



# Military Review

## Brigadier General Mark E. O'Neill

*Acting Commander,  
USACAC  
Acting Commandant, CGSC*

## Colonel William M. Darley *Editor in Chief*

### Staff

**Lieutenant Colonel  
Arthur E. Bilodeau**  
*Managing Editor*

**Sandra Caballero**  
*Supervisory Editor,  
Latin American Editions*

**Major Thomas Shrader**  
*Executive Officer,  
Marketing/Production Manager*

**Marlys Cook**  
*Supervisory Editor,  
English Edition*

**John Garabedian**  
*Associate Editor*

**Nancy Mazzia**  
*Books and Features Editor*

**Barbara Baeuchle**  
*Visual Information Specialist*

**Patricia L. Wilson**  
*Administrative Assistant*

**Michael Serravo**  
*Visual Information Specialist,  
Webmaster*

### Editorial Board Members

**Brigadier General Mark E. O'Neill**  
*Acting Commandant, CGSC*

**Clinton J. Ancker III, Director,**  
*Combined Arms Doctrine Directorate*

**Robert Baumann, Director,**  
*CGSC Graduate Program*

**COL Kevin Benson, Director,**  
*School of Advanced Military Studies*

**Gregory Fontenot, Director,**  
*University of Foreign Military and  
Cultural Studies*

**Lester W. Grau**  
*Foreign Military Studies Office*

**William G. Robertson, Deputy  
Director, Combat Studies Institute**

**Lon R. Seglie, Chief,**  
*Publication Division*

**Center for Army Lessons Learned**

**Dennis Tighe, Deputy Director,**  
*Combined Arms Center-Training*

### Consulting Editors

**Colonel Franklimberg  
Ribeiro de Freitas**  
*Brazilian Army,  
Brazilian Edition*

**Lieutenant Colonel  
Motriz Traub Bauer**  
*Chilean Army,  
Hispano-American Edition*

**Dhia Hakim**  
*Arabic Edition*

## FEATURED ARTICLES

### 2 Partnership for the Americas: The Human Rights Initiative

*Admiral Jim Stavridis, U. S. Navy; Alexander T. Roney; and Leana Bresnahan*  
USSOUTHCOM is the only combatant command with a separate office charged to monitor and coordinate human rights issues.

### 9 The Shia Revival

*Vali Nasr*  
The author of *The Shia Revival* offers MR readers a condensed version of the argument he puts forth in his widely acclaimed book.

### 14 Fourth Generation Warfare Evolves, Fifth Emerges

*Colonel T.X. Hammes, U.S. Marine Corps, Retired*  
Changes in the political, economic, social, and technical spheres are making it possible for a super-empowered small group to use new technologies to challenge nation-states.

### 24 Counterinsurgency Diplomacy: Political Advisors at the Operational and Tactical Levels

*Dan Green*  
In the age of the strategic corporal, it is high time for the tactical POLAD.

### 31 Everything Old is New Again: Task Force Phantom in the Iraq War

*Lieutenant Colonel Robert P. Whalen Jr., U.S. Army*  
Using cold war doctrine, long-range surveillance (LRS) companies are meeting an urgent, enduring need in Iraq.

### 38 Committing to Afghanistan: The Case for Increasing U.S. Reconstruction and Stabilization Aid

*Captain Craig C. Colucci, U.S. Army*  
The United States should increase R&S aid to Afghanistan immediately, so that Afghanistan does not become a staging ground for terrorist operations.

### 46 Cows, Korans, and Kalashnikovs: The Multiple Dimensions of Conflict in the Nuba Mountains of Central Sudan

*Major Christopher H. Varhola, U.S. Army Reserve, Ph.D.*  
To succeed at the delicate task of peacekeeping, one must constantly analyze the social, economic, religious, and cultural factors that fed the preceding conflict.

### 56 Managing Counterinsurgency: Lessons from Malaya

*Walter C. Ladwig III*  
In the Malayan Emergency, the British found that the most important element of their counterinsurgency campaign was a unified plan that included all the elements of national power.

### 67 Army IO is PSYOP: Influencing More with Less

*Colonel Curtis D. Boyd, U.S. Army*  
The commander-designate of the Army's only active-duty PSYOP group argues that the information operations construct adds little value to the fight.

**Cover Photo:** U.S. Army SSG Gentles spots his next leap while crossing a stream during a patrol near the Pakistani border in the Paktika province of Afghanistan, 30 March 2007. The patrol was part of a mission intended to disrupt enemy movement in areas known to have enemy activity. (U.S. Army, SSG Justin Holley)

## 76 Understanding the Link between Center of Gravity and Mission Accomplishment

*Colonel William G. Pierce, U.S. Army, Retired, Ph.D., and Colonel Robert C. Coon, U.S. Army, Retired*  
Neutralizing the enemy's center of gravity is only one step toward mission accomplishment. Planners must also ensure the adversary leader gets the message and is properly influenced.

## 85 Of Shoes and Sites: Globalization and Insurgency

*Captain Christopher M. Ford, U.S. Army, J.D.*  
It is a given that the globalization of communications technology has changed the way insurgency wars are fought. But which side has benefited most, and how?

## 92 In Defense of Military Public Affairs Doctrine

*Commander J.D. Scanlon, Canadian Armed Forces*  
Initiatives aimed at breaking down the wall between public affairs and propaganda only hurt the cause of democratic armies and nations.

## 97 Discouraging Hearts and Minds: Democracies and Insurgencies

*Major Erik Claessen, Belgian Armed Forces*  
A limited military capability that is sustainable because it is too small to attract media attention can be more successful than a large military capability that can be exploited for political gain.

## INSIGHTS

### 104 The Power Equation: Using Tribal Politics in Counterinsurgency

*Major Morgan Mann, U.S. Marine Corps Reserve*  
To deal effectively with tribes and sheiks, coalition commanders must be willing to use the carrot, the stick, and the negotiating process.

### 109 Ethics and Operations: Training the Combatant

*Centres des Hautes Etudes Militaires*  
Soldiers engaged in counterinsurgency and other unconventional, problematic operations must have some way to keep their moral compasses straight.

## Classics Revisited

### Book Reviews Contemporary readings for the professional

George W. Casey, Jr.  
General, United States Army  
Chief of Staff

Official:



JOYCE E. MORROW  
Administrative Assistant to the  
Secretary of the Army 0633905

*Military Review* presents professional information, but the views expressed herein are those of the authors, not the Department of Defense or its elements. The content does not necessarily reflect the official U.S. Army position and does not change or supersede any information in other official U.S. Army publications. Authors are responsible for the accuracy and source documentation of material they provide. *Military Review* reserves the right to edit material. Basis of official distribution is one per 10 officers for major commands, corps, divisions, major staff agencies, garrison commands, Army schools, Reserve commands, and Cadet Command organizations; one per 25 officers for medical commands, hospitals, and units; and one per five officers for Active and Reserve brigades and battalions, based on assigned field grade officer strength. *Military Review* is available online at <http://militaryreview.army.mil>.

*Military Review* (US ISSN 0026-4148) (USPS 123-830) is published bimonthly by the U.S. Army, CAC, Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-1254. Paid subscriptions are available through the Superintendent of Documents for \$42 US/APO/FPO and \$58.80 foreign addresses per year. Periodical postage paid at Leavenworth, KS, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Superintendent of Documents, PO Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954.