country, the population overwhelmingly threw its support behind the insurgency. The problem was that the extremely diverse population made for a disparate insurgency. This leaderless organizational structure hindered the insurgency's C3 system throughout the conflict.

Each tribe, ethnic group, or religious sect supported its local insurgent group, which was usually affiliated with an organized faction based in Pakistan, leaving the insurgents without a

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<sup>168</sup> Barnett R. Rubin. "The Fragmentation of Afghanistan" *Foreign Affairs* 68 (1989/90): p. 151.

common leader. Though the exact number of factions is disputed, the following five serve to demonstrate both the primary issues which divided the Afghan population and the reality of its splintered leadership. The first significant group was composed of young fundamentalists and certain Pushtun groups. The second included the Tajik people and groups in the northern and Paghman regions. The third was primarily comprised of traditional tribal members who dominated politics during the royal and republican regimes. The fourth included mostly Pushtuns and some Afghans from all segments of society.<sup>169</sup> The final significant group was formed by the Saudi government to promote Wahhabism in Afghanistan.<sup>170</sup> Most of the factions were based in Peshawar, Pakistan and were composed primarily of Afghan refugees. As the number of refugees grew, so too did the number of insurgent groups.

To simplify Pakistan's relations with the insurgency, it imposed some unification among the groups. Angelo Rasanayagam, former head of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees Office in Peshawar, writes that "the Pakistani authorities eventually obliged all such parties and groups to align themselves with one of seven Islamist parties."<sup>171</sup> Though Pakistan successfully forced alliances between groups, the different factions were never close to uniting under a common leader, which contributed to their inability to function as the head of the insurgency's C3 system. Indeed, according to Barnett R. Rubin, Director of Studies and Senior Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation, their primary duties were merely to "transmit foreign assistance and provide political representation in the international system."<sup>172</sup> The factions functioned as sponsors to the combatants rather than as commanders or leaders. This

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<sup>169</sup> Sultan A. Aziz. "Leadership Dilemmas: Challenges and Responses" *Afghan Resistance: The Politics of Survival*. eds. Grant M. Farr and John G. Merriam (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 66-67.

<sup>170</sup> Rubin, p. 154.

<sup>171</sup> Angelo Rasanayagam. *Afghanistan: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 103.

<sup>172</sup> Rubin, p. 153.

divisiveness impeded the organization and operation of a formidable C3 system for the insurgency.

Instead, the fight in Afghanistan was almost entirely led by tribal commanders. Tribal, religious, or ethnic leaders retained control over their forces because of their kinship ties. Pierre Allan of the University of Lausanne and Albert A. Stahel of the University of Zurich, comment that, “Tribal and religious leaders and elders decide who does what for the guerrilla movement. The basic unit is the family: It delegates one or more of its men to fight and supplies the guerrillas with food and other logistical help.”<sup>173</sup> Allegiance to one’s family and tribe was represented by one’s loyalty to the local commander, rather than the Peshawar-based faction leader. In fact, the local commanders affiliated their group with a faction to gain military and financial support, but refused to take orders from a distant and disconnected party-head. Robin Raphel and Ronald McMullen, former Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs and Country Officer for Afghanistan at the Department of State, note that in practice, “local commanders switch affiliations from time to time with whatever party could best provide them with supplies and money.”<sup>174</sup> In effect, each local insurgent group functioned autonomously.

Over the years, many groups formed alliances, but no relationship outside of the tribal, ethnic, or religious unit was considered secure. Therefore, no common leader ever unified the Peshawar-based factions or the local combatant groups in Afghanistan. Ultimately, this prevented the organization and operation of a formidable C3 system for the insurgency.

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<sup>173</sup> Allan and Stahel, p. 599.

<sup>174</sup> Robin Raphel and Ronald McMullen. “Mired in Conflict” *Harvard International Review* 18 (1995/96): p. 41.

## *Leadership Void in the 1920s Iraqi Insurgency*

The Arab Revolt of 1920 in Iraq demonstrated an unprecedented unification of divergent factions, yet the movement's inability to coalesce under a common leader prematurely ended the rebellion before it reached its goal of independence from British rule. Even though the revolt linked multiple factions under a nationalist cause, its unification was caused by a contagious public momentum, rather than a charismatic leader. These multiple factions joined together for different reasons in an attempt to expel the British, yet the lack of a single and strong voice to formalize post-revolt plans created a short-lived cohesion. In short, this leadership void produced a fragile command and control system that was limited by the poor communications technology of the time and the rural nature of the terrain.

Though different factions, divided along religious and ethnic lines, were present before the creation of Iraq, Iraqis did not immediately unify following WWI. In fact, since most of the political leaders had emigrated during the war, they showed no immediate signs of nationalism. Nevertheless, when a Muslim was arrested for reciting a poem denouncing British rule, Sunni and Shi'a Arab communities began to form links and rise up in arms. Although many factions of society rose up simultaneously against the British, their motivations were different. According to British scholar Stephen Longrigg, they included: "tribal recalcitrance, sheikh ambitions, dislike of taxation, failure to integrate into society, and a dispersal of the British force."<sup>175</sup> Furthermore, it must be noted that some tribal leaders and notable Muslims encouraged British rule so that they could maintain their desired socio-economic positions.

In broad terms, there were four major insurgent groups present in Iraq in the 1920s, collectively named the Thawra. First, there was the loose coalition of Sunnis, who advocated a nationalist cause. Second, the Shi'a opted for independence with an Islamic government. Third,

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<sup>175</sup> Stephen Longrigg. *Iraq, 1900 to 1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 122.

the Ex-Turks wanted re-integration into society. Fourth, the Kurds, had no explicit goals and ambitions, but were nevertheless cast into the rebel network that advocated independence.<sup>176</sup>

Overall, these groups were not coordinated and possessed no strategy or synchronization as they each operated according to their tribal agency.<sup>177</sup> Due to the parochial interests of the leaders and the lack of a political element or figure-head to provide cohesion amongst the insurgent groups, the variety of motives produced a weak drive to fulfill a common goal.

Beginning in 1919, Shi'a clerics and tribal sheiks began to join Sunni nationalists in order to call for cooperation towards a nationalist cause, thereby fusing the divergent interests in hopes of achieving a common goal. Though the Sunnis and Shi'a normally worshiped in different mosques, the two groups began holding mass meetings in the same mosques, which provided a rudimentary, yet unified command and control. Although there is evidence that regional leaders raised money for the revolt and several groups established provisional governments, opinions divided the Iraqi population in regards to post-revolt plans.<sup>178</sup> Also, even though the unification of groups provided a rare glimpse of solidarity, there was still no clear leadership among the national movement.

In the end, according to the late associate dean at INSEAD, Edith Penrose, "it was inevitable that, in spite of the desire in all areas to be free of foreign domination, there should be divergences of interest and differences in outlook which render impossible the creation of a single Arab state."<sup>179</sup> Ultimately, the insurgency did not accomplish its goal of establishing independence, though it did succeed in shuffling around members of government and increasing

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<sup>176</sup> Reeva Spector Simon and Eleanor H. Tejirian. *The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 22.

<sup>177</sup> Longrigg, p. 123.

<sup>178</sup> Edith Penrose and E.F. Penrose. *Iraq: international relations and national development* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1978), p. 45.

<sup>179</sup> Penrose, p. 46.

the costs of the British occupation to 450 British lives and 40 million pounds.<sup>180</sup> The insurgents' failure to mobilize under a common leader precluded the cohesion necessary to carry out their intended plans.

### Lack of Vision in Multi-Factional Insurgencies

The lack of cohesion among the insurgent groups can also be attributed to the rebels' failure to create a strategic and long-term vision that is useful in the mobilization of constituents and the unification of disparate groups for a greater cause. A lack of vision inhibits long-range estimates and plans, compelling piece-meal or short-term, tactical solutions. Due to the insurgents' inability to craft and implement a vision, their C3 systems tend to be fragile and temporary, often disbanding and disintegrating at inopportune times. Also, a lack of vision fails to congeal broken and fragmented militia groups, exposing disparate groups to the whim of charismatic leaders who follow a personal agenda. Afghanistan and Lebanon demonstrate the detrimental effects a lack of vision can have on multi-factional insurgencies.

### *A Lack of Vision in Afghanistan*

The Afghan insurgency's C3 system was hindered by its failure to accept a common vision that could reconstruct its country once the invader withdrew. The lack of vision prevented cooperation among the insurgent groups and contributed to their loss of American military and financial support. During the Soviet occupation, the Afghan fighters had one goal in mind: to expel the godless invader.<sup>181</sup> With this as their end goal, Afghanistan degenerated into a failed state soon after the Soviet withdrawal, leaving them with no country of which to speak. Military

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<sup>180</sup> Thabit A.J. Abdullah. *A Short History of Iraq: from 636 to the Present* (London: Pearson, 2003), p. 129.

<sup>181</sup> Raphael and McMullen, p. 40.

Historian Stephen Tanner says this of the insurgency's victory, "however much the Soviets suffered, Afghanistan suffered far more, and instead of creating a new society, the Soviets had only left behind the old one in utter ruins."<sup>182</sup> The plans of the insurgent fighters and factions were insufficient in terms of reconstructing a devastated Afghanistan. This left numerous groups vying for control of the state in an effort to further their particular interests and impose their specific long-term vision. This resulted in a weak C3 system for the insurgency as a whole.

The numerous factions and insurgent groups, which were split along ethnic, regional, and religious lines, each had their own interests and goals. The lack of a common vision relegated the groups to functioning under a disjointed and sporadic C3 system. Clearly, the country faced many serious problems when the central government that had previously been buttressed by the Soviets fell apart. The splintered groups were too focused on their individual interests to address the larger issues facing their collapsing country, such as land distribution, women's liberation, and national oppression.<sup>183</sup> Without a common vision, the insurgents would cooperate only when specific missions furthered the interests of multiple groups. Concerning the years immediately following the Soviet withdrawal, Edgar O'Ballance, a journalist and former Colonel in the British army says,

For three years or so chaotic instability reigned in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, political ambition and revenge seeming to be the main driving motivations. It was an era of convenience coalitions, with factions blatantly joining or deserting one or the other as it suited their current purposes, with inter-factional clashes spasmodically erupting.<sup>184</sup>

The rapid merger and subsequent disbandment of disparate groups for short-term missions led to a sporadic and disjointed C3 system for the insurgency. Ultimately, the lack of vision among the

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<sup>182</sup> Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the Fall of the Taliban* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2002), pp. 269-270.

<sup>183</sup> Hafizullah Emadi, *State, Revolution, and Superpowers in Afghanistan* (New York: Praeger, 1990), p. 101.

<sup>184</sup> Edgar O'Ballance, *Afghan Wars: Battles in a Hostile Land* (London: Brassey's, 2002), p. 241.

Afghan insurgents left them with a weak C3 system rather than the solid one they needed to rebuild their country.

The C3 system in post-Soviet Afghanistan was also feeble because the insurgents squandered the support of the richest country in the world, the United States. The Afghan fighters' lack of vision contributed to their loss of U.S. attention and assistance when the Soviets left. With American financial and military support, a recipient group would have had the means to organize and operate an effective C3 system. Without U.S. support, these insurgent groups were left to fight amongst themselves for power. Previously, the shared vision of expelling the Soviets inspired the Americans to back the Afghan mujahideen. After the withdrawal however, as former Fulbright Fellow Jagmohan Meher attests: "The United States, which had led the battle for the Afghans for about ten long years, abandoned their cause at the end without addressing their basic issues such as the formation of a strong interim government, repatriation of the refugees and their rehabilitation, and the reconstruction of the country."<sup>185</sup> The U.S. needed a reason to stay involved in Afghanistan, but the insurgents could provide none. Instead, they proceeded to battle each other for the scarce resources required to increase their power and influence. Under these conditions, an effective C3 system could not be organized or operated.

A common vision beyond the expulsion of the Soviets could have encouraged long-term cooperation among disparate groups as well as mobilized the support of the U.S. government. Each of these would have enhanced the organization and operation of an effective C3 system in the wake of trying to rebuild a devastated state. Neither existed, however, resulting in a weak C3 system and the insurgents' eventual failure to rebuild their state.

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<sup>185</sup> Jagmohan Meher. *America's Afghanistan War: The Success that Failed* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2004), p. 180.

### *A Lack of Vision in Lebanon*

The failure to create a vision among the factions also prevented cooperation between the different militia groups in Lebanon. Studying the Maronite, Muslim, and National Movement groups reveals how the lack of mission perpetuated internal struggles and intensified inter-group rivalry. Even though the groups were loosely grouped together because of their religious or political affiliation, temporary alliances were erratic and quickly fell apart. The failure to consolidate under a singular vision also caused groups to fight intensely with one another and sparked sub-groups within the same faction to compete for superiority. Charles Winslow, professor at Indiana University, who has studied the politics of the fragmented Lebanese society, concluded that, “by the end of 1978, everybody had fought one another in a full schedule of round-robin matches.”<sup>186</sup>

The lack of vision among the Maronites perpetuated the splintering of different militia groups, causing a fragile C3 system. In general, the Maronites formed a loose quadripartite coalition known as the Lebanese Front.<sup>187</sup> Each of the four subgroups had its own leader, agenda, and militia. As a result, coordination and unified action was difficult because some groups agreed to cease-fires and others openly refused any agreements. With the unification of the two most powerful groups under President Camille Chamoun and General Pierre Gemayel, however, the other two Maronite leaders would sometimes follow suit. Nevertheless, the tension between them often led their respective factions to act in defiance of the loose coalition and purposely weaken the C3 structure.<sup>188</sup>

Though the Maronites generally supported the government’s status quo in order to retain their superior political power and socio-economic status, they failed to make any concrete plans

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<sup>186</sup> Charles Winslow. *Lebanon: war and politics in a fragmented society* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 221.

<sup>187</sup> Edgar O’balance. *Civil War in Lebanon* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), p. 55.

<sup>188</sup> Walid Khalidi. *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East* (Boston: Center for International Affairs, 1979), p. 73.

regarding a method to integrate other groups that also wished to retain the status quo. Their strategy depended not only on preserving their power, but also upon constraining other insurgent groups. As stated by Lebanese scholar, Walid Khalidi, “the Maronites had offered concessions in desperation, partly as the price for Syrian support and partly as a tactic to drive a wedge between Muslim moderates and radicals.”<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, the Maronites’ strategy during the Civil War was purely restricted to the tactical level as they failed to discuss the possible incorporation of other groups in the post-civil war period. Had they promised concessions to the under-represented Shi’a in the post-war phase, the Shi’a could have formed an important part of the pro-status quo faction. Their failure to communicate also made them misinterpret allegiances as demonstrated by the Maronites’ surprise when the Druze, initially aligned with the larger Christian community, were persuaded to join an opposition movement.<sup>190</sup>

The Muslims also failed to unify under a vision statement that would join the disparate groups and increase the number of recruits. Although their agenda centered around a balanced distribution of power between the Maronite President, Sunni Prime Minister, and impartial access for Muslims in the civil service sector, they failed to incorporate the radical and Shi’a groups. Since the radical Muslims joined the National Movement and the Shi’a opted to gain control through legislative means, their independent actions eliminated any hopes of a unified front. Also, as argued by Khalidi, “after the outbreak of the Civil War, major differences of opinion developed among the Muslim leaders with regard to the strategy to be pushed vis-à-vis the Maronites as well as Syrian intervention.”<sup>191</sup> Consequently, not only did the lack of vision create splinter groups between the Muslim insurgency, the failure to draft any post-war, power-sharing plans also prevented any hopes of unified action.

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>190</sup> Winslow, p. 167.

<sup>191</sup> Khalidi, p. 73.

The National Movement represented a diverse group encompassing the Muslim-Leftist opposition, Lebanese parties, Pan-Arab parties, ad hoc groups, and student organizations.<sup>192</sup> Khalidi describes each faction as differing “in size, structure, strength, purpose, affiliation, as well as in political philosophies or programs (if any). Many engaged in intense rivalry themselves.”<sup>193</sup> The resulting failure to create a central command system to ease communications and pursue a unified goal led to in-fighting, and ultimately, prolonged the conflict.

In conclusion, the lack of vision inhibited cooperation between the different Lebanese insurgent groups as each group pursued its own, short-term agenda. The failure to incorporate similar groups or carry out plans towards a desired goal demonstrated the insurgents’ weak C3 structure.

#### Susceptibility to Foreign Involvement in Multi-Factional Insurgencies

The lack of cohesion that defines a multi-factional insurgency due to its lack of leadership and vision also creates a situation that is susceptible to foreign involvement. Since no clear leader or party takes control of the insurgency, a power vacuum emerges, which often leads neighboring countries to exert their influence and manipulate different factions. As a result, the C3 of the insurgency becomes dominated by the foreign party powerful enough to involve itself in a conflict outside its borders. Furthermore, the third-party involvement forces the unsupported insurgents to unify and create a cohesive command, control, and communications structure.

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

### *Syria and Israel's Involvement in the Lebanese Insurgency*

When the confessional system of government in Lebanon no longer proportionally represented the population, the armed forces of the Maronites, Muslims, and other factions began fighting among themselves to either retain the status quo, or force a change in government to address the diverse population. Chaos ensued and neighboring countries and interested parties quickly began to fill the power vacuum. Though Lebanon has experienced foreign involvement throughout its history, the Civil War period (1975-1992) best embodies how third-party involvement can manipulate the fighting factions to promote an outsider's strategic interest. In the case of Lebanon, the two main actors vying for influence in the region by supporting warring factions were Syria and Israel. By receiving weapons and ammunition from the larger parties or even having foreign troops fight alongside the warring factions, the Lebanese insurgents quickly found themselves in an intense civil war. In this case, foreign involvement not only provided C3, but prolonged and intensified the conflict by fueling passions and arming constituents. Additionally, the cyclical nature of the fighting provided an excuse for the foreign nations to retain a presence in the area.

Syria's involvement in the civil war intensified and prolonged the conflict by providing weapons and inciting rebel groups through pressure, threats, and intervention.<sup>194</sup> Syria was largely interested in supporting the pro-status quo forces (keeping the current confessional system of government) fearing that if the rebels took over, they would pursue policies detrimental to the Syrian agenda.<sup>195</sup> For this reason, Syria armed and influenced pro-status quo forces, which gave the insurgent groups increased command and control. Not only did Syria improve the insurgents' C3, the nation *was* the base of C3 systems for all operations.

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<sup>194</sup> Yair Evron. *War and Intervention in Lebanon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 34.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Nevertheless, Syria eventually shifted its support from pro-status quo forces to radicals and Muslim groups who could act as troublemakers against Israel. As an example, once the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) started limiting Syria's influence, Syria flung its support to the Christians. This vacillation between groups perpetuated further dependence on third parties and polarized the competing factions. Syria also utilized the PLO and al-Saiqa armies to conduct operations across the border and train other Muslim groups, thereby improving the command and control of select insurgent groups.<sup>196</sup>

The Israeli involvement throughout the civil war provides another example of an influential, neighboring country that exerted its power against Syria on the Lebanese stage. Israel's position in the Lebanese conflict was largely determined by the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>197</sup> Though Israel is usually described as being reactive to Syria's active involvement in the civil war, it grew weary when Fatah and the PLO moved their bases of operations to Lebanon. The gathering of passionate Muslims invigorated the Sunni groups and spurred the un-represented and un-aided Shi'a to fight for political power within Lebanon. The weakness of the central government and, along with the enticement by foreign powers, encouraged the creation and strengthening of independent militias for the defense of their respective communities.<sup>198</sup>

Although some scholars recognize that Israel's initial ability to affect the situation was very limited, once Maronite leader Camille Chamoun met Prime Minister Rabin, Israel began supporting the Christian militias with arms and ammunition.<sup>199</sup> This began to unify the control of an unorganized group. According to Israeli scholar Yair Evron, the 1976 meeting between the two leaders "began the cultivation of simultaneous contacts with different Maronite political

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<sup>196</sup> Winslow, p. 161.

<sup>197</sup> Khalidi, p. 88.

<sup>198</sup> Evron, p. 25.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

parties and militias.”<sup>200</sup> However, it must be noted that even though the multi-factional insurgency created a leadership void that induced foreign involvement, the lack of cohesion among the insurgents was problematic for all parties involved. As an example, Evron reiterates that, “the Maronites’ lack of unity and internal rivalry gave pause to the Israeli decision makers and dictated a policy of caution.”<sup>201</sup> Nevertheless, Israel could not remain idle as Syria grew increasingly ambitious and involved, so Israel’s overall position primarily consisted of deterrence through the extension of aid to Christian rebels.

Ultimately, the insurgent groups lacked the cohesion necessary to implement their desired goals. Consequently, the chaotic situation was susceptible to third-party involvement. The C3 structure of the insurgent groups heavily relied upon the military strength and capability of the larger powers. In the end, the mutual suspicions of Israel and Syria infused the rebels with C3 capabilities that prolonged and intensified the conflict.

### *Pakistan’s Involvement in the Kashmiri Insurgency*

Pakistan’s involvement in the Kashmiri insurgency against an alleged occupier has the potential to significantly affect and even dictate the fighters’ command, control, and communications system. In Kashmir, the insurgency continues to rage since no resolution has been reached between the Indian government, the native people, and the actively involved government of Pakistan.<sup>202</sup> Pakistan put itself in a position to dramatically impact the insurgency’s C3 system by convincing the locals to adopt its foreign version of insurgency and establish itself as the head of the leading insurgent group. This case study will focus on

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>202</sup> Sten Widmalm. *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp. 1-5.

Pakistan's involvement in the 1990s in order to observe the role foreign relationships may play in the early stages of a militant insurgency.

Pakistan financially and militarily supported the Hezbul Mujahideen to the extent that it emerged as the dominant faction of the insurgency in Kashmir.<sup>203</sup> In this case, Pakistan bestowed its resources on the group most willing to further its foreign interests. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), which demanded a secular and independent state, initially held the dominant role in the insurgency and enjoyed Pakistan's backing. Pakistan later shifted its support to the Hezbul Mujahideen, which advocated a close Kashmir-Pakistan relationship and an Islamic state.<sup>204</sup> Edward Desmond, a Bureau Chief of Time Life News Service, describes this shift: "The Pakistanis also inhibited the JKLF by limiting or cutting off their funds and access to training and weapons supplies...In the end, Pakistan's leverage has been decisive: today the JKLF is almost defunct as a fighting force, though it is still very popular, while *Hezb* [Hezbul Mujahideen] was clearly the most important fighting force in the valley."<sup>205</sup> By providing power to Hezbul Mujahideen, the government of Pakistan gained unparalleled influence over the group's C3.

The nature of a multi-factional insurgency makes competition for power between groups inevitable. Access to the resources of a state, such as Pakistan, can catapult an insurgent group to the head of the pack. In return for Pakistan's support, the recipients allowed the government to have a say in the group's strategy and policies. This established a C3 system with Pakistan at the top of the Kashmir insurgency. By supplying a specific group like the Hezbul Mujahideen with the resources needed to dominate the multi-factional insurgency, Pakistan installed itself as the de facto head of the insurgency's C3 system.

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<sup>203</sup> Varghese Koithara. *Crafting Peace in Kashmir* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), p. 63.

<sup>204</sup> Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay. "Nation, Identity and the Intervening Role of the State: A Study of the Secessionist Movement in Kashmir" *Pacific Affairs* 69 (1996/97): p. 472.

<sup>205</sup> Edward Desmond. "The Insurgency in Kashmir (1989-1991)" *Contemporary South Asia* 4 (1995): p. 9.

Pakistan has also actively trained and supplied fighters to the insurgent groups in Kashmir. Through training and supplying manpower, Pakistan has been able to convince local fighters to alter their C3 system. Pakistan continues to deny direct support of the insurgents in Kashmir; however, India and the United States have refuted this as preposterous. Describing an interview with an Afghan commander stationed in Kashmir, Robert G. Wirsing, a South Asia regional specialist at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, wrote, “he claimed that his group was running twenty-eight secret guerrilla camps in ‘held’ Kashmir, where some 1,500 recruits were being trained in guerrilla warfare. The Taliban troops were in Kashmir, he said, ‘to give a steel frame to Kashmir militancy.’”<sup>206</sup> These recruits are often Pakistani and loyal to their nation’s interests in this conflict rather than the freedom of Kashmir. As they provide the “steel frame to the Kashmir militancy,” they affect the organization and operation of the insurgency’s C3 system.<sup>207</sup> Pakistan’s training and supplying of manpower to the insurgency in Kashmir has positioned itself to successfully convince the locals to adopt its foreign version of a C3 system.

### Implications for Iraq

The command, control, and communications system of the multi-factional Iraqi insurgency is impacted by three distinguishing features: its leadership void, lack of vision, and foreign involvement. In recent months, the disparate groups have been showing signs of increased coordination; however, there is clearly no leader who represents the insurgency as a whole.<sup>208</sup> In addition, other than the immediate goal of expelling the Americans from Iraq, the insurgent groups share little common vision for the future of their country. Many experts agree

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<sup>206</sup> Robert G. Wirsing. *Kashmir in the Shadow of War: Regional Rivalries in a Nuclear Age* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), p. 126.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Jonathan Finan. “Iraq’s Insurgents: Who’s Who” *Washington Post* (March 2006): p. B03. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/17/AR2006031702087\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/17/AR2006031702087_pf.html) (accessed March 22, 2006).

with the conclusion of Steven Metz, director of research at the U.S. Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute, that "the final ingredients of insurgency, however, fortunately remain outstanding: no clear leadership, strategy, and ideology have emerged to unite the disparate opponents of the United States and the coalition."<sup>209</sup> Finally, foreign states and actors have been visibly involved in supporting the particular insurgent groups which will further their interests in the collapsing country. According to Anthony Cordesman, "the foreign element is seen as an important source of money and material support to the insurgency."<sup>210</sup> For this reason, the previous case studies offer valuable lessons pertaining to the C3 system of the current Iraqi insurgency.

### *Leadership Void in Iraq*

Similar to insurgencies in Soviet-led Afghanistan and British-led Iraq, countless groups exist in modern Iraq. Lionel Beehner, of the Council on Foreign Relations, has managed to categorize the countless groups according to seven general attributes: Ba'athists, foreign jihadis, Iraqi nationalists, organized criminals, tribal feudalists, avengers, and neighboring countries.<sup>211</sup> In addition to this, each category is comprised of a myriad of groups and cells. This multifaceted nature of the Iraqi insurgency lends itself to a void in leadership.

Indeed, the present-day Iraqi insurgency imitates the preceding cases because of the similar leadership void, which weakens its C3 system. Steven Metz characterizes the insurgency this way: "Iraqi leadership [is] shadowy and its form [is] a loose amalgamation of diverse groups unified only by a shared dislike of U.S. occupation."<sup>212</sup> In January, several groups, including

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<sup>209</sup> Steven Metz. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq" *The Washington Quarterly* 27 (2003-2004): p. 28.

<sup>210</sup> Cordesman (2006), p. 15.

<sup>211</sup> Beehner, pp. 1-2.

<sup>212</sup> Metz, p. 31.

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's al-Qaeda, collaborated to form the Mujahideen Shura Council, which is reportedly headed by an Iraqi.<sup>213</sup> However, this Council's ability to direct large numbers of fighters and act as a central command for the insurgency has yet to be seen. As time progresses, more coalitions and alliances will likely emerge, but the ethnic, religious, and ideological divisiveness which exists in Iraq suggests that the disparate groups will not unite under a common leader any time soon.

The present-day Iraqi insurgency's leadership void assures a weak C3 system just as it did in Afghanistan and historic Iraq because without a leader, the groups only converge and cooperate for short-term missions. Once the mission has been completed, the fighters' loyalties return to their particular commanders who issue divergent orders as a result of conflicting motivations. Some analysts have argued that the apparent coordination of IED attacks around the country suggests a strong C3 system, but this is impractical due to the insurgency's leadership void. Anthony Cordesman offers an alternate explanation for the synchronized attacks: "movements can 'swarm' slowly around targets of opportunity, and rely on open source reporting for much of their intelligence and knowledge of combat effectiveness."<sup>214</sup> Thus, a tight C3 system is not necessary for coordinated attacks to occur in Iraq. On the contrary, as it did in Afghanistan and Iraq in the past, the leadership void assures a weak C3 system for the insurgency.

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<sup>213</sup> Finer, p. B03.

<sup>214</sup> Cordesman (2005), p. 3.

### *Lack of Vision in Iraq*

Much like the insurgent groups of Afghanistan and Lebanon were unable to acquire a strategic, long-term vision, the different groups that comprise the Iraqi insurgency have also failed to coalesce under a common vision. Despite the recent formation of the Mujahiden Shura Council that provides an umbrella organization for different insurgent groups, clashes of interest between Iraqi fighters remain.<sup>215</sup> According to the Council of Foreign Relations, “insurgent groups are united by a desire to disrupt the political process and drive U.S. forces out, but each have their own motivations as well.”<sup>216</sup> For example, while the Ba’athists want to see Saddam Hussein return to power and disrupt the security forces, the insurgent groups affiliated with al-Qaeda are interested in carrying out jihad against the infidels. Other Iraqi rebel groups simply want to attack the American occupiers.<sup>217</sup> The bottom line is that the groups have failed to coalesce due to their different motives and post-occupation plans.

The lack of a common vision amongst the insurgent groups hinders communications and debilitates a unified command and control structure. Although some scholars and reporters argue that their desire to drive out the American forces constitutes a unified vision, each group remains loyal to different political, religious, and tribal factions. As of yet, according to Steven Metz, “no clear leadership, strategy, and ideology has emerged to unite the disparate opponents of the U.S. into a coalition” and no insurgent group has been able to stimulate a broad uprising that encompasses all groups.<sup>218</sup>

The C3 structure of the Iraqi insurgency can be classified as a “net war” utilizing swarm tactics. “Net-war” is a term used to designate a situation in which loose groups that are often on

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<sup>215</sup> Finer, p. B03.

<sup>216</sup> Beehner, pp. 1-2.

<sup>217</sup> Ahmed Janabi. “Zarqawi v. Iraqis: Conflict of interest?” *Al Jazeera* (13 December 2005).

<sup>218</sup> Metz, p. 28.

different sides, coalesce and carry out joint attacks, never to cooperate again.<sup>219</sup> In accordance with net-war, Iraqi insurgents have utilized “swarm tactics” as a part of their C3 command structure. These tactics involve groups coming together to attack highly vulnerable targets, disperse, and join forces later at a time of their choosing.<sup>220</sup> Overall, Iraqi insurgents have failed to gain the cohesion necessary to implement their goals due to a lack of vision. Because of the group’s inability to articulate common goals, rebel groups have displayed only rudimentary C3 abilities and systems.

### *Foreign Involvement in Iraq*

Similar to the modern insurgency in Iraq, the insurgencies in Lebanon and Kashmir were deeply impacted by foreign involvement. Foreign involvement had critical implications for the C3 systems in the historical cases, suggesting that it deserves serious attention in the current Iraq insurgency. Though the power vacuum created by a multi-factional insurgency opens wide the opportunity for outside interference, most experts agree that the foreign element of the Iraqi insurgency remains relatively small.<sup>221</sup> Foreign actors’ interest in the collapsing country is evidenced by their notorious association with violent activity. Jonathan Finer of the Washington Post writes that “U.S. commanders say that most of the deadliest attacks, and particularly suicide attacks, are committed by foreigners from a range of neighboring countries, including Jordan, Syrian, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan.”<sup>222</sup> The list of foreign actors and the extent of their involvement is likely to increase over time.

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<sup>219</sup> Cordesman (2005), p. 3.

<sup>220</sup> Beckett, pp. 2-9.

<sup>221</sup> Beehner, p. 2; Cordesman (2005), p. 2; Ahmed S. Hashim. “The Insurgency in Iraq” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 14 (2003): p. 8; Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr. “How to Win in Iraq” *Foreign Affairs* 84 (2005): p. 2.

<sup>222</sup> Finer, p. B03.

Paralleling the historic cases, the foreign states and actors which are involved in the Iraqi insurgency have been supporting various groups via finances, weapons, training, and manpower.<sup>223</sup> It is through this support that they exert influence over the insurgency's C3 system. Foreign actors, such as Syria, Iran, and al-Qaeda, gain leverage over the insurgent groups by supplying them with funds and arms. With this leverage, the foreign actors are able to insert themselves as commanders over the insurgent groups' C3. By supplying manpower and training to the forces on the ground, the foreign actors impose their version of a C3 system on the Iraqi insurgency. They can convince the native insurgents to adopt the foreign system by demonstrating and teaching the advantages of certain methods or structures of command, control, and communications. Steven Metz notes the significant impact foreign actors have on the local fighters, "As trained jihadists from around the world stream toward Iraq, the insurgency there is likely to become more professional and proficient."<sup>224</sup> Essentially, they will start to mirror the foreigners by whom they are trained.

Ultimately, each foreign actor has its own particular long-term motive, whether political, ethnic, or religious, for being involved in the Iraqi insurgency. According to Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., professor at George Mason University, the immediate goal of most insurgents, whether foreign or local, seems to be the same: "the insurgents are fighting to perpetuate disorder and to prevent the establishment of a legitimate, democratic Iraqi government. By creating an atmosphere of intimidation, insecurity, and despair, they hope to undermine support for the government."<sup>225</sup> To accomplish their goals, foreign actors are ready and willing to supply leadership and vision via the provision of finances, weapons, training, and manpower. As they

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<sup>223</sup> Cordesman (2005), p. 4.

<sup>224</sup> Metz, p. 29.

<sup>225</sup> Krepinevich, p. 89.

endeavor to fill these leadership and vision voids, they will undoubtedly impact the organization and operation of the insurgency's C3 system.

## Conclusion

The Middle East has been a politically and socially volatile area for centuries and the insurgency in Iraq is writing a modern chapter to be included in the region's history of instability. Because the insurgency remains strong, it is vital for Washington to reassess the methods employed by the U.S. to counter it. To adequately formulate strategies to defeat the insurgency, military and political leaders must first comprehend its organization and operation. Specifically, understanding the structure of its command, control, and communications will assist American and Coalition forces in their efforts. The Iraqi insurgency's C3 system remains covert; however, this report offers insight by evaluating C3 operations via an alternative method. Examination of several historical insurgencies produced valuable information which illuminated the likely structure of the ongoing insurgency.

We have defined the Iraqi insurgency as urban-based, Muslim-centered, and multi-factionous. Each of these characteristics distinctly affects the insurgency's C3, and a strong C3 capability is apt to improve the insurgents' chances of success. The Algerian FLN uprising against the French and the Irish Republican Army revolt against the British both offer insights into the urban aspect of the insurgency that Coalition troops face everyday in Baghdad and around Iraq. The Muslim-influence can be observed in the ongoing insurgency in Kashmir, the Afghan insurgency against the Soviet Union, as well as the Algerian bid for independence. Finally, the multi-factionous aspect of the insurgency illustrates potential weaknesses in its C3 through the study of insurgencies in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Lebanon, and 1920s Iraq.

The high population density and urban infrastructure can be used by an insurgency to increase its chance of success because the tactics of command, control, and communication can be modified to fit the setting and exploit counterinsurgency weaknesses. An urban insurgency

will incorporate advantages derived from a densely-populated environment, such as the ability to conceal movement, allow face-to-face meetings, and obtain local intelligence. An urban insurgency will also be likely to incorporate the advantages offered by the urban infrastructure: supply networks, technical communication opportunities, increased freedom of movement for the insurgency, and restricted movement for the counterinsurgent forces. The insurgents can be expected to organize into small, somewhat independent units that can take advantage of these opportunities in conventional terms as well as from a C3 perspective. Through these advantages, insurgents hope to capitalize on the environment to defeat or wear-down superior military forces.

Islam affects the C3 system of insurgencies through five primary means. These include jihad, the unifying capability of Islam, the impact of Islam on culture, the recruiting capability of Islam, and finally, religious education. The notion of jihad serves as a powerful backdrop and support to the remaining four aspects of Islam that are capable of influencing insurgencies. Unification driven by religious beliefs and cultural impacts can help bring disparate groups together in a manner which facilitates simplification of C3. Madrassas and mosques provide exceptional means to educate, influence, recruit, and train insurgents, and they can also aid communications for insurgents because they can serve as nodal points for an effective low-tech communications network. From a more general C3 standpoint, jihad and cultural impacts grant legitimacy to religious leaders who can use existing religious institutions to implement their personal desires from a position of authority. If the U.S. is going to be successful in Iraq, it must understand Islam's ability to shape C3 capabilities in a number of unique ways.

The lack of cohesion among multi-factional insurgent groups is typically distinguished by a leadership void, lack of vision, and susceptibility to foreign involvement. The leadership void prevents coordination among groups and induces them to act according to parochial interests. This results in a disjointed C3 system, which hinders the insurgency's success. Furthermore, the

lack of a common long-term goal or vision compels groups to coordinate for short-term missions before rapidly disbanding. It also exposes groups to the whim of charismatic leaders. This makes the mobilization of disparate groups very difficult and tends to result in a sporadic and fragile C3 system. The lack of leadership and common vision routinely produces a power vacuum that foreign actors seek to fill in the effort to advance their goals. As a result, a foreign actor has the capacity to shape the insurgents' C3 system and position itself as the head. Consequently, the multi-factional nature of an insurgency hinders its ability to carry out efficient command, control, and communications and thereby erodes its chance for victory.

Many conclusions can be drawn from the categories of insurgencies that have been studied. Further analysis of additional insurgencies that fit within the confines of urban-based, Muslim-centered, and multi-factional, will likely reinforce our conclusions. Washington would be wise to heed the lessons of history with regard to insurgencies; otherwise, the lessons gleaned from future studies on Iraq will demonstrate the strategies that are best avoided in the effort to defeat a raging insurgency.

## **Appendix- Historical Background for Case Studies**

## Afghanistan<sup>226</sup>

The roots of the Afghan insurgency date back to the country's independence from Britain in 1881. Since then, Afghanistan has endured numerous coups, assassinations, and invasions that have destabilized the country's national identity. After a series of leadership changes in the 1970s and amid an ongoing civil war, Soviet forces invaded to establish and support a communist government in Afghanistan. The Muslim nation had long been in the Soviet sphere of influence, but the installation of troops in 1979 congealed disparate ethnic groups in the fight against a godless invader.

Large portions of the population supported the insurgency despite ethnic and regional divisions. Though the country was comprised of eight major ethnic groups, Afghanistan remained largely united in its devotion to Islam. More than three million Afghans fled to Pakistan in wake of the Soviet invasion. Many factions of the insurgency subsequently established bases in Peshawar to manage arms shipments from foreign supporters to the virtually autonomous groups of fighters in Afghanistan. Among the many foreign supporters, the United States was the principal provider of funds and weapons to the mujahideen. In 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops, leaving the divided Afghans to organize and operate an independent central government. With the communist threat dissipated, the United States removed its longstanding financial and military support from the mujahideen. The frail Afghan government could not stand without foreign support, however, and the country spiraled back into civil war.

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<sup>226</sup> David B. Edwards. *Before Taliban: Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Bhabani Sen Gupta. *Afghanistan: Politics, Economics and Society* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1986); Amalendu Misra. *Afghanistan: The Labyrinth of Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Angelo Rasanayagam. *Afghanistan: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

## **Algerian War of Independence (1954-62)<sup>227</sup>**

The Algerian War of Independence began with attacks by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) and calls to rise up against the French colonizers. Over time, other groups in favor of independence joined the fight as well. The Mouvement National Algérien (MNA), principally supported by Algerians in France, rivaled the FLN for influence over the Algerian people. The FLN and MNA fought each other and France throughout the war.

The FLN's massacre of civilians near Philippeville in August 1955 marked a major event in the course of the war. FLN attacks had been exclusively on military targets, but some regional commanders felt that drastic escalation was necessary. The French took the rebellion much more seriously after this attack and killed well over one thousand rebels as retribution. Soon the urban component of the war, the Battle of Algiers, began.

The conflict's roots were both religious and nationalistic in nature. Muslims comprised the vast majority of those fighting for independence since the cause of Islam was used to rally support, but not all nationalists were Muslims. The rebels attracted to their cause any who would fight for Islam or independence.

Estimations of those killed in battle during the war range from the hundreds of thousands to one million. The Evian Accords, which effectively put an end to the war and granted independence, were signed on March 18, 1962 by the French and the FLN. Algeria passed a referendum for independence on July 1, 1962.

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<sup>227</sup> Ray Takeyh. *Algeria: A Struggle Between Hope and Agony* (Council on Foreign Relations, Summer 2003); Arslan Humbaraci. *Algeria: A Revolution that Failed* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1966); Tanya Matthews. *War in Algeria: Background for Crisis* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); David Galula. *Pacification in Algeria, 1956-58* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1963); Joan Gillespie. *Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution* (Westport, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1960).

## The Irish Republican Army<sup>228</sup>

While the organization that is commonly known as the IRA was not established until 1969, its conflict with the British has its roots in King Henry VIII's decision to conquer Ireland. Since then, the island has been in a seemingly-constant state of turmoil. From the time that English and Scottish Protestant settlers were sent to pacify the area that is now Northern Ireland in the seventeenth century, the conflict has displayed both religious and nationalist themes.

Until the establishment of the IRA, the conflict in Ireland was marked by repeated rebellions and, in the last two centuries, attempts to secure a more equal relationship with England. A rebellion in the seventeenth century that briefly created an independent Irish state ended when Oliver Cromwell reconquered the island. Over the next two centuries the Great Irish Famine, the Act of Union that joined Ireland to the U.K., legislation that imposed unfair trade relations, and the mismanagement of Irish agricultural land heightened animosity.

The current nature of the conflict began to emerge in 1922 when most of Ireland, predominantly Catholic, gained independence from the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland, which had a slight Protestant majority, remained a Kingdom of the Empire. The British use of troops in 1969 to quell growing disorder provided the final impetus for the emergence of the IRA. Although there are several IRA factions, the Provisional IRA, which uses terrorism to promote its goals of Irish unity and independence from the United Kingdom, is the most influential. The IRA name was originally used by the army of Ireland that waged the guerrilla war for Irish independence. The Protestant population largely opposes the IRA, which has divided Northern Ireland into two sides that bitterly oppose each other's political goals.

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<sup>228</sup>Seamus Dunn. *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); Marc Mulholland. *Northern Ireland: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Richard English. *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

## Iraq in the 1920s<sup>229</sup>

During the World War I era, nationalism became an increasingly powerful force in the Arab world, in part because of exposure to American democratic ideals. Following the cessation of hostilities in Europe, many people in Iraq saw British governance as beneficial, but that attitude did not last very long and frustration emerged around the nation.

At the San Remo Conference in April of 1920, the League of Nations issued Britain the mandate to continue its colonial rule until Iraq could develop a self-sufficient government. By May, serious resentment had developed around the nation. Sunni and Shi'a clerics capitalized on the mounting frustration by holding meetings in their mosques to discuss potential courses of action. They were opposed to British occupation and wanted to cooperate in the furtherance of nationalism and jihad.

In late May, a Sunni recited an anti-British poem, which resulted in his arrest. This action heightened the simmering tensions to a boiling point; demonstrations broke out in Baghdad's streets and then evolved into an armed revolt in the Middle and Lower Euphrates by June of 1920.

The rebellion's chance of success was limited because it suffered from a lack of cohesion in the face of superior British forces. It lasted from July until October and claimed the lives of 450 British and nearly 10,000 Iraqis. The 1920 rebellion was quelled at great expense to the British government.

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<sup>229</sup> Thabit A.J. Abdullah. *A Short History of Iraq: from 636 to the Present* (London: Pearson, 2003); Reeva Spector Simon and Eleanor H. Tejirian. *The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Stephen Longrigg. *Iraq, 1900 to 1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953); Edith Penrose and E.F. Penrose. *Iraq: international relations and national development* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1978).

## Kashmir<sup>230</sup>

Today's tension in Kashmir stems from history. In the 1900s, there was a large gap between the Hindu rulers and Muslim majority population of Kashmir. During the 1930s, opposition to the source of the discrimination, the Maharaja, began to coalesce.

A new complexity was added to the resultant tensions in 1947 when British India was partitioned. Since that time, both India and Pakistan have claimed land in the region, resulting in three distinct wars and recurring hostilities. A United Nations brokered ceasefire in January 1949 left Kashmir divided into three areas, one of which is the Indian controlled state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Muslim Kashmiris have had to endure indignities ranging from unequal educational opportunities and taxing disparity to massacres of civilians and Muslim public officials. In the late 1980s, widespread frustration with the Indian government and its policies led to full blown secessionist movements. As independent Muslim states emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union, these examples fueled the frustration with Indian rule. Ensuing election fraud led some to seek militant actions, and the artificial democracy culminated in ethno-religious and secessionist violence by early 1990.

The present insurgency is still distinguished by nationalism and religion. Muslim heritage draws some insurgent groups to seek alignment with Pakistan, and there is no doubt that the nation has supported insurgent groups who seek such a union. Other insurgent groups simply desire independence from India.

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<sup>230</sup> Rajat Ganguly. "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Insurgency, Causes, Dynamics, and Prospects for Resolution" *Asian Studies Review* 25 (2001); Victoria Schofield. *Kashmir in Conflict* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003); Sumit Ganguly. *The Crisis in Kashmir* (Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Press, 1997); Sumantra Bose. *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Congressional Research Service. *Kashmir: Recent Developments and U.S. Concerns* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2002).

## Lebanon<sup>231</sup>

The civil war in Lebanon depicts a multidimensional conflict, both ethnic and religious, exacerbated by the roles of external powers, particularly Syria and Israel. Although scholars delineate varying dates for the start and end of the war, most attribute the beginning of the war to the skirmishes between the Christian and Muslim militias around April of 1975 and the end with the Taif Agreement of 1989. Nevertheless, civil strife did not cease until 1991.

The origins of the civil war can be traced to Lebanese independence and the system of government put in place. The National Pact of 1943 created a “confessional system” of government—an attempt to incorporate the differences in population through a proportional representation system. As an example, the Presidency and leadership of the armed forces remained under a Maronite, a Sunni held the position of Prime Minister, and a Shi’ite remained chairman of the parliament. However, given the Maronite (Christian) emigration and the higher Muslim birth-rate, the proportional representation system failed to address demographic changes. In the 1950s and 1960s, religious and social tensions were further exacerbated by the Arab Nationalist movement sweeping through the area, coupled with Syrian and Israeli interest in the region due to the PLO’s relocation to Beirut. Full-scale fighting began in January, 1975 between pro-status quo forces and those advocating a change within the government. One year later, Syria launched an invasion of Lebanon, which targeted the PLO and National Front militias (Muslim-leftist opposition group) and prompted Israel to provide funding and ammunition to the Maronites. The third-party intervention prolonged and intensified the fighting, culminating in the 1981 Israeli invasion. Fighting amongst the different factions continued until the Taif Agreement was signed, reconciling the nation.

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<sup>231</sup> Charles Winslow. *Lebanon: War and politics in a fragmented society* (London: Routledge, 1996); Edgar O’balance. *Civil War in Lebanon* ( New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Walid Khalidi. *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East* (Boston: Center for International Affairs, 1979); Yair Evron. *War and Intervention in Lebanon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

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