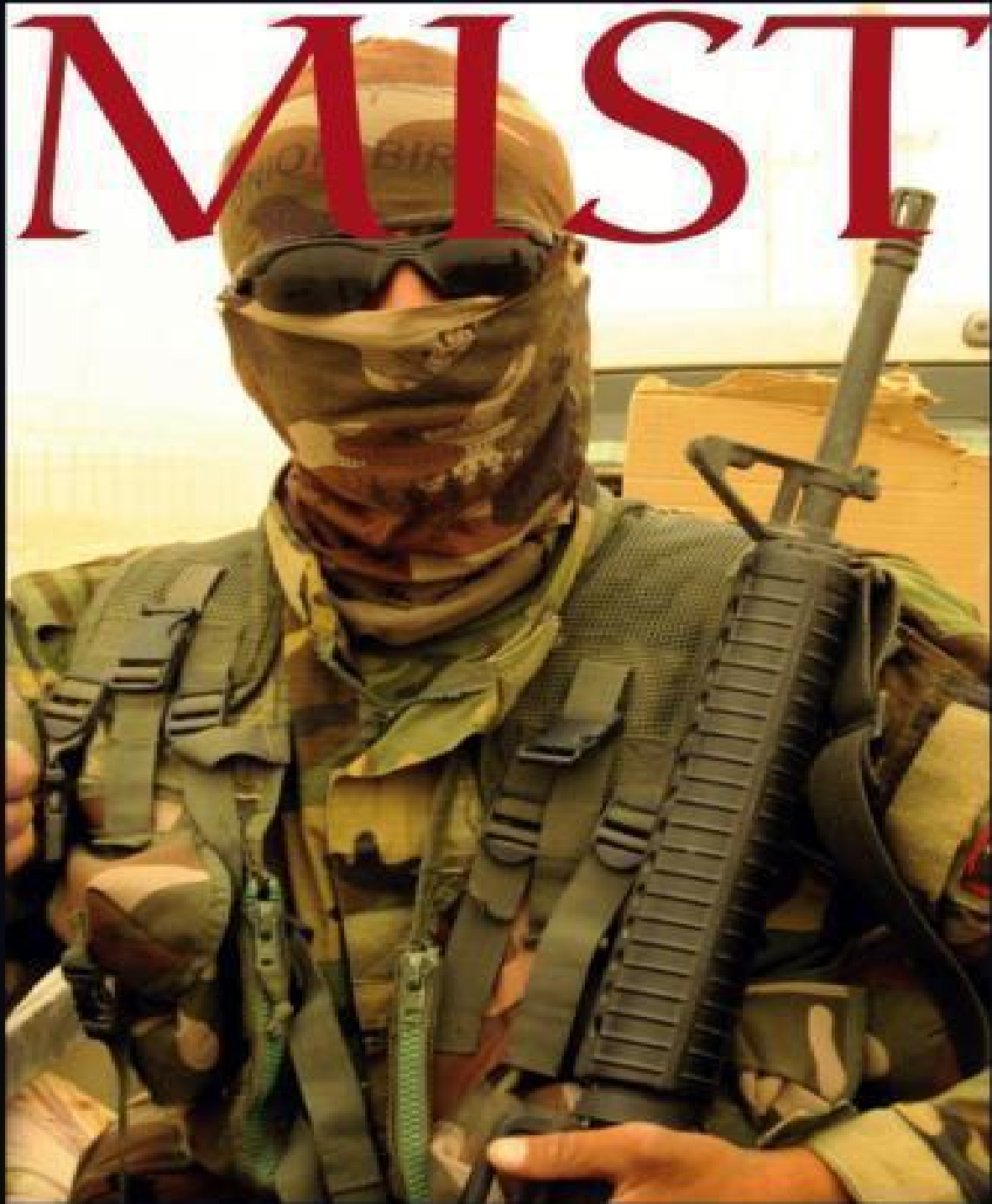


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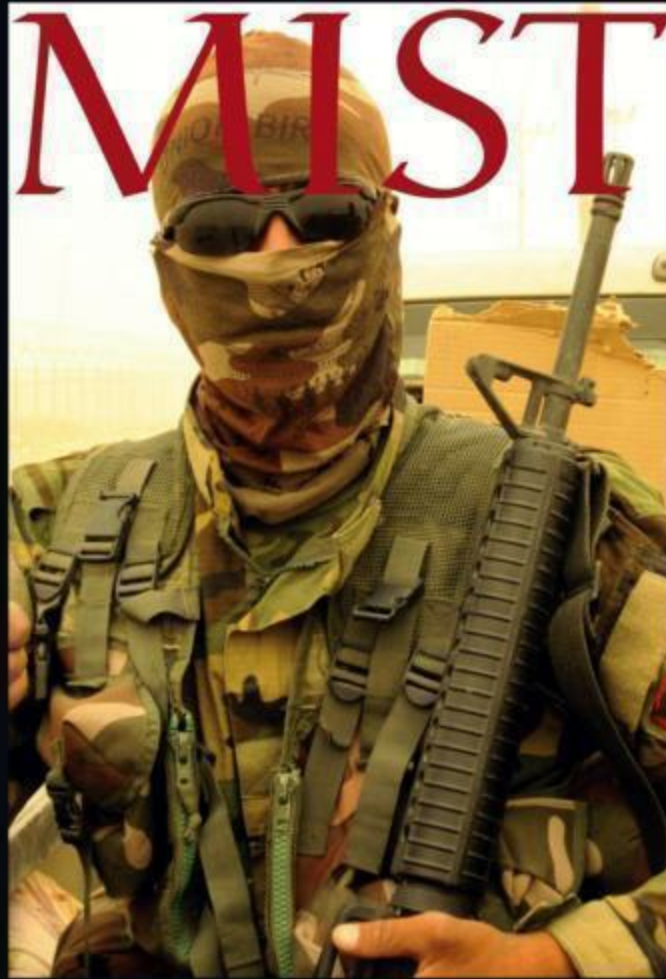
GUERRILLAS

IN THE



R.P. Newman USMC (Ret)
Illustrations by Susan Newman

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GUERRILLAS

IN THE

MIST

IN MEMORIAM



Vang Pao

1929 - 6 January 2011

One of the fiercest and most pernicious freedom fighters ever to stalk an enemy. The great man's spirit now wanders the forests of the Laotian Highlands with his honored ancestors.

“HMONG”

My name means “free.”

I was born in the wilderness

Nurtured by the breeze.

My only mother was Savagery.

Though temperate and kind, neighbors neglected me.

My innocence was robbed and challenged by greed.

Torn from my homelands, I was left to flee.
Like dust in the wind, I dispersed silently.
New lands accepted me, but for a fee.
They swallowed my pride and dignity.
They only served me pain and misery.
Now little is left of what was me.
I am one no more, as you can see.
My name means “free.”
And that was all I longed to be.

-Shanyia Vang

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GUERRILLAS

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R.P. Newman USMC (Ret) Illustrations by Susan Newman

Paladin Press • Boulder, Colorado

*Guerrillas in the Mist: Expanded and Updated
A Battlefield Guide to Insurgencies, Counterinsurgency,
and the Global War on Terror*

by R.P. Newman USMC (Ret)

Foreword by Robert K. Brown

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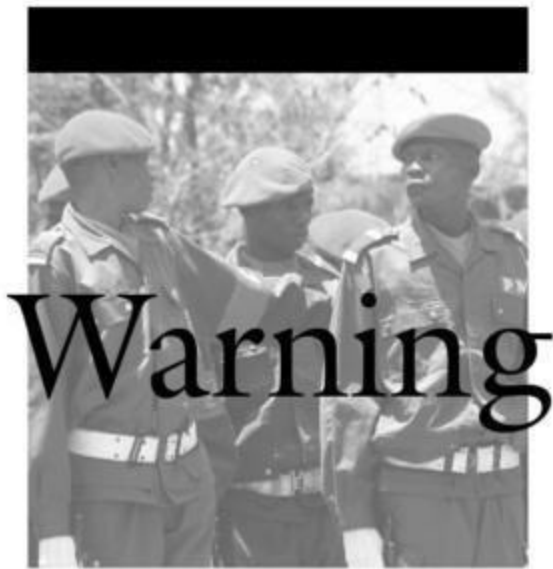
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This book was written for elite-unit military personnel and students of military history. It was not intended for use by anyone whose aim or wish is to overthrow the U.S. government or any other government by force or any other means, nor was it intended for use as a demolitions manual. Conspiring, planning, or attempting to overthrow the U.S. government by force or other violent means, and the illegal use or misuse of explosives or booby traps, are serious crimes with harsh punishment for those convicted. The author, publisher, and distributors of this book disclaim any responsibility for the use or misuse of any information presented herein. This book is for academic study only.

For Colonel Bryan P. McCoy USMC. After all these years and all these wars, Bryan has never taken his eye off the target and always tells it like it really is, regardless of the fallout.

For Colonel Kevin A. Conry USMC (Ret), who led by example and by doing so enjoyed the respect of all his staff noncommissioned officers.

For Sergeant Major C.T. Garr USMC (Ret), my one and only mentor in the Corps.

For Corporal Aaron Mankin USMC (Ret), a Marine who understands the true

and never-ending cost of dedication.

For Elphaba Thropp of Rush Margins, Shiz, and Kiamo Ko, who for good reasons was the Wizard's worst guerrilla nightmare.

And for my brother "Saint," the Ranger who wouldn't die.



As I finished the foreword for the original edition of this book in 1997, I was on my way to yet another rebellion against tyranny, this one in long-suffering Albania, once the most xenophobic of hard-core Communist nations. After completing the Albania mission, I headed south to the Dark Continent to report on the troubles in Zaire. Thoughts of these rebellions, as well as dozens of others I have seen, have caused me to consider the role of the guerrilla in the birth of countless nations-including Americaas well as in the liberation of innumerable peoples from oppressive governments, military juntas, and tin-pot dictators. Still, most guerrilla-led rebellions fail miserably. So the questions that anyone who has an interest in rebellions (or expects to be involved in one) must ask are, why do they fail and how can a guerrilla movement succeed?

The answers to these questions are the whole point of this remarkable book, which is the first truly practical, hard-hitting manual on how to establish, equip, train, and successfully employ a guerrilla unit. Make no mistake about it, Guerrillas in the Mist is the "bible" of guerrilla warfare.

I first became associated with R.P. Newman USMC (Retired), when he wrote his first article for Soldier of Fortune back in 1991, shortly after his return from the Persian Gulf War, where he served with a highly decorated Marine infantry battalion as a platoon sergeant. (He later served as SOFs

contributing editor for Gulf War Veterans Affairs.) His diverse background in the Corps, which includes tours in recon (airborne- and combatdiver qualified), as an instructor at the notorious Navy SERE School in Maine, Landing Force Training Command (Pacific), and the esteemed Staff Noncommissioned Officer Academy at Camp Geiger (where he was the chief warfighting instructor for the Advanced Course), and in both the Corps' Marine Amphibious Unit (MAU) and Marine Expeditionary Unit-Special Operations Capable (MEU-SOC) battle configurations, makes him uniquely qualified to write this book. As you may be aware, I choose the places where my written words land very carefully, and this, the latest of the gunny's books in a long, impressive list of them, is as secure an LZ as there is.

Read this book from start to finish, study it, listen to the gunny's words of wisdom, and you will stand a much improved chance of coming away from the fight with the smell of victory on your uniform.

-Lieutenant Colonel Robert K. Brown USAR (Ret) Publisher, Soldier of Fortune magazine



Acknowledgments

Thanks go to my "Congo Crew" ("Saint," "Double A," "Baseline," Josh, James, and the rest); Colonel Bryan P. McCoy USMC; Lieutenant Colonel Todd Ohman USMC (Ret); Sergeant Major Cecil T. Garr USMC (Ret); Commander Bob Fant USN (Ret); Master Chief Petty Officer Tom Keith USN SEALs (Ret); Lieutenant Colonel John A. Bass USMC (Ret); Sergeant Major William "Louie" Leblanc USMC (Ret); Gunnery Sergeant J.D. Bishop USMC (Ret); Commander Richard "Demo Dick" Marcinko USN SEALs (Ret); Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North USMC (Ret); Gunnery Sergeant Dave Bowen USMC (Ret); Sergeant Major George Misko USMC (Ret); Colonel Kevin Conry USMC (Ret); Lieutenant Colonel J.W. "Jack" Muth III USMC (Ret); Major Don Price RLI (Ret); 1st Sergeant "Big Lou" Gregory USMC (Ret); 1st Sergeant Brad Delauter USMC (Ret); my Iraq team (who must remain nameless); the gang at FOX News Channel in New York City and Denver; Peder Lund; Donna DuVall; Britta and John; and as always my remarkable wife and life partner, Susan.



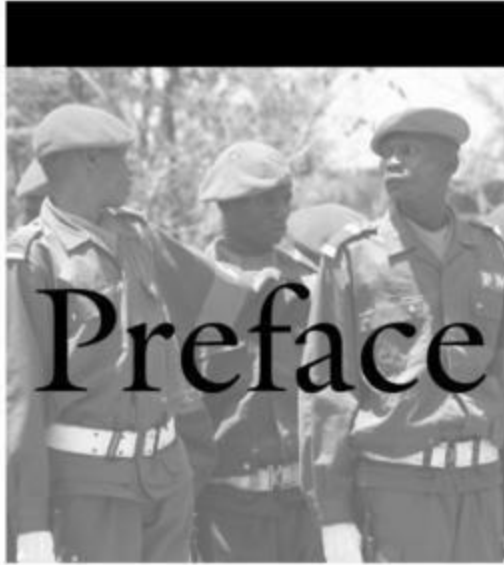
Author's Note

Although some of the information in this book might be completely unfamiliar to you, or might startle you in its detail, all of it is unclassified and the majority verifiable through open sources, provided you know where to look.

This is a guidebook, not a military field manual (FM), and as such it includes a great deal of personal opinion and experiences. There are even a handful of blatantly gratuitous and occasionally totally uncalled for political zingers that are there to make a point (guerrilla warfare always involves politics) and make you laugh (I hope). If you don't like those opinions or feel they shouldn't be here, get over it. If it is FM 3-24 Counterinsurgency you want, then definitely buy one (it's not bad).

"I have only come here seeking knowledge, things they would not teach me of in college."

-Sting



Fourteen years have passed since the original version of *Guerrillas in the Mist* was first published. In that time, the number, scope, and intensity of wars involving guerrillas and their terrorist versions have increased extraordinarily. And there's no end in sight.

The original version is cited in the bibliographies of various scholarly papers, studies, and subject-matter reference lists from such revered organizations as the U.S. Army War College, and its title has been "borrowed" by everyone from a rap group ("Da Lench Mob") and a very popular television program (CS-1.Miami) to the *Washington Monthly*, *Outlook India*, *Time*, *British International Studies Association*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Fortune*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Pole Institute*, and even a computer game. But while such compliments are appreciated, fascinating events since 1997 require this expanded and updated version.

Added to the original are chapters and sections on modern improvised explosive devices (IEDs), Hezbollah's American homeland insurgency, political factors, the media, intelligence exploitation, legal issues (including the Geneva Conventions), maritime piracy, and the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Somalia, Yemen, the United States, Mexico, and the Congo. Extensive new photography enhances

all this. This expanded and updated version now includes guidance, instruction, specific strategies, and historical examples of not only how to wage a legal and successful guerrilla war, but defeat one (counterinsurgency).

I wrote all the new material in Iraq, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Congo, and India, and it is based largely on information I gleaned between 1999 and 2011 as a "contractor," advisor, and part-time lecturer in those countries, as well as along Nicaragua's Miskito Coast, Singapore, China (Shanghai and Hong Kong), and elsewhere. Research took place in all those locales and in Zimbabwe; South Africa; Ireland; United Kingdom; Guatemala; Panama; Mexico; Washington, D.C.; and very deep in the Amazon.

Inquiries regarding permissions and author contact should be directed to the editorial director at Paladin Press (editorial@paladin-press.com).

R.P. Newman Baghdad Province Babylon



Introduction

This revised and substantially expanded version of *Guerrillas in the Mist* was written for legal, ethical guerrillas with noble goals, and counterinsurgency forces engaged (or expecting to engage) with illegal, unethical guerrillas with nefarious goals. It also contains a great deal of counterterrorism knowledge and is designed to make you learn, glean, contemplate, hone, and think critically while fighting an asymmetric war. It might even entertain you from time to time with disturbing tales and rude political humor, for asymmetric warfare is rife with stories and politics.

From the concept of clan tranh to a genocidal maniac in Equatorial Africa, ambush design to Mao's Three Rules and Eight Remarks, carnage in Bali to Abu Ghraib, the Solomon Islands to the White House, Helmand Province to the Geneva Conventions, the U.S.-Mexico border to tunnel warfare, the Swiss Alps to Pakistan, pirates crews to IEDs, Cuban revolutionaries to interrogation cells, *Guerrillas in the Mist* explores insurgency and counterinsurgency history, as well as tactics, operational art, and strategy. It contains practical detail and philosophy for the asymmetric battlefield. It examines what worked and what didn't, and why, in battles now shrouded by the mists of time and those still fresh in the minds of the combatants because the battle just ended.

This isn't your standard military manual by any stretch of the imagination. It's different. Read it and become one of the guerrillas in the mist as well as the counter guerrilla warrior hunting them.

CHAPTER 1

The Home-Grown Guerrilla



"Stand and face the hounds of hell."

-Vincent Price in Michael Jackson's "Thriller"

The sounds of the humid jungle night filled the little man's ears and head as he made his way silently through the understory, his bare feet feeling their way across the leaf litter as quietly as those of a centipede. He knew this jungle well-knew each tree, each shrub, each bird, each bat, each lizard; the jungle was his home. With his dark skin and curly black hair, he was able to blend into his surroundings, and his fluid, easy movements made him seem more like just another animal under the canopy than a man. But this animal was more cunning than many of the others, and he moved with a sense of purpose and urgency, and revenge, a concept none of the other jungle inhabitants knew. And this small, black man had a name given to him by his parents. Vouza. Jacob Vouza.

Stopping beside a tree cloaked in vines of various widths, Vouza grasped them with gnarled hands and scampered up the tree much like a monkey, quickly reaching the lower edge of the canopy and disappearing into the leafy branches. A moment later, had you been a bird, you could have seen his shining eyes peering from the crown of the tree above the canopy and down

onto the large stand of palms below, just into the hinterland that lay beyond the softly rushing surf. The clouds scurrying overhead parted then to reveal a brilliant full moon hanging in the tropical night sky, bathing the palm grove in lunar light. Vouza's eyes took in the scene, and his quick mind etched the information into his brain forever-the number of men, how their weapons were emplaced, the layout of their perimeter, vehicle movement, everything. Then he slithered back down the tree and disappeared.

The little man scurried quietly back through the jungle in the general direction from which he had come but avoided tracing his steps exactly; he knew that the men he was spying on may have seen him pass the first time, so he avoided the same route. More than an hour passed before he reached his destination, a tiny, hidden cave with an opening barely wide enough for a thin man to crawl through, an opening concealed by a dense patch of vegetation. Slipping through the brush, he noiselessly entered the cave and was met just inside the entrance by a set of eyes in the darkness-eyes belonging to another man holding a pistol.

"Martin," Vouza said softly in broken English tainted with the dialect of the islands, "I find them." A slight smile appeared below the second set of eyes.

"You always do, Jacob, my friend. You always do," Martin Clemens replied as he nodded in the blackness of the damp cave, his accent thick with Down Under. "And what have you got for your old Aussie friend tonight, mate?"

The Guadalcanal native then proceeded to describe in detail what he had seen on his mission. Clemens recorded the information in his head for relay to the Allied Forces headquartered in Port Moresby, New Guinea, via the secret radio a commander by the name of Eric Feldt had given him three years earlier in 1939 for just such an occasion. The critical intelligence received by the Allies helped form the plans leading to the U.S. Marine invasion of the island of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands in August of 1942.

A week after the leathernecks stormed ashore to commence one of the bloodiest fights in their 167-year history, Martin Clemens, accompanied by

his trusty native scout, reported to the Marine commander on the island, Major General Alexander Vandegrift. Vandegrift cited both men for heroism and learned that Vouza had once been captured by the hated Japanese, tortured, bayoneted, and left for dead. But the hardy islander was anything but dead, and he soon crawled off into the jungle and eventually recuperated under the care of Clemens. His continued guerrilla activities with Clemens were his way of paying the Japanese back for the countless atrocities they had committed upon his people. The Marines awarded Vouza the Silver Star. For decades to come, the Marines continued to pay their respects at every opportunity to Sergeant Major Vouza, a retired member of the Solomon Islands Constabulary. The Marines knew one tough guerrilla when they saw one. He died peacefully many years later, the news of his passing causing Marines around the globe to pause, bow their heads, and remember.

HATRED SYNDROME

Man is one of the few creatures on this particular planet that is known to have emotions, with other advanced simians such as chimpanzees and gorillas being the most noted for showing this trait (which is well documented thanks to the works of such anthropological luminaries as Dr. Jane Goodall), and it is precisely this trait that the guerrilla has relied on for well over the past two millennia to stifle and confound innumerable foes (starting with, insofar as recorded history tells us, Darius's 512 BC invasion of current-day Romania, where then dwelled a nomadic, savage people known as the Scythians who employed guerrilla tactics to thwart Darius's attempts to subdue them). One of the strongest and most causative of emotions—a deep-seated, festering hatred of whomever the would-be guerrilla sees as an invader or unworthy and repugnant political entity—is often the single-most powerful catalyst to his becoming a guerrilla and his being willing to carry the fight for as long as it takes to realize victory over his oppressor. This is what Sergeant Major Jacob Vouza felt in his heart for the savage Japanese invaders who tortured and tormented his normally peaceful people, and his rage allowed him to perform superhuman feats, such as surviving what should have been mortal bayonet thrusts to the abdomen. And it is this emotion that still makes the guerrilla, when led by competent and devoted leaders, willing to do almost anything to win, thus posing a serious threat to those he opposes.

AN ANCIENT ART

But hatred isn't the only factor involved in laying the groundwork for a successful guerrilla campaign. A practical knowledge of history-not so much the who did what when, but more the who did what how and why (the guerrillas' tactical or operational estimate of the situation)-is also demanded of the guerrilla who is bent on winning at all cost.

Virtually every successful guerrilla leader of any import in the past two centuries has been a student of the history of guerrilla warfare, with names like Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong, Francis Marion, Fidel Castro, Daniel Ortega, T.E. Lawrence, and Vo Nguyen Giap representing only a tiny handful of those who have come to see victory through the eyes of the guerrilla warrior. (Don't concern yourself with these examples being entirely Communist but for Marion and Lawrence; the wise guerrilla doesn't allow the distasteful political orientation of key figures in guerrilla warfare history to taint his devotion to his cause.)

Given this, it is important that we examine the military art demonstrated by selected triumphant guerrillas. Once you know who did what, and why, to win the day, you will be able to see the battle before it happens. And every battle you fight as a guerrilla will have been fought before, albeit in some other place at some other time, but the tactical situation will be remarkably similar to some earlier contest between two sworn enemies.

Tyrolea, 1809:

Two Innkeepers, a Priest, and a Peasant

A sea of colorful alpine flowers danced in the mountainside meadows, appealing to the eyes of innkeeper Peter Kemnater and those of his small guerrilla force that lay hidden in the dark woods lining the road south of Innsbruck. The splendor of the snowcapped Alps added to the magnificence of the panorama, but General Karl Philipp von Wrede, leading a corps of FrancoBavarian troops with the mission of destroying the guerrilla force that had recently ambushed a team of Bavarian engineers, paid the picturesque setting no mind. This was a mistake, for had he been more attentive to his surroundings he may have detected the small band of concealed peasants

waiting in the forest. After a brief but deadly engagement, von Wrede and his men broke off the advance, abandoned their guns, and retreated. This was Kemnater's first important victory.

However, von Wrede was not one to give up right away, and he soon led a second force back into the mountains along the road running from Innsbruck to Brixen. Unfortunately, von Wrede considered the first Tyrolean victory a fluke, and so he neglected to examine the tactics and strategy of the guerrillas, thus leading him straight into a brilliant ambush once again planned and led by Kemnater, this time in a narrow pass that created the perfect killing field. As von Wrede's army marched through the pass, Kemnater gave the signal to attack. Huge boulders, carefully prepared for immediate use long before von Wrede's force arrived in the pass, were rolled down toward the helpless soldiers. In the ensuing panic, the mountaineer marksmen opened fire on the disarrayed enemy from their unassailable positions in the trees and rocks above and slaughtered them.

As Kemnater was laying waste to von Wrede, a second innkeeper, who was the father of the resistance movement, Andreas Hofer, was busy fighting and defeating the invaders around Passeyr (with intelligence provided by a Capuchin priest by the name of Joachim Haspinger), while an otherwise unremarkable peasant by the name of Joseph Speckbacher sacked Innsbruck. These three attacks were well-coordinated by the guerrillas, such that one of the most astonishing victories (from a potential combat power standpoint) ever achieved by a guerrilla force was pulled off. The result was the capture of two generals (and their entire staffs), more than 6,000 infantrymen, 1,000 cavalymen (along with 800 of their horses), and several cannons.

What mistake did von Wrede make? And what guerrilla warfare concepts and principles did the Tyroleans successfully demonstrate a keen understanding of?

First, von Wrede's mistakes.

- Von Wrede had fallen victim to the same fate of many generals of his time, that being a belief in his personal superiority to such a degree that it was manifested as arrogance—he considered himself too smart and too educated to be truly defeated by a ragtag band of unruly peasants. This led to his

inability to grasp the importance of understanding how the peasants were thinking tactically.

- Von Wrede believed in the invincibility of his force from a numerical and technological standpoint, and he failed to appreciate the terrain available for use by the guerrillas (and apparently had no understanding of how he could also use that terrain).
- He used no effective advanced reconnaissance forces to tell him of the potentially dangerous pass ahead, and he never believed it was possible for him to be ambushed a second time.
- His lack of a viable intelligence network added to his susceptibility to attack and meant he had no way of knowing that the guerrillas were organized to the degree that they could simultaneously attack three significant targets and do so with great prowess.

Now Kemnater's fortes.

- Kemnater had an acute understanding of his enemy, which, historically, is an advantage common to all fighters, be they guerrillas or regular forces. He demonstrated this by correctly predicting von Wrede would travel the Innsbruck to Brixen road and not avoid the pass where the ambush was set.
- Lacking any formal military training in the tactics of the day as espoused by most regular European forces-he wasn't burdened by such static concepts as those championed in Humphrey Bland's Treatise on Military Discipline-Kemnater operated tactically in much the same way he hunted the clever chamois and red stag; that is, he used the natural features of the land to dictate his movements. Trees, rocks, and the terrain itself all provided him and his guerrillas with excellent ambush points.
- Kemnater, although the beneficiary of little formal education, understood the importance of gathering and disseminating intelligence, and he knew that the enemy was not prepared for or even expecting simultaneous attacks in different locations aimed at critical objectives.
- Finally, he understood that all this meant a much smaller force could

surprise a larger, better-armed force and soundly defeat it. He believed.

America, 1755: The Swiss Solution

When General Edward Braddock, a classic British infantry officer with much experience in the European theater, arrived in the Colonies in the mid-1750s, he had no way of knowing that his traditional training and warfighting ideology were to doom him to a stunning defeat in the Monongahela Valley at the hands of a combined force of guerrilla (French) settlers and Indians, and even cost him his life, this despite his numerical superiority, experience, and substantial weaponry. Braddock, unable to comprehend the use of guerrilla tactics, allowed himself and his force of 1,400 to be pinned against the banks of the Monongahela River at its confluence with Turtle Creek by a force of 500 fewer men and severely thrashed. This momentous engagement caused the British hierarchy to rethink its strategy and tactics.

Enter Colonel Henri Bouquet, a hired gun of Swiss heritage brought on by the Crown to deal with the increasingly audacious French and Indians. A savvy student of military history, Bouquet did not loathe the French and Indians and their tactics, but admired them to a degree that caused him to abandon the standard tactics he used with such efficiency on the manifold battlefields of Europe in favor of those used with such implacable efficacy by his new enemy. Bouquet would himself become a guerrilla. (It is interesting to note here that the Swiss have a long history of being excellent guerrilla fighters, and to this day every Swiss citizen residing in Switzerland is required by law to maintain a weapon and be part of a militia-unlike the embarrassingly ill-led and -trained "militias" that have appeared on the American scene of lately designed to fight invaders with guerrilla tactics. Switzerland is a country rife with a warren of underground bunkers dug into the extreme terrain of the Swiss Alps that will support a guerrilla war no invading army would want to tangle with. The Swiss easily compare favorably with Hannibal's forces, the Vietminh and Vietcong (VC), and the Jews' Irgun, although the latter did adopt a policy of terrorism, which is inadvisable and correctly viewed as morally corrupt by modern Western thought.

Bouquet, like successful guerrilla leaders before him, those he currently faced, and those he would face in the future, saw that the following three

basic precepts were called for when fighting a guerrilla war:

- A counterguerrilla force (such as his light infantry regiment) must be armed and equipped with weapons and gear that suit rapid movement in all phases of battle.
- It must always remain dispersed in order to avoid mass casualties.
- It must be physically prepared and mentally willing to pursue the enemy constantly and rapidly to prevent them from counterattacking.

These axioms laid the foundation for his successful operations against the French and Indians, so now let us examine where Braddock went wrong and Bouquet succeeded (and why other successful counterguerrilla forces, such as Rogers' Rangers during this same period, whose guerrilla warfare principles are taught to this day at the U.S. Army's Ranger School and to Force Recon Marines, proved effective). This comparison of tactical standard operating procedures (SOPs) can be likened to a comparison of traditional American infantry tactics against the Vietcong and those utilized by American forces willing and able to conduct business just as the VC did. History tells us that the latter Special Forces, Rangers, SEALs, and assorted Marine units-were much more effective in dealing with the enemy than those grunts who didn't adapt to the situation.

Braddock, probably through his quiescent tactical training via the Continental school of thought, was unable to adapt to the merciless hit-and-run tactics employed by the French and Indians. This made him extremely predictable-his maneuvers easily anticipated and exploited by a crafty enemy who knew when to stand and fight and when to break contact and run. (Although earlier settlers had found ways to downsize units and lessen individual loads to maximize ease of movement, Braddock failed to grasp their tactical importance.)

Braddock's lack of knowledgeable scouts to warn of French and Indian forces in the vicinity caused him to either advance to contact-not often the most sound of offensive actions-or be ambushed. He was never able to gain the upper hand with a deliberate attack and simple offensive maneuvers like single and double envelopments.

Bouquet, on the other hand, first and foremost respected his enemy rather than fostering a belligerent disdain for them and their tactics. His first order of business was to study them and learn how the French and Indians engaged British forces, where they chose to do so, and when. This dispassionate understanding of the enemy led to his second strength: because he knew his enemy and how they thought when it came to the tactical decision-making process, he was able to mirror them in mobility, maneuver formations, security, reconnaissance, and task organization. The end result was the reduced ability of the French and Indians to strike from an ambush and inflict heavy casualties, quickly break contact and disperse, and use a keen economy of the right number of troops for the mission thereby lessening the risk of detection. Finally, as the Germans in World War I would do, he adopted a decentralized philosophy of command as the order of the day, which allowed small-unit leaders to make immediate tactical decisions on their own without first begging permission from higher-ups, a policy adopted early on by the Continental Marines, later known as the United States Marine Corps, which is still in use today.

Nevertheless, despite Bouquet's clearly superior grasp of the criticality of light infantry tactics interlaced with guerrilla tricks of the trade, the British army never really caught on or accepted these insights. On the other hand, the colonists, especially those in New England, were quick to take up guerrilla techniques when they broke from the Crown in 1776. Up against the revolutionaries' emphasis on marksmanship, small-unit leadership skills, initiative, cunning, and solid intelligence gathering, the British were doomed to failure from the start. (On the matters of intelligence and reconnaissance, it should be noted that the rebels, as the British referred to them, or minutemen, as the American's referred to them, used human intelligence to great length, such as when the sexton of the Old North Church in Boston, Robert Emerson Newman, an ancestor of the author, hung two lanterns in the steeple to warn silversmith Paul Revere of the British arrival in Boston harbor. This intricate network would prove to be a maddening thorn in the side of the Crown throughout the war. The rebel Newman was captured soon thereafter and severely thrashed.)

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM, 1950-1975: A DARWINIAN DILEMMA

When the first American Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) arrived in the Republic of Vietnam in 1950 to do what it could for the ill-fated regime and country, the advisors probably had no inkling of the turmoil and hand-wringing to come. The problem would prove to be Darwinian in nature, with the fittest adapting to the changes and the less fit trying in vain to make the day business as usual and suffering a fate that befell those who went before them. The American experience would prove to be much like that of the French in French Indochina, which ended with the disastrous defeat of their garrison (with more than 2,000 dead and well over twice that number wounded) at Dien Bien Phu by the Vietminh in the spring of 1954. The Vietminh were brilliantly commanded by General Vo Nguyen Giap, who ordered artillery to be secretly hauled up into the mountains overlooking the plain on which the French garrison was situated, a stroke of tactical genius that allowed him to shell the hapless French at will.

Similarly, the Americans would by and large fail to adapt to the survival challenges laid before them in an environment that had bested many earlier invaders. This fact is what is perhaps most perplexing and troubling: despite Vietnam's history of warfare, which clearly shows the pitfalls army after army has suffered there, invaders have continued to march into its emerald rice paddies, screaming jungles, and tentacled rivers but never learned.

General Giap, his devoted cadres, and the seemingly invisible hoards of clever guerrilla warriors, the Vietcong, understood their enemy at all levels and thus were able to engage a virtually gigantic, hideously well-armed and experienced foe with the same tactics used by guerrillas since Scythia. Adding to the combat power of the insurgents were the Vietnamese concepts of time-which is quite different from Western perceptions-and acceptable loss. The Vietnamese do not see a decade as being long at all, and a century to them isn't much longer than a decade. This outlook allows them to undertake siege after siege with no thought toward how long it may or may not take; if it takes a thousand years to win, then so be it.

America lost the war not so much on the battlefields-its soldiers won far more important engagements than they lost-but in the White House, Department of Defense (DOD), and Pentagon. Consider the following:

- Presidents Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon

Johnson, and Richard Nixon each failed to grasp the tenacity of the enemy. This set the stage for defeat as far back as September 1950 when American advisors started showing up in country to guide a corrupt and often cowardly Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN).

- General William Westmoreland failed miserably to have his conventional forces adapt to guerrilla warfare. He believed that firepower and technology would win the war for America. He was dead wrong.
- Robert McNamara, the secretary of defense during some of the Vietnam War's most vicious fighting, lied to the American public by saying he truly believed the war was winnable. In reality, by his own admission, he was convinced it was a lost cause from the start but continued to advise the president to send more troops into what had become a meat grinder.
- The American public quickly grew sick of television scenes that showed American soldiers being slaughtered in distant rice paddies, year after year, with no return on their investment. As public support waned, so too, did the soldiers' chances of victory.
- Most officers on the ground did not understand the dangers of guerrilla warfare insofar as its long-term lethality; when they did, they were often not allowed to fight guerrilla style.
- Because of conscription (the draft) and rampant drug abuse in many units, the quality of leadership was frequently abysmal. The best units proved to be those with few drug problems and disciplined noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and officers who saw themselves as professional soldiers and conducted business as such.

The North Vietnamese, on the other hand, played their hand masterfully. They understood the nature of the war they were fighting and prosecuted it well in most instances.

- Ho Chi Minh and General Giap correctly anticipated that if America's troops were kept on the battlefield long enough, the American public would demand that they be brought home. Guerrilla tactics suited this belief perfectly and brought the American psyche into the battle.

- The last three wars America had fought (Korea, World War II, and World War I) were all conventional wars. This left the Americans with few leaders who understood the nature of guerrilla warfare.
- The Communists, knowing that a curious American media would soon dig into the corrupt South Vietnamese government and that the ensuing expose would reduce public support for the war even more (which is exactly what happened), managed to conceal their own corruption and brutality by denying media access to their much more closed society.
- In most instances the North Vietnamese brilliantly exploited propaganda opportunities, such as the actress Jane Fonda manning an anti-aircraft gun in Hanoi.

The North Vietnamese won this war as much on Main Street America as they did in the rice paddies and jungles of South Vietnam and in the skies over Hanoi and Haiphong. Today, an American ambassador once again resides in Hanoi and American companies like Nike pay Vietnamese factory workers 20 cents an hour to make \$140 sneakers.



Now let us examine what is arguably one of the most fascinating examples of a successful guerrilla campaign ever waged and see how you, as a modern-day guerrilla leader, can learn from a cigar-chomping, bold, lucky, and unfortunately communist revolutionary named Fidel Castro.



The aggressive counterguerrilla soldier on the ground with a machine gun is often more effective than high-tech approaches.



Even armored vehicles like these M113 armored personnel carriers can be defeated by a crafty guerrilla force.



Guerrilla wars can take decades to come to fruition, as the North Vietnamese knew well.

CHAPTER 2

The Jewel of the Caribbean



Cuba, 1953 and 1956-1959

"History will absolve me."

-Fidel Castro after his failed assault on Moncada Barracks, 1953

If ever there was a classic example of a guerrilla war won by the insurgents despite a staggering numerical and technological advantage held by a government and its army, Cuba is it.

Fidel Castro, after failing in his first attempt at revolution in 1953 (after which he and his brother Raul were imprisoned for two years by Batista and freed under a general amnesty in 1955), stepped back up to bat in 1956 and very nearly struck out a second time, his tiny guerrilla band never numbering more than 2,000, and that at the end of the war. (A year or so earlier Castro could muster only a few hundred.) Castro's guerrillas were poorly armed and equipped, to say the least. On the other hand, dictator Fulgencio Batista's army eventually numbered 30,000 and was supported by the United States. This put the force-on-force ratio at 15:1 in favor of Batista. But, to the guerrilla, numbers often mean nothing.

The son of a peasant, Fidel was born in Cuba's Oriente Province, where poverty was the norm as a result of the failed social policies of Batista, with

much support and encouragement from American mining, fruit, and sugar interests. He was raised a Catholic, receiving his early education from Jesuit priests, and later attended the University of Havana. Castro showed signs early on of his proclivity toward participating and having a hand in leading guerrilla warfare movements. His first attempt at such an insurrection came in Colombia in 1947 when he was only 20 years old, and it failed miserably. The seed of the guerrilla had nevertheless germinated and began to grow rapidly in the fertile soil of Batista's brutal dictatorship.

After rounding up men and logistical support in Mexico, Castro set sail for Cuba aboard a leaky scow called the *Granvna* with 82 would-be guerrillas. Disaster struck immediately as the rusting launch approached Cuban shores with Cuban soldiers waiting. Landing in a swamp and losing most of its supplies, the group was ambushed in a cane field and escaped into the Sierra Maestra-the rugged mountains forming Cuba's spine-with about a dozen survivors, including, remarkably, Fidel, his brother Raul, and revolutionary guerrilla Ernesto "Che" Guevara. With 70 or so of his men dead or captured, things didn't look good for Castro, and the Batista government kept the pressure on. However, the struggling guerrilla leader found welcome friends in the most desperate of Cuba's poor-the precaristas- who had no land to legally call their own. He established a security and intelligence network among them that provided the guerrillas with a more secure base from which they could mount minor attacks, and Castro's guerrilla war took off in earnest.

By 1958 Castro's forces had grown to about 300 mostly unarmed-and those who were armed were, at best, poorly outfitted-peasant guerrillas. Not wanting to bite off more than he could chew-he remembered his almost fatal scrape in 1953 and his 1948 involvement in the Bogota riots, which also nearly cost him his life-Castro managed some small victories against government outposts and, in doing so, gained moral support from more and more of the impoverished populace of Oriente Province. Soon he found himself controlling 2,000 square miles of Oriente and began to see increasing support from certain factions within the U.S. government (Castro had yet to declare himself a Communist, and the CIA had yet to realize that his comrade-in-arms, Guevara, was a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist), which was the last straw as far as Batista was concerned. The result was a massive assault

on Castro's stronghold that involved virtually every major asset of the Cuban armed forces, including close air support, massed artillery fires, armor, naval gunfire, and nearly 5,000 troops. It appeared that Fidel Castro was about to meet his end.

In about two weeks' time, Batista's 13 maneuvering units had tightened the noose around Castro's position to an area of about four square miles. Castro now displayed a shrewd understanding of guerrilla tactics by slowly falling back and breaking contact with the army each time it advanced, while using scouts to keep an eye on the soldiers and report on their strength, disposition, and composition. He thereby learned the army was growing continuously weaker because of the extremely demanding nature of counterinsurgency warfare fought in rugged mountains with almost constant rains and ever-increasing disease among the troops. Finally, when Castro decided that the army was at its most vulnerable from its clearly tactically and logistically overextended lines, he and brother Raul simultaneously attacked two key positions. Castro went after one of the most exposed and insecure units and wiped it out, killing more than 600 soldiers and capturing a huge stash of weapons and equipment; the survivors broke and ran. Raul assaulted government positions in the north, which yielded dozens of prisoners—all American and Canadian—in the form of civilian employees, sailors, and Marines. But rather than kill them, Raul effected a brilliant propaganda coup by treating them well and releasing them completely unharmed, an act that placated any would-be American enemies.

Once Batista's army was on the run, Castro again demonstrated a sound understanding of offensive fundamentals by sustaining momentum and maintaining contact with the badly mauled government forces, all the while gaining more and more popular support from the people. Batista fell in January 1959.

Why did Batista fail?

- Batista's first and probably most telling error—although it could be argued that his first true mistake was releasing Castro and his brother from imprisonment on the Isle of Pines—was his failure to pursue with vigor and determination Castro's surviving forces after their ill-fated landing in 1956.

- Batista lacked both initiative and resolve and failed to estimate accurately Castro's willingness to live like an animal under unbelievably harsh conditions of depravation and misery in the Sierra Maestra. Had Batista mounted a campaign like that of Operation Summer-his final but doomed attack on Castro's position in May and June 1958-while Castro's forces numbered less than 20, he probably would have won.
- The dictator did not understand how politically damaging his brutal handling of strikes and protests by peasants would become to him. American support began to wane and quickly evaporated with the number of newspaper reports filed by American and other Western reporters that spoke favorably of Castro's apparently democratic intentions and charismatic leadership style.
- Lastly, the decaying underpinnings of Batista's corrupt regime lent themselves well to popular support of the guerrillas-who promised "land for the landless"-by the peasantry. This was played upon heavily and effectively by Castro.

And how did Castro manage to succeed after such disastrous beginnings?

- Castro's most powerful asset was his devotion to his cause. By being resilient-and lucky-he was able to keep alive his, at first, ludicrously inept attempts at guerrilla warfare. Like many guerrillas before him, Castro believed he would eventually succeed, and he did.
- A clever assessment of the near inaccessibility of the Sierra Maestra allowed Castro to stay just out of reach of the government forces pursuing him, even when a major offensive operation was directed against him. Terrain, weather, and vegetation kept the guerrillas alive and the army at bay.
- By settling for small victories at first, Castro slowly built up support, without which no guerrilla movement can succeed.
- Castro understood tactics to a surprising degree. His demonstration of this in allowing a vastly superior foe to stretch itself to the breaking point logistically and spiritually-at which time he attacked-cleared the way for

his triumphant return to Havana after only two and one-half years of war.

- Castro used fundamentals such as keeping an eye on the enemy to determine its strength, composition, and disposition and then struck decisive blows when his enemy was at its weakest. He pressed the attack from there and won.

In July 2006, after undergoing surgery for gastrointestinal bleeding, Fidel Castro temporarily transferred presidential power to his younger brother, Raul. This sparked rumors that death was near for the Cuban leader. In February 2008 made the transfer permanent, although Fidel remains First Secretary of the Communist Party.



Castro favored simple tools like grenades to conduct his successful guerrilla campaign.

Fidel Castro has survived eight American presidents, all of whom have made it clear that they wanted him gone. But he is still there, even if he is no

longer president of Cuba.

CHAPTER 3



Guerrilla Leadership

"It is the fashion these days to make war, and presumably it will last a while yet."

-Frederick II (Frederick the Great), In a letter to Voltaire, 1742

When one examines the history of guerrilla warfare since its inception about five centuries before a woman named Mary, the wife of a poor carpenter, gave birth to a son in Galilee, one finds that of all the intricacies involved in a successful guerrilla war, leadership is key. The best armed, best trained, and most righteous guerrilla army is of little consequence to the government forces it is fighting unless that guerrilla army is led by intelligent, well-trained, daring, clever, and caring leaders who know how to get the very best performance out of the men. History tells us that a guerrilla force with leaders who demonstrate these traits and qualities can defeat even seemingly invincible foes. For instance, when the marauding and undefeated soldiers of the mighty Kublai Khan invaded present-day Vietnam in the 13th century, the Mongols came up against a people with a well-documented history of resisting invaders. In fact, the very first military academy to be founded in Asia was opened in Hanoi earlier in that century, and from it came a tactics book that allowed the Vietnamese to repel the savages who had

proven to be, up to that point, unassailable. Leadership was the key to the success of that academy and of the many victories that followed.

GUERRILLA LEADERSHIP STRATEGY

Before we continue, let me say that I am no fan of any form of tyranny, and I loathe what tyrannical governments-especially those based on Communism-stand for and what they are willing to do to their own people in order to achieve their ends. However, as both a student and instructor of military history, tactics, and strategy, I have found that being able to put aside one's personal feelings about this or that form of government in order to examine and exploit the portions thereof that are worth the time and effort makes one a more effective leader. (Wasn't Gen. George Patton keen enough to study Field Marshall Erwin Rommel's insightful treatise *Infanterie Greift An* [Infantry Attacks] to the degree that he was able to defeat Rommel in the North African desert because he had read his thoughts on tactics?)

And as an offbeat example of how some ideas and principles that originate in the enemy camp can prove to have merit, we have America's Social Security program. Enacted in 1935, it makes everyone pay for the welfare of everyone else when they become senior citizens. In other words, the government is forcing individuals to assist in the welfare of the whole, regardless of whether the donators intend to ever use the system themselves. This, of course, is a clearly socialist principle, and socialism forms the underpinnings of Marxism. Nevertheless (although the system is going to have a serious cash flow problem in the very near future), there are tens of millions of American senior citizens who depend on their Social Security check every month to survive.

Other groups who have employed the ideas, principles, and/or tactics of the enemy to further their own objectives include the Communist People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) and the infamous terrorist group known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), as well as the Haganah, which was a guerrilla/terrorist group of Jews in Palestine during the 1940s when they were fighting for their freedom from the British occupational force in Palestine and for the formation of the state of Israel in its place. (The Haganah supported its rival group's bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1946, which killed 91 and wounded 45, until the support of the Irgun became a political liability

and they withdrew it. It is interesting to note that the Irgun was led by a master terrorist who would later lead the entire Jewish nation. His name was Menachem Begin.) While it is true that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin also championed the principles of what we are about to discuss, it will be shown that the system works well when emplaced, employed, and supervised correctly.

Dau Tranh

I will be using Vietnamese terminology to set the stage for this section because the Vietnamese have such a remarkable history of being very successful guerrillas and warfighters in general. For 2,000 years the Vietnamese have continually been invaded and occupied by aggressors from Asia, Europe, and North America, and each and every time they locked into fierce struggle with their foe with the absolute belief that they would eventually win. Results? Yes, they did in fact win every time. They're literally batting a thousand. Any people who can do this over two millennia have my respect and attention, even if their current government stinks.

Dau tranh is the Vietnamese concept of struggle, and it is a struggle based not on Marxist or even Leninist philosophy, but rather a xenophobic outlook linked to the philosophies of both Taoism (which is based primarily on mysticism) and Confucianism, as well as Vietnam's prominent religion, Buddhism. Taoist philosophy stresses the importance of simplicity of action and unassertiveness in attaining goals (it focuses on patience and caution being used to get what you want rather than your attacking the problem without due thought to your options) and was conceived by a Chinese philosopher named Lao-tzu in the sixth century BC. Confucianism dwells on the importance of knowing oneself and seeking wisdom through inner reflection and the careful assessment of the opposition (it also came into being in China about the same time Taoism did). Buddhists believe that in all lives there is suffering, but that this suffering can be lessened and eventually almost eliminated through the practitioner's honest and never-ending attempts to become morally and mentally pure. By combining xenophobia (their belief in people other than themselves-all foreigners-as being culturally, spiritually, and morally inferior) with the Taoist, Confucianist, and Buddhist mind-sets, you get a people who truly believe they cannot be conquered and who will do

whatever it takes for as long as it takes to eject the invader. These people are the Vietnamese.

But dau tranh is much more than a simple struggle. It means a willingness to fight forever against the savage invaders in a glorious and righteous contest in which every person must participate. In Islamic terms it might be compared to a jihad or "holy war." From this concept comes the foundation of the successful guerrilla war: the maintaining of an armed force of guerrillas consisting of those who are fighting for their freedom and rights, led by like individuals who are honored to be and are capable of leading the guerrillas to victory-a force that believes in the sanctity of its goals.

Fortunately-or perhaps not don't have to be a Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucianist in order to utilize the concept of dau tranh or its elements, which we will discuss in a moment. Dau tranh can be put to good use by any guerrilla force that believes it is right in doing what it is doing and is led by highquality leaders.

Key Elements of Dau Tranh

Dau tranh consists of two key elements, both of which must be brought into play if a guerrilla force expects to be successful. The first, dau tranh vu trang, is the combat element of dau tranh, and it means "armed struggle." It is always a part of the guerrilla war, regardless of who the aggressor is and how that aggressor is conducting his campaign. The second, dau tranh chink tri, is the political end of the concept, but it is a political end that is armed. It is divided into the following three entities collectively known as van:

- Dan van refers to the civil and administrative activities the guerrillas conduct in areas they have seized and now control. It means "action among the people."
- Binh van means "action among the military" and refers to nonmilitary actions taken against the invading army.
- Dich van is propaganda. In Vietnamese it translates into "action among the enemy." It is undertaken on both guerrilla turf controlled by the invader and the invader's homeland, if possible.

At this point you probably realize that what we are talking about is total warfare, a concept that, although demonstrated by a regular army, to some degree was practiced by none other than William Tecumseh Sherman during the American Civil War. Because he understood the effects of his waging total war on the populace of the South and its army, and because he exploited those effects to great length, Sherman was able to not only lay waste to the land, but break the spirit of the civilian populace and severely degrade that of the Confederate Army. Of course, there is no indication in Sherman's writings that he was trying to apply *dau tranh* to the American scene in the 1860s, but his actions were clearly along those lines. His grasp of leadership led him to victory just as surely as Ulysses S. Grant's grasp of innovative tactics and understanding of maneuver warfare principles—such as his refusal to fall back across the Rappahannock when Robert E. Lee twice attacked him—led to Lee's surrender at the courthouse at Appomattox.

In contrast, we can look at guerrilla organizations that had the potential, at least in terms of manpower and weapons, to win their respective wars but eventually failed because of a flaw in the foundation of their leader's leadership abilities. Such an example is the Sendero Luminoso or "Shining Path" narco-terrorist group of Peru.

The Shining Path first appeared on the scene in 1980 as the armed branch of the Communist party of Peru. In May of that year, Abimael Guzman Reynoso, a former successful philosophy professor and personnel director at the National University of San Cristobal de Huamanga (and one-time director of the university's teacher training program), declared a "people's war" against the government, with him as the leader of the Shining Path. He liked to be called the "Fourth Sword of Marxism," with his name added to the other three, those being Mao Zedong (Guzman operated with a decidedly Maoist slant), Karl Marx (who coauthored the Communist Manifesto with Friedrich Engels), and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (the first leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; he engineered the overthrow and murder of the Romanoffs).

In May 1980, the Shining Path boasted no more than 200 guerrillas. But the sociopolitical and economic situations within Peru (a murderously corrupt president and 7,600 percent inflation, coupled with a downtrodden peasantry

dependent on the coca leaf for survival) were perfect for the guerrillas to exploit, and by 1990 the guerrillas (now turned narco-terrorists) had killed more than 30,000 people. Adding to the Shining Path's ability to wreak havoc was the corruptibility of the government forces sent to hunt them and the massive size of Peru, which left them innumerable places in which to hide and operate. Furthermore, the leaders of the future Shining Path were all trained in Maoist ideology in the late 1960s and early to mid-1970s in the People's Republic of China. If ever there was a perfect opportunity for a guerrilla group to succeed, this appeared to be it.

Three factors, however, brought about the downfall of the Shining Path. First was Guzman himself. A remarkably arrogant egomaniac who genuinely perceived himself as being on the same revolutionary plane as Mao, Marx, and Lenin, Guzman considered himself to be the ultimate Maoist guerrilla leader. He was not. Second, Guzman directed the Shining Path to depart from standard guerrilla activities and get into the narco-terrorist trade. This was a strategic error. By doing so, Guzman alienated both the peasants he terrorized in the countryside and the Peruvian middle class and intelligentsia.

Finally, the election of Alberto Fujimori to the Peruvian presidency in 1990 and his reconsolidation of power (rule by decree) in 1992 brought the economy under control. This allowed him to devote more money to building and deploying a better counterinsurgency program. In 1992 Guzman was captured in a raid along with some top Shining Path officials in Lima, a raid that also produced an astonishing intelligence coup in the form of the group's computer files, detailing all its planned actions and who was who within the organization. This allowed the government to rip the guts out of the Shining Path. Since 1990, deaths attributed to the Shining Path have fallen by 85 percent, Guzman remains imprisoned with no apparent hope of ever seeing the light of day again, and Peru's fortunes are improving accordingly.

The Shining Path suffered from a total absence of *dau tranh*.

HARD TO THE CORPS:

MARINE CORPS CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP

The prudent guerrilla leader will avail himself of proven leadership traits.

To do otherwise will certainly result in failure. Although I am a retired Marine with 20 years of worldwide service in the grunts, reconnaissance, and special operations, and therefore speak with a degree of bias when it comes to whose leadership abilities are best, history tells us that the U.S. Marine Corps' concept of combat leadership is on the cutting edge. This concept is built around selected leadership traits and characteristics that serve the guerrilla leader extremely well. However, without a decentralized philosophy of command-one in which the lowermost commander on the scene is fully authorized and encouraged to make decisions then and there without seeking permission from higher authority, regardless of his rank-the traits that follow will be of little use. The guerrilla force operating without a decentralized philosophy of command is akin to putting a governor on the throttle of a Dodge Viper.

Decisiveness

This trait is developed in the guerrilla through a combination of thorough, very demanding training, and the placing of the would-be leader in progressively more challenging positions of absolute authority, including actual combat missions. Take away the challenging positions or the outstanding training, and the guerrilla will fail.

A complete understanding of tactics is absolutely essential for the guerrilla to become decisive. Otherwise, his tactical shortcomings will manifest themselves in defeats on the battlefield, resulting in his men's diminished trust and confidence in him as a leader. To become tactically competent the guerrilla must not only study military history, but the complete history of the people he is fighting, including their culture. The Americans failed in Vietnam, despite a glaring superiority in firepower and technology, largely because the generals running the war lacked a practical understanding of the enemy's concept of *dau tranh*, as well as their concept of time.

Moving the guerrilla progressively up the leadership ladder-starting with comparatively easy missions where success is likely-will build his confidence in himself and his abilities, and his men will develop a like confidence. Basic guerrilla tactics, such as avoiding enemy units with serious combat power and striking those with reduced strength that are vulnerable in more than one way (it is hoped), are often the best because they are so simple and effective.

On the other hand, failed missions must be critiqued thoroughly so that the mistakes made in the battle will be avoided in the future. (A "zero defects" mentality will destroy a guerrilla force before it gets started. Oftentimes, mistakes are excellent learning tools. The guerrilla must, from time to time, be allowed to fail, provided that failure is not catastrophic. The U.S. Marines, starting during Gen. P.X. Kelley's term as commandant in the early and mid-1980s, began suffering from this problem; it is still one they are wrestling with, but it would appear there might be some light at the end of that long tunnel.)

Dependability

How much you can depend on a guerrilla or a guerrilla unit depends largely on the individual's or unit's character, makeup, leadership, and training. By knowing his men, the guerrilla leader can make an informed decision as to what unit to send on what mission.

Take government armed forces as an example. Responsibilities are delegated based on who is dependable for what type of mission. For instance, underwater demolition work is best conducted by the Navy SEALs, but they wouldn't be the right unit for establishing a guerrilla training base deep in enemy territory; this would fall to the Army Special Forces. And whereas a large-scale airborne assault would best be conducted by the Army's 82nd Airborne Division, the parachute insertion of a small team of men to surreptitiously collect information on enemy strength, composition, and disposition would best be handled by Force Recon Marines.

All this can be directly applied to the guerrilla force as well. By training each guerrilla vigorously and forcing him to max himself out if that's what it takes to accomplish the mission, a guerrilla force greatly increases its combat power. Weakness on the part of one guerrilla can and often does end in disaster. If he can't cut the mustard, lose him.

Loyalty

Although the individual guerrilla's loyalty to the leader is important from the viewpoint of respect, it is more important for the guerrilla to feel loyalty to his unit and for the leader to feel loyalty toward his troops. This way, the

unit believes that its existence depends on every man's life and well-being, and the troop feels that it has the respect of its leader. In turn, the troop respects the leader.

The leader must exercise extreme caution to not demand the loyalty of his guerrillas. Loyalty is earned through bravery and a genuine concern for the welfare of every man. Deeds speak much louder than words when it comes to earning loyalty. Once the leader demonstrates to a guerrilla that he is less than interested in that troop's welfare, the guerrilla will never trust or respect the leader again.

Courage

Perhaps the most personal of leadership traits, courage comes from many points. Training in and of itself can't generate courage, nor can tactical superiority, self-confidence, or a technical edge. Courage is quite intangible, but is often born of fear, anger, hatred, and the love of one's brothers.

The leader must prove himself courageous at every turn. He must take every risk his men take and often take it first. Once a leader makes his men suspect or believe that he lacks courage, the guerrilla unit is done for.

But courage must be tempered with common sense and knowledge. Unnecessary bravery often gets guerrillas killed, and few guerrilla units can afford to lose men needlessly. The guerrilla must demonstrate a sense of battlefield intelligence and know-how at all times. Rushing an enemy position with a knife in your teeth is foolish when you could take out the position with a grenade or sniper.

Integrity

This trait is the backbone of the guerrilla leader. Few guerrilla leaders who lacked integrity have ever been ultimately successful.

Integrity is demonstrated when the guerrilla leader does the right thing despite personal cost. In other words, integrity is shown when the leader stands his ground even if he knows he may pay a heavy cost at a later date. It is truthfulness in thought and deed, and it can be shown by guerrilla leaders

of any political persuasion. Once his integrity is lost, the leader will never be able to fully recover it, for it is human nature to remember the shortcomings and mistakes of a man longer than his achievements and victories.

Knowledge

This is knowledge not only of tactics and weaponry, but on a broader scale as well. It includes a deep understanding of the enemy's tactics and weaponry, yes, but also encompasses knowledge of the enemy's society, history, culture, government, legal system, and current events.

It is not enough for the guerrilla leader to merely have this knowledge. He must share it at every opportunity with his men and allow them to form their own opinions and ideas as to what happened and why. Classes on every aspect of the enemy must be taught along with classes on the basics of being a guerrilla, tactics, weaponry, and fieldcraft.

Judgment

The guerrilla leader demonstrates judgment in action and everywhere else. This applies to everything from disciplinary measures taken against his own men to the day-to-day handling of personnel matters to decisions made on the battlefield when a mistake in judgment could result in the loss of an entire unit.

Judgment comes from the guerrilla leader's level of maturity, innate leadership ability, experience, common sense, knowledge, personality type, and other less tangible things. It is crucial that the guerrilla leader demonstrate good judgment at all times in all situations, regardless of the stresses applied to him at any given moment. It should also be noted that young NCOs and officers may sometimes demonstrate a lack of good judgment, but they may eventually become better leaders with excellent judgment, provided their seniors apply the principles of solid leadership to them.

Tact

Tact has been described as one's ability to tell another to go to hell in such

a way that the man being told begins to anticipate the trip. This is a fairly good definition.

Tact is often the sign of a professional, although there are situations the guerrilla will encounter when tact isn't needed or might even be detrimental. Still, tact shows that the leader need not humiliate a subordinate in front of his peers just to make a point. In most cases, reprimands should be issued in private, whereas praise should be public. The guerrilla troop who feels his dignity has been stripped of him in such a way that his peers no longer respect him or see him as a man of equal worth is a danger to the unit.

Bearing

How the guerrilla leader deports himself is important because he must always appear to be the leader in the eyes of the men. He must lose his bearing only rarely, and then with a plan in mind, which is often to graphically demonstrate the importance of a certain mistake made by the unit. Caution must be taken to ensure that this tactic isn't used too often, which will result in reduced effectiveness.

Screaming, ranting, and "carrying on" as standard operating procedure is the sign of a weak leader who lacks genuine, tangible leadership abilities.

Justice

This trait is sometimes the most difficult to master because it is so fluid. How the guerrilla leader handles problems that require a measure of justice to be dispensed at someone's cost is absolutely crucial to the continued existence of the unit.

There should be two levels of justice in every guerrilla unit: one nonjudicial, the other judicial. Nonjudicial punishment is for minor offenses that did not put another at risk or that did not demonstrate that the offending guerrilla does not care about his fellow guerrillas (such as stealing from another guerrilla). Justice in minor cases should be commensurate with the crime, meaning that you don't execute a guerrilla for some little thing he knowingly did wrong. On the other hand, acts of negligence that put another at risk or that show a serious character flaw that will have some major adverse effect

on the unit must be dealt with severely. In any case, justice must be swift, just, and final.

Initiative

The ultimate guerrilla is an independent thinker operating among independent thinkers. Therefore, every guerrilla leader must strive to take the initiative so that his unit grows to become the most proficient of such units.

No guerrilla should have to be told to do things he already knows he must do. Anyone found to be recalcitrant along these lines needs to be watched carefully and taught to take the initiative. If he never comes around, the appropriate steps must be taken to have him leave the unit. Otherwise, you will have a weak link that may soon become a fatally weak link.

Enthusiasm

In a guerrilla war, enthusiasm can sometimes wane, particularly if the war is a long one. The key to enthusiasm is good leadership.

Every guerrilla must be reminded constantly of what he is fighting for, and he must be rewarded from time to time for his service. The greatest rewards, of course, are personal survival and the movement's victory. This is best accomplished by demanding training that leads to winning small battles, which leads to great battles won with minimal loss.

Endurance

The greatest asset a guerrilla leader has when it comes to endurance is a strong personal belief in what he is doing. A sliver of doubt is like a tiny piece of rust. That rust will spread like a cancer and eventually destroy the unit if not handled at the outset.

A guerrilla's endurance can be chipped away from many angles, and it is the leader's responsibility to make sure those angles are reduced to a bare minimum. Everything from the welfare of the guerrilla's family to his own physical and spiritual health must be accounted for. To develop and maintain this trait takes great personal leadership skills, and the leader must show a

genuine concern for each and every one of his men and their families if he is to expect his guerrillas to endure the rigors of warfare in a guerrilla unit during a protracted conflict.



Wanting to be in the fight is an important trait.



There is more to instilling enthusiasm than merely telling your guerrillas that they should be enthusiastic.

Unselfishness

Never must a guerrilla leader be selfish. The insidious character deficiency of selfishness can be one of the most derisive in a guerrilla unit because it tells every guerrilla that you are not in it for them or for the cause but for personal gain and glory. No guerrilla unit has ever been successful that had a selfish leader.



The guerrillas may have to endure a long war against an enemy with advanced gear and tactics.



Small arms are the foundation of a guerrilla army.



These two scavenging Kuwaiti fighters know the importance of sharing.

Share everything with your men, including responsibility when appropriate, but never blame them for what is ultimately your failure. You, as their leader, are responsible.

CHAPTER 4

The Guerrilla and His Explosives



"Just as one man can beat ten, so a hundred men can beat a thousand, and a thousand can beat ten thousand."

-Miyamoto Musashi, A Book of Five Rings, c. 1643

The modern guerrilla, whether prosecuting a campaign in the concrete jungle of Chicago with former members of the Latin Kings or beneath the triple canopy of the Amazon with Jivaro tribesmen, probably has had thorough training in the use of every weapon that may become available to him. This includes not only firearms, such as rifles, shotguns, and handguns, and knives, but explosives of all kinds as well. Guerrillas have used explosives for centuries, and with good reason—they work. Whether you are fighting in a guerrilla campaign or against one, there are certain intrinsic properties of explosives that you must understand before you encounter them in guerrilla warfare.

WHAT WAS THAT BIG BOOM?

The sound of exploding ordnance tends to really get people's attention, and this is the guerrilla's first problem: security in training. Failure to account for and take effective steps to prevent potential enemies from learning of your

guerrilla force's activities with explosives is one of the most common mistakes guerrillas make, and it is one that frequently ends with the defeat of the force before it ever gets off the ground or leads investigators straight to them once an act of terror has been committed.

Although Ted Kaczynski, Timothy McVeigh, and Terry Nichols were not "guerrillas," they illustrate the point about the danger of keeping explosives too close to home. Kaczynski (the "Unabomber" who was captured by FBI agents in the spring of 1996) and McVeigh and his partner in the Oklahoma City federal building bombing, Terry Nichols, were careless while storing and training with explosives. Kaczynski allegedly kept bomb-making materials in his cabin-a major error-and the Oklahoma City bombers practiced with improvised explosives right on the Nichols family farm-a remarkably stupid idea.

Explosives training must be conducted under the strictest security measures. Potential gaps in the guerrillas' security apparatus run the gamut from being caught in a sting operation while buying explosives, detonators, fuses, and caps to being seen or heard detonating the devices at what they thought was a site remote enough to escape detection.

Avoiding the first problem might require using materials not normally associated with things that go boom in the night. Right now I can spend 30 seconds under your kitchen sink or in your garage or toolshed and come up with all the stuff needed to blow your house flatter than a three-day-old cadaver's EKG. And if you live on a farm, well, you already know what certain fertilizer and fuel oil mixtures can do. Improvisation is an excellent way of eluding suspicion. Another means of acquiring explosives other than through legal channels is theft; however, explosive materials are always kept in secure locations and are often guarded. The guerrilla's best bet might be to ambush vehicles carrying explosives rather than hitting a static storage site. Beware, however, of explosives that may have taggants or tags inside them. These tags are tiny coded markers that are placed inside the explosive material and can be identified through forensics, giving the other side the ability to tell where the explosive came from and therefore identify a chain of custody that could somehow lead to the bomber.

RIGHT EXPLOSIVE FOR THE JOB

The guerrilla seldom has all the explosives he would like available for his use. The truth of the matter is that the guerrilla must often use what is at hand-what he can obtain by hook or by crook. Still, it is important to try to use the right explosives for each job. This economy of force helps to avoid wasting a large explosive charge on a small job that could have been completed with half the charge.

Cyclonite (RDX)

Most frequently used in composite explosives like all the "comps" (Comp A3, Comp B, Comp B4, and Comp C4), RDX is an excellent explosive for the guerrilla because of its great power, versatility, and water resistance. The drawbacks are its sensitivity-it is very sensitive and therefore can detonate accidentally with little provocation under the right circumstances-and its poisonous fumes.

RDX Composites

A3 is mostly made of RDX with a binder/desensitizer made of wax. It is a very good explosive rated below the effectiveness of pure RDX. It is quite water-resistant but, like RDX, gives off poisonous fumes.

Comp B, another good explosive for guerrilla ops, is 60 percent RDX, 39 percent TNT (trinitrotoluene), and 1 percent wax. It is highly water-resistant and offers outstanding power, but it naturally has those dangerous fumes from the RDX.

Comp B4 is very similar in composition to Comp B; however, it contains no wax but rather calcium silicate. It is like an upgraded Comp B and has about the same pros and cons.

Comp C4 is a well-known explosive consisting of 91 percent plasticizer. It is often used in underwater work, is quite moldable, and is very brisant (has great shattering power).

PETN (Pentaerythrite Tetranitrate)

The guerrilla who gets his mitts on this stuff has scored big time.

Extremely powerful like RDX, it is very water resistant and the fumes it produces are not nearly as dangerous as those of RDX. It's great for underwater bridge and hull work.

Amatol

When you combine equal amounts of TNT and ammonium nitrate, you get Amatol. Not a bad explosive, but it must be kept airtight because of its habit of absorbing moisture like a sponge. Its fumes are also hazardous.

Ammonium Nitrate (AN)

Best used for creating holes in the ground because of its very slow rate of detonation (8,900 feet/second as compared to RDX's 27,400 feet/second), this stuff must also be kept airtight. It is not for use in breaching or cutting.

Military Dynamite

This is often one of the most available explosives the guerrilla can come across. Though it is not as brisant as RDX, military dynamite is still good for cratering. It is not that useful in wet situations, and the fumes it produces are dangerous.

Commercial Dynamite

Unlike military dynamite, the commercial or standard variety does contain nitroglycerin. Its relative effectiveness depends on its exact makeup and can vary widely from manufacturer to manufacturer. There are four kinds.

Straight Dynamite

Straight dynamite is simply nitroglycerine mixed with an inert filler.

Gelatin

Dissolved nitroglycerin and nitrocotton form the base of this plasticized dynamite.

Ammonia Gelatin

Ammonia gelatin is simply gelatin dynamite with ammonium nitrate thrown in.

Ammonia Dynamite

Ammonia dynamite is nitroglycerin and ammonium nitrate dynamite.

TNT

TNT and military dynamite are not one and the same, as some folks tend to think. TNT has better brisance and is good around water. The fumes are just as bad as military dynamite, however. TNT is the "base" explosive; that is, the explosive all others are compared to when determining their relative effectiveness (RE factor).

Pentolite

When you have a 50/50 mix of PETN and TNT in a single explosive, you have Pentolite. This is another very effective explosive, but, as expected, the fumes are bad.

Tetrytol

A combination of 75 percent tetryl and 25 percent TNT creates Tetrytol. The advantages of this explosive are increased brisance and force along with reduced sensitivity. The fumes are still dangerous.

Nitroglycerin

The extremely sensitive nature of nitroglycerin is not a myth. Although it is one of the most powerful explosives, its uses are limited in its pure form because of this sensitivity.

DEMO GUIDELINES

The guerrilla, when selecting the right explosive for a particular job, must consider the following guidelines if he does in fact have a choice of explosives.

- Sufficient power and brisance to accomplish the mission
- Resistance to temperature extremes and various storage conditions
- Stability in handling-not prone to detonation from jarring and friction
- Usefulness in wet climates or underwater
- Ease of handling with regard to size, packaging, weight, and so on-not cumbersome
- Ability to be handled safely (with certain precautions) by guerrillas (fume avoidance)
- Dependability insofar as detonation goes when the initiator fires
- Ability to be detonated with a variety of initiators

TYPES OF CHARGES

The charge selected must be the very best available for the job, and the guerrilla leader must strive to attain as wide a variety of explosives as possible so that he has what he needs available when the time comes. Oftentimes, through theft, raids, and ambushes, block demolition charges can be acquired.

Block Demolition Charges

These charges are the guerrilla's mainstay for breaching, cratering, and cutting jobs. They come in cylindrical (roll) and rectangular packages. All are made of either Comp C, TNT, ammonium nitrate, or Tetrytol.

Roll Demolition Charge: M186

Used when the guerrilla needs to wrap a charge around objects with diameters in excess of one foot, the M186 comes in a 50-foot roll and is in fact a rolled sheet explosive. It has half a pound of either RDX or PETN in a foot of the explosive. A complete package contains 15 blasting cap holders (M8). It comes in a satchel. This charge is good for cutting pilons and large

trees, but the surface must be free of rust, moisture, ice, and dirt if the adhesive tape on the charge is to hold.

Ammonium Nitrate Roll

The 40-pound ammonium nitrate roll (30 pounds of AN and 10 pounds of TNT as a booster) is an excellent cratering charge and can be used easily in situations that require the charge to be lowered on a cord or rope because of its attached lowering ring. (It can be lowered in front of a tunnel entrance/exit from above, into a well, into a storage area from a limb the security forces failed to cut, or what have you.)

TNT Block

Versatile and commonplace, TNT blocks come in 1/4-pound, 1/2-pound, and 1-pound packages. Don't think that a mere quarter pound of TNT is of little use; if the bomber uses his imagination and employs such a charge against the right target, it can really impress the opposition. For instance, the guerrillas might stop an enemy food delivery truck en route to an enemy base in order to "collect a toll." While the driver and any passengers are being questioned and shaken down, an unseen guerrilla enters the truck and places a charge inside a large can of coffee or some other easily accessed container, sets the timer, packs some nails around it, and then refills the container with whatever he took out. The driver and passengers are then sent on their way. Set to detonate during breakfast when the cooks will be refilling the coffee urns frequently, the device stands a chance of detonating near the targets as they eat.

Block Demolition Charge: M112

This 1 1/4-pound brick of C4 is versatile and therefore of interest to the guerrilla. It has an adhesive backing that allows the charge to be attached to many types of surfaces, it is packaged in an olive drab wrapper and has excellent brisance, plus it is very good for using on objects with irregular shapes, such as gurglers. This charge is most often used for cutting and breaching operations.

Since it is made of C4, it is easily molded for use in special situations.

However, this charge will have to be taped to surfaces that either have some sort of residue on them or are frozen or wet. Also, consider the weight of the charge-it isn't a nice, even number. Nice, even numbers make it easy to calculate the required charge size needed to do the job cleanly. The user's math is going to have to be up to speed with this charge.



The guerrilla can extract the explosive from captured munitions like this Sagger antitank round for later use.

Block Demolition Charge: M118

The name is misleading. This charge isn't a block so much as it is a

package of four thin sheets of either PETN or RDX, each sheet weighing half a pound and measuring 1/4 x 3 x 12 inches. This packaging design is for versatility of use, and each sheet can be easily cut to the shape needed and used on curved or other irregular surfaces, from fairly large targets to small targets. Adding to the charge's versatility is the adhesive backing and the charge's ability to be used in underwater demolitions such as hitting subsurface bridge pilings.

Shaped Charges

There are four primary shaped charges in the U.S. inventory, and each is cylindrical with a funneled nose cone on one end. This cone focuses the charge on a small area. These charges are good for creating holes in such things as roads, tarmacs, bridges, concrete, and so on.

M2 Series

The M2A3 and M2A4 shaped charges are both 15-pound charges, but the A3 is made of Comp B with a 50/50 Pentolite booster or all Pentolite, whereas the A4 is Comp B with a Comp A3 booster. The big difference between the two charges is that the M2A4 is substantially less sensitive to things blowing up or firing around it.

M3 Series

The two charges in the M3 Series are 40-pound charges. They are used just like their smaller sister series.

The M3 itself is made of Comp B with a 50/50 Pentolite booster. The M3A1 is also composed of Comp B, but it has a Comp A3 booster with it. Again, the Comp A3 makes the charge less susceptible to gunfire and nearby explosions.



These are the demolition basics covered in this book. I won't go into any more detail here because I would end up turning this book into a demolitions book, and I don't want to do that.

CHAPTER 5

Guerrilla Warfare Wisdom



Strategy, Operational Art, and Battlefield Tactics

"Strategy, when practiced by Indians, is called treachery."

-Anonymous U.S. Cavalry officer, c. 1865

"Everybody's movin', everybody's groovin' baby ..."

-The B-52s, "Love Shack"

How is it that certain guerrilla forces are ultimately successful in the face of grim odds (at least in a numerical and technological sense) and others fail miserably? In the end, we see that no single factor determines who is the winner and who is the loser, but rather who knew their enemy best and who used that knowledge to his greatest advantage. These truths are applicable to every military or paramilitary action, regardless of the nature of the combatants.

Of primary importance to the guerrilla is a complete and truthful understanding of how the enemy thinks in three realms: national strategy, operational art, and battlefield tactics.

Nearly all Western armies first lay out their national strategy (i.e., their

goals or policy objectives) and then examine how they will achieve those goals through their national power. National power consists of actions broken down into the following five areas:

- Diplomatic
- Economic
- Technological
- Psychological
- Military

The successful guerrilla force must first recognize each of these actions and then take the necessary and appropriate steps to counter each one as best it can. All of the most masterful guerrilla forces have understood the importance of engaging the enemy at some level along these five fronts, including American guerrillas during the Revolutionary War, Mao's guerrillas during World War II, and the Vietminh and Vietcong during the French-Indochina and Vietnam Wars, respectively. Yet it is interesting to note here that despite President Kennedy's directed refocusing of American military might on anti- and counter guerrilla warfare in the spring of 1961 and thousands of years of guerrilla warfare history, only a tiny handful of American officers understood the guerrilla. This remarkable lack of comprehension allowed Ho and Giap to defeat not only the French but the Americans as well, even though hindsight tells us that we could have, and should have, anticipated North Vietnam's strategy. Despite the assertions of some authors that the strategy of the North Vietnamese was something entirely new, we now know that the concept of *dau tranh* was as alive when Kublai Khan invaded what was to become known as Indochina, as it was when France and America followed in his footsteps. In addition, Douglas Pike, a noted authority on Vietnamese warfare, stated that the North Vietnamese guerrilla warfare style is one that "has no known counterstrategy." At first glance, this claim might well appear to be a truism, but the fact of the matter is that America did not have the resolve to win the war no matter what the cost, and the North Vietnamese knew this (a fact that was central to their national strategy). It could have done so with a single

hydrogen bomb, but the North Vietnamese correctly anticipated that it was infeasible for the Americans to use such a weapon against so apparently backward a foe; international outrage over the use of such a weapon at such a time against such an enemy would effectively prevent its use. The Communists had preempted four of America's national power elements: economic (sanctions would surely have been levied against America), psychological (America knew it had the ultimate weapon but was prevented from using it by economics and world perception and opinion), technological (the world's most advanced nation couldn't play its trump card), and military (America was prevented from using all of its combat power). This situation can be likened to a vicious fistfight between a smaller man and a bigger man who has a gun, wherein the presence of too many witnesses prevents the bigger man from using his gun.

Let's examine the finer points of what make up a national strategy.

Diplomatic

The guerrillas must have a clever diplomatic strategy, one that gives the appearance of sincerity but that, in reality, is meant only to frustrate and weaken the enemy over an extended period of time. Look how long America spent negotiating with the North Vietnamese government in Paris before a deal was finally struck—a deal that the Communists, of course, had no intention of honoring, even though the Christmas bombing of 1972 had literally laid waste to North Vietnam. It was part of their national strategy to wear us down at the peace table and finally strike a bargain that would quickly remove all American combat forces from South Vietnam and stop the bombing of North Vietnam. Just over two years after the treaty was signed, North Vietnamese tanks rolled into the American embassy compound in Saigon, virtually unopposed.

Diplomatic strategy works especially well when the guerrillas are ably assisted by ignorant, easily duped, compliant, and extremely naive "journalists" such as The Washington Post columnist Richard Cohen. (A better platform for writers of this ilk does not and could not exist.) Cohen's astounding comments on the deaths of the Tupac Amaru terrorists at the hands of courageous Peruvian commandos tell the tale of a man who continues to play directly into the hands of terrorists worldwide. For instance,

in a column Cohen authored shortly after the siege ended, he pointedly refused to refer to the terrorists as such, calling them "guerrillas" instead. Guerrillas, of course, engage only military targets; they do not attack residences filled with several hundred innocent civilians and they are recognized by the Geneva Conventions. Cohen willingly lends the terrorists a sense of legitimacy by calling them guerrillas.

Cohen claimed that some of the "guerrillas" "may have been summarily executed," but again fails to mention-and even plays down-the Tupac Amaru's long and very gruesome history of bombings, arson, kidnappings, murders, and torture. He goes on to say, through his own special brand of revisionist history and convenient omission of the facts, that the killing of the terrorists may have been "an abuse of human rights ... more troubling than anything the Tupac Amaru has done." Further, Cohen states that the Tupac Amaru are "hardly a bloodthirsty group." The Tupac Amaru gain much when alleged journalists like Cohen "forget" that some of the group's favorite targets are KFC restaurants filled with children.

Cohen even went so far as to complain that Nestor Cerpa, the merciless and maniacal Tupac Amaru leader who commanded the slaughter of thousands of civilian men, women, and children during his murderous reign, had been shot in the forehead during the operation. Nowhere in the column does Cohen ever mention or grieve for the piles of bodies testifying to the heinous wrath of the Tupac Amaru.

I wonder what Cohen's take is on the 1976 Israeli raid at Entebbe?

It is people like Cohen who see Charles Manson as being a misunderstood humanist, Mu'ammarr Qaddafi and Saddam Hussein as unfairly maligned peace activists, and Abimael Guzman as a persecuted dreamer.

If a guerrilla group can get someone like Cohen-or better yet, Cohen himself-on its side, it is fortunate indeed.

Economic

Bringing economic hardship on an enemy can be comparatively easy. The key is protraction; that is, keeping the enemy forces involved in the war for a

lengthy period of time until it wears on their country's economy to a debilitating degree. The drawback to this is the requirement for the guerrilla leaders to have complete confidence in the guerrillas' tenacity, which must be sufficient to outlast the enemy.

The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam understood that the American people would never stand for a drawn-out war that cost them tens of thousands of their sons' lives over a period of several years. They knew that the American people were very tired at the end of World War II, which had lasted only four years for America, and were bitter about the result of the Korean War, which ended after a mere three years. In fact, they knew that the longest war the Americans had fought up to that time (not including the Indian Wars) was their War of Independence, and that was centuries earlier. History told them that time was indeed on their side, and the naivesome would say ignorant, even stupid-politicians and generals running the war only served to bolster the Communists' resolve.

Technological

Seldom will the guerrillas have technology more advanced than (or even equal to) that of the government forces they are fighting. To effectively deal with this problem, the guerrillas must have a two-pronged approach. First, they must use deception to make the enemy believe that their superior technology is causing tremendous damage to the hapless and frustrated guerrillas and thus continue to devote time, energy, and money to that end, even though in reality it is having little, if any, effect. And second, the guerrillas must seek, find, and exploit gaps in the enemy's technology.

Mobility is often key to the latter. For instance, if a guerrilla force were to purchase or otherwise acquire mobile missile systems such as the SCUD-B and SCUD-C, it could conceivably use the same tactics Saddam's troops used during the Gulf War. Here, permanent SCUD launch sites were left largely undefended and were in fact sacrificial lambs meant to be destroyed by Coalition forces. However, the mobile launchers (on trucks) were maddeningly difficult for the Coalition to locate and destroy because of how easy they were to hide, move, fire, and then hide again. Even daring U.S. Army Special Forces (Green Berets) driving armed dune buggies (Chenowith Fast Attack Vehicles, or FAVs) in the deserts of Iraq had difficulty finding

mobile SCUD launchers.

Psychological

Psychological operations conducted by guerrillas are oftentimes among the most effective weapons they can bring to bear on their foe, especially when linked to a protracted conflict.

The doomed Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a classic example of this. As the war dragged on and more and more Russian boys were sent home in body bags to Mother Russia and their Russian mothers, morale on the front lines (which were extremely vague) and back home in Leningrad, Vladivostok, and Moscow plummeted. The extreme terrain and harsh weather of Afghanistan, the apparent invincibility of the mujahideen, and the waning support of the Russian populace, who never saw the owning of Afghanistan as being in the Russian national interest, all came together in one big psyop.

And the Russians have yet to learn their lesson. Chechen guerrillas, in their struggle for independence, continually demolished Russian regulars, despite what one would think would be overwhelming technological firepower and logistical ability.

Military

Finally, the guerrillas must be tactically adept and adaptable to the tactics used by the enemy. Also, guerrillas must quickly learn tactics to exploit battlefield conditions such as weather and terrain features. Giap's forces at Khe Sanh during the Tet Offensive of 1968 laid siege to the Marine fire base and were relying upon the monsoons to deny the leathernecks resupply and the ability to mount an effective counterattack. But when the monsoons lifted early, Giap's forces were left very vulnerable to the massive counterattack conducted by the Marines through the use of combined arms concepts (assorted weapons systems being brought to bear on the enemy in such a way that he is put in a dilemma). Giap's bad luck and lack of a plan B resulted in a massive defeat at the hands of some very angry Marines, and as many armies and thugs can attest, angry Marines are bad for one's morale.

OPERATIONAL ART

For the guerrilla, operational art dictates general guidelines for when he is supposed to fight and when he is not. The most rudimentary rule of guerrilla warfare is fight when you have the best chance of winning an important victory and avoid or break contact when you don't. Guerrilla masters have remained true to this axiom for as long as there have been guerrillas.

American minutemen would not initiate an ambush on the British redcoats unless they were quite certain of victory. Japanese soldiers in the Philippines, who remained behind after the war was over (and who were separated from their units), only engaged the enemy when they thought it most to their advantage. The Vietcong almost always lay low until the tactical situation favored them. The terrorists (whom many of the American media like to call guerrillas, not just Richard Cohen) running rampant over much of Lebanon in the 1980s always chose to engage the American and French "peace-keeping" forces in ambushes that took advantage of lethal mistakes made by the Marines and the politicians who controlled them from the safety of their plush Washington offices.

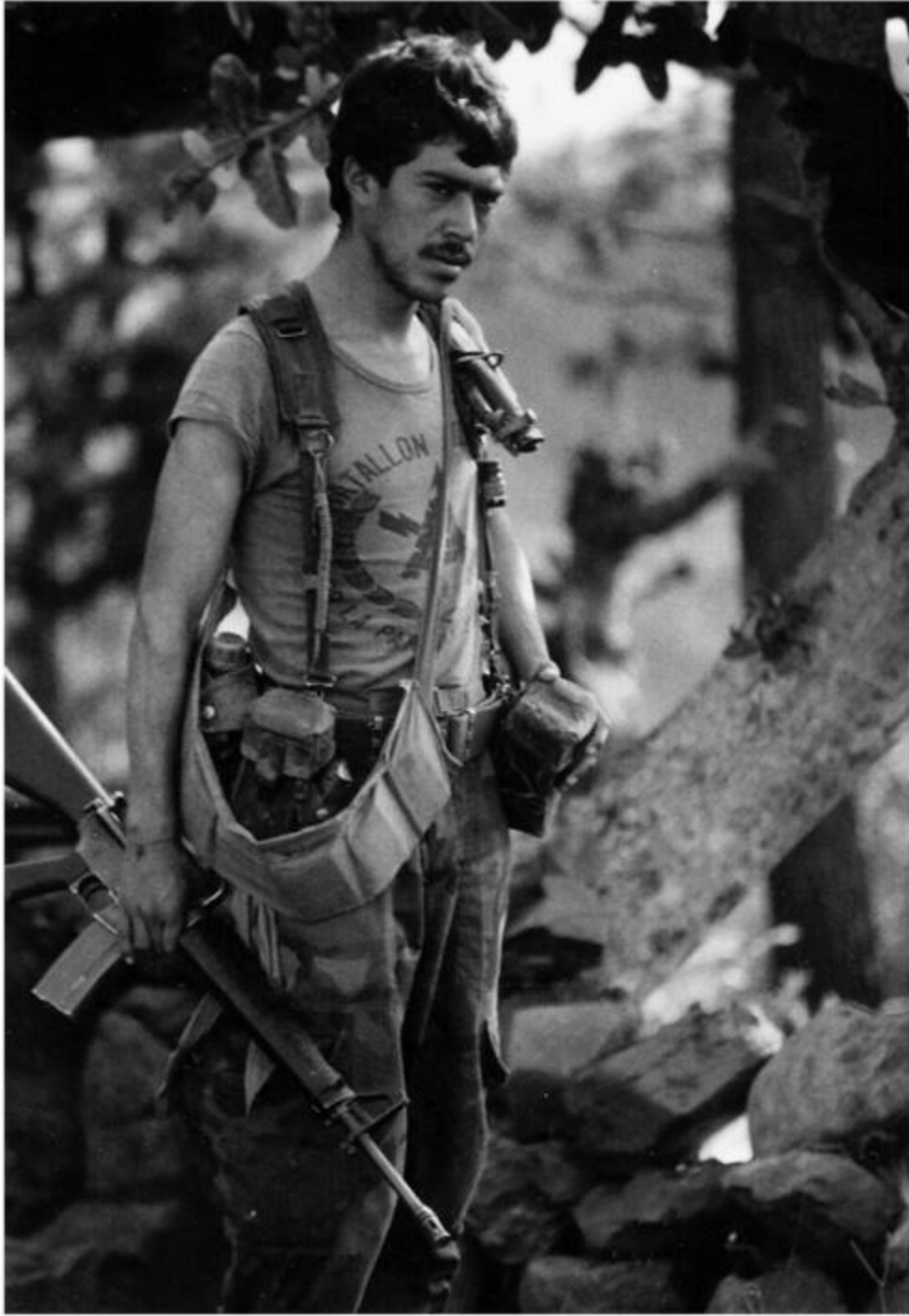
For the enemy commander, operational art is that which links the tactics he employs on the battlefield to his government's national strategy by giving meaning to his operations. You can bet that the government trying to put an end to a guerrilla insurgency is going to do everything in its power to avoid situations where the guerrillas are likely to come out on top and thus move closer to the realization of their goals. Therefore, guerrilla warfare at the operational art level is a game of outwitting the enemy army and exposing decisive, exploitable gaps within the framework of their maneuvers, leadership, communications net, and logistics train.

In order to predict how the enemy's operations will take shape, the guerrilla must both grasp the enemy's national strategy and understand his battlefield tactics. The former is done through the sound collection and interpretation of the enemy's claims released through the media and through various propaganda agencies and mechanisms. The latter is accomplished by closely studying the enemy's military history and dogma, gathering tactical and operational intelligence, and accurately interpreting that intelligence. Once this is accomplished, the guerrilla can formulate his own strategy for engaging and defeating the enemy on all fronts.

BATTLEFIELD TACTICS

This is the nitty-gritty of guerrilla warfare-how the guerrilla locates, closes with, and destroys the enemy in a place of the guerrilla's choosing and at a time he considers to be most advantageous. Mao understood this as the foundation of guerrilla strategy and stressed the absolute criticality of guerrillas being highly mobile and alert and always at the ready to attack.

Guerrillas conduct combat operations along two primary paths: 1) ambushing enemy missions and convoys and 2) conducting surprise attacks on outposts with the following characteristics:



Sometimes guerrillas and their enemy are nearly equal in tactical expertise as well as technology.



Tactics require improvisation. These Marines are using a Japanese soldier's body as protection and a muzzle rest. (Department of Defense photo.)



- They are difficult for the enemy to protect with fire support (mortars, artillery, naval gunfire, and close air) or reinforce with additional manpower.
- They are difficult to support logistically, i.e., resupply is extremely

dangerous if not impossible.

Guerrilla infantry tactics must be built around the maxim that a small force can handily defeat a much larger one if the offensive principles of exploiting weaknesses, neutralizing the ability to react effectively, concentrating combat power, using surprise, and exhibiting boldness are fully developed and employed.

Two examples of how smaller forces defeated much larger and more powerful American forces are the bombing of the Marine Amphibious Unit's (MAU) Battalion Landing Team barracks in Beirut in October 1983 (resulting in the loss of 241 men) and the ambush of a U.S. Army Ranger heliborne insertion in Mogadishu about 10 years later (18 killed).

In the first example in Beirut, one man (the vehicle's driver) and his support team were able to defeat a huge force in a fatally undefended position by correctly ascertaining two things about the American government. First, the U.S. government not learned its lesson in Vietnam regarding overrestrictive rules of engagement (ROE). The Marines in Beirut were ordered by the White House to not load their weapons and prevent/return fire unless specifically authorized by a commissioned officer. In effect, this meant that a 22-year-old second lieutenant with 30 days' experience in the Fleet Marine Force could issue orders to return fire, but a sergeant major with 30 years' experience and three wars under his belt could not. This policy was recommended by Robert McFarland and supported by the Corps' Commandant, General P.X. Kelley). Second, the U.S. government had not taken the necessary steps to prevent a repeat of the vehicle-bomb tactics successfully used against the American embassy in Beirut six months earlier. (And it is interesting to note that dozens of Americans were killed and hundreds wounded by vehicle bombs detonated at static U.S. armed forces facilities in Saudi Arabia in 1995 and 1996; will American forces and the politicians controlling them ever learn?)

The second example in Moogadishu in 1993 tells of a unit that failed to adapt to the abilities of what it considered to be no more than an unruly band of hooligans led by an aging warlord (the late Mohammed Farah Aidid) and used fatally (and unnecessarily) brash tactics by attempting a helicopter raid in broad daylight.

This was grotesquely added to by the late and then Secretary of Defense Les Aspin and two of his primary advisors, General Joseph Hoar (commander in chief of the U.S. Central Command) and the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, General Colin Powell (who has publicly blamed his subordinates rather than accept any of the responsibility himself). In this last example, Major General Tom Montgomery, who at the time was in charge of the Somalia operation, had requested tanks from Hoar and Powell in case their intimidating firepower was needed by the U.S. Army after the Marines departed. However, after Hoar and Powell failed to sufficiently back Montgomery's request, which resulted in the tanks' being denied by Aspin (who resigned soon after the death of the soldiers in question), Montgomery decided to go ahead with the poorly planned and ineptly led operation without the tanks. This terrible decision was then compounded by the head Ranger, General William Garrison, who began ordering-by radio; he wasn't actually at the scene of the battle-the onscene commander (Lieutenant Colonel Daniel McKnight) to do this and that and go here and there in a vicious fight the general wasn't anywhere near. Aidid's guerrillas mangled the Americans with murderous machine gun fire and repeated volleys of rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) fire aimed at the hovering and extremely vulnerable helicopters belonging to the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment. Making matters worse was the outrageous lack of contingency planning by the Rangers and Delta Force commandos, who had to wait five hours for relief to come to their aid. And that was provided by Malaysian and Pakistani U.N. forces.

Guerrilla forces that know the enemy commanders won't be held accountable for their failures are made all the more bold by their opponent's deadly displays of cockiness.

Offensive Maneuvers

The guerrilla unit must be able to conduct a variety of offensive maneuvers if it is to be flexible enough to carry on and win a war against a numerically and technologically superior foe. It has been proven time and again that conventional forces, when pitted against a well-led, disciplined, dedicated, and trained guerrilla force, stand a much-reduced chance of ever realizing victory. What better examples of this axiom than the disastrous French and

American forays into Indochina and the Soviet Union's fatal invasion of Afghanistan?

But to be victorious, the guerrillas must select and employ the correct tactics for the situation. When considering this, the guerrilla leader must contemplate seven factors affecting his decision. They can be remembered as the acronym METT-TS-L.

- **Mission.** This is the commander's intent, i.e., what he wants to achieve. It should be simple and clear to every guerrilla, right down to the lowest man in the food chain. Make the objective clear, and then make clear the reason why that objective has been chosen. The guerrilla who understands why he is doing something is more dangerous to the enemy than the guerrilla who just goes through the motions without really understanding the purpose behind the attack.
- **Enemy.** Here you must inform your guerrillas of everything that is known, likely, or suspected about enemy strength, composition, and disposition. This includes but is not limited to his weapons, tactics, morale, leadership, logistics, and supporting equipment; his organization and what types of troops he is made up of (infantry, armor, engineers, motor transport, communications, etc.); and what he is up to at the moment (lightly dug in, deeply dug in, on the move along a trail or road, awaiting resupply in a pasture, etc.).
- **Terrain.** To the guerrilla, terrain means everything. It includes not only the lay of the land but the vegetation, all bodies of water, man-made features, and more. The acronym KOCO A can be used to help remember and plan for the effective use of terrain:

K = Key Terrain Features

O = Obstacles

C = Cover and Concealment

O = Observation Points and Fields of Fire

A = Avenues of Approach

- Troops and Fire Support Available. The leader must select the guerrillas for the mission and assign them their tasks. Fire support, such as mortar teams and antiarmor assault teams, must be identified and planned for. Signals for ordering fire support are also brought out.
- Time. Time constraints are important because guerrilla operations are almost always brief and very violent. Ensure that all the guerrillas understand this.
- Space. This is where the leader covers boundaries (control measures) designed to limit advances and flanks. He must perform a careful map study to determine what terrain features act as natural boundaries that can both hem in the enemy and serve to let the guerrilla know that he is near a boundary.
- Logistics. Each guerrilla must have a solid understanding of every logistical concern. Ammunition, medical supplies and facilities, food and water, extraction, and other facets of logistics have to be well thought out and communicated to every man.

Raids

One of the most common guerrilla actions in the realm of offensive maneuver is the raid. In keeping with guerrilla strategy and tactical theory, raids are sudden, unexpected, violent, destructive, and always have a planned withdrawal that immediately follows the end of the mission (whether or not it was successful).

There are any number of reasons why a guerrilla unit conducts a raid. The garnering of weapons, ammunition, communications gear, prisoners, and supplies are just a few. (In many cases, raids are the guerrillas' primary means of resupply.) Meticulous planning, audacity, cunning, and very good intelligence are demanded of the raiding party. Supporting elements must be at the ready to help withdraw the raiders regardless of the situation. Should a guerrilla be separated from his unit, he must possess the skills and will to avoid capture and regain his unit on his own.

Probably the most important part of the raid is intelligence. Guerrillas must

never conduct a raid on hopes and wishes, but rather verified intelligence reports that tell of much to be gained by risking a raid. A detailed reconnaissance plan is required, one that produces solid information on the routes of march, assembly areas, line of departure, automatic weapons positions, mine fields, mortar positions, obstacles, individual readiness, reserve forces, command posts, and a myriad of other factors that will have an effect on the outcome of the mission.

Excellent contingency plans must also be made in case all does not go as planned, and rehearsals conducted with strict adherence to standard operational procedures, under the supervision of seasoned NCOs, must be part of the process.

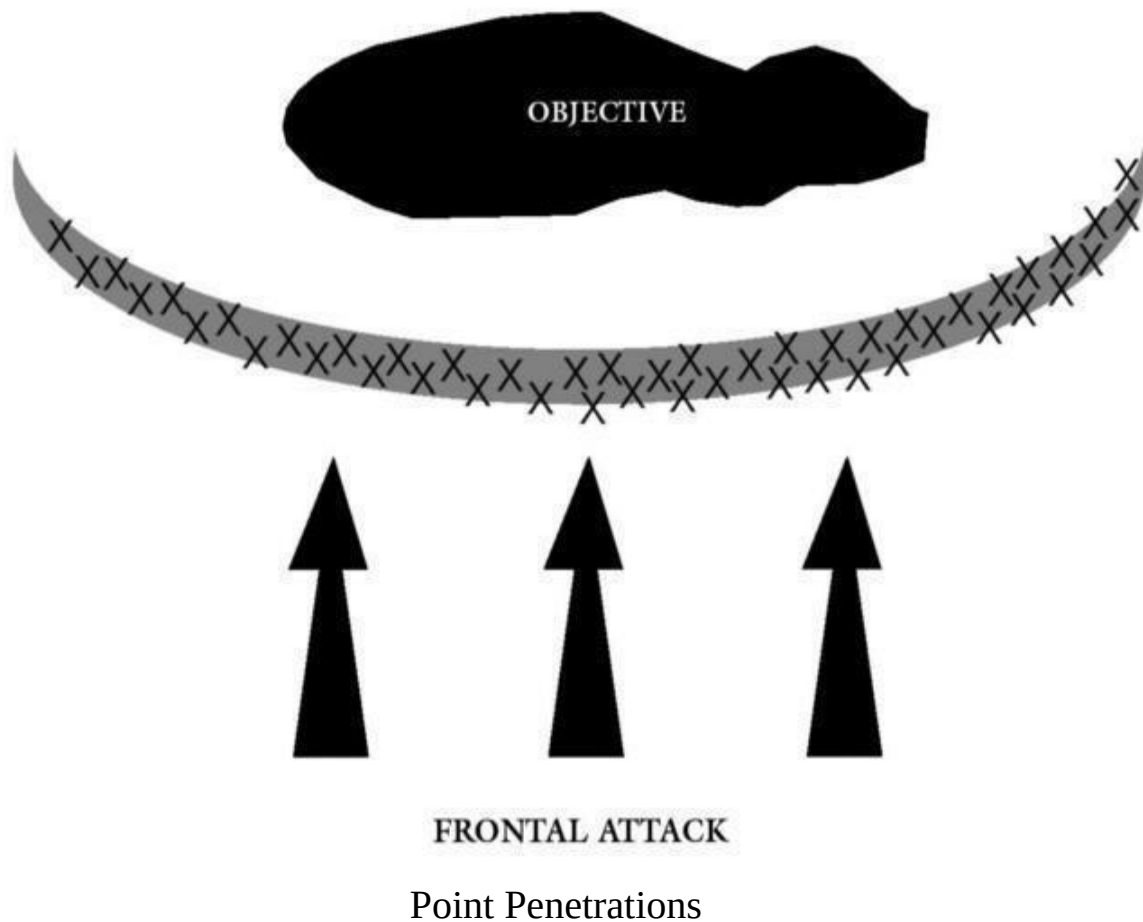
Frontal Attacks

If reconnaissance patrols report that, without a doubt, the enemy could be easily overrun along a broad front by a sudden, unexpected charge, a frontal attack might be called for. But such attacks are always considered a last resort because of the extreme danger involved; if recon reports were wrong and the guerrillas run into a trap, the chances of them being massacred are outstanding.

Speed and surprise are the keys to a successful frontal attack. If the guerrilla commander suspects that the enemy has been tipped off, the attack must be canceled and new plans laid. There is very little room for error in a frontal attack. Even the Japanese, who were often willing to employ their chilling banzai charges at Marine positions during the War in the Pacific, seldom achieved victory because the Marines stood their ground and used interlocking fields of fire with support from indirect fire weapons to mow down the attackers.



These New People's Army terrorists acquired their M16s by raiding Philippine government armories and ambushing government patrols. They are terrorists because of their history of kidnapping and murder.



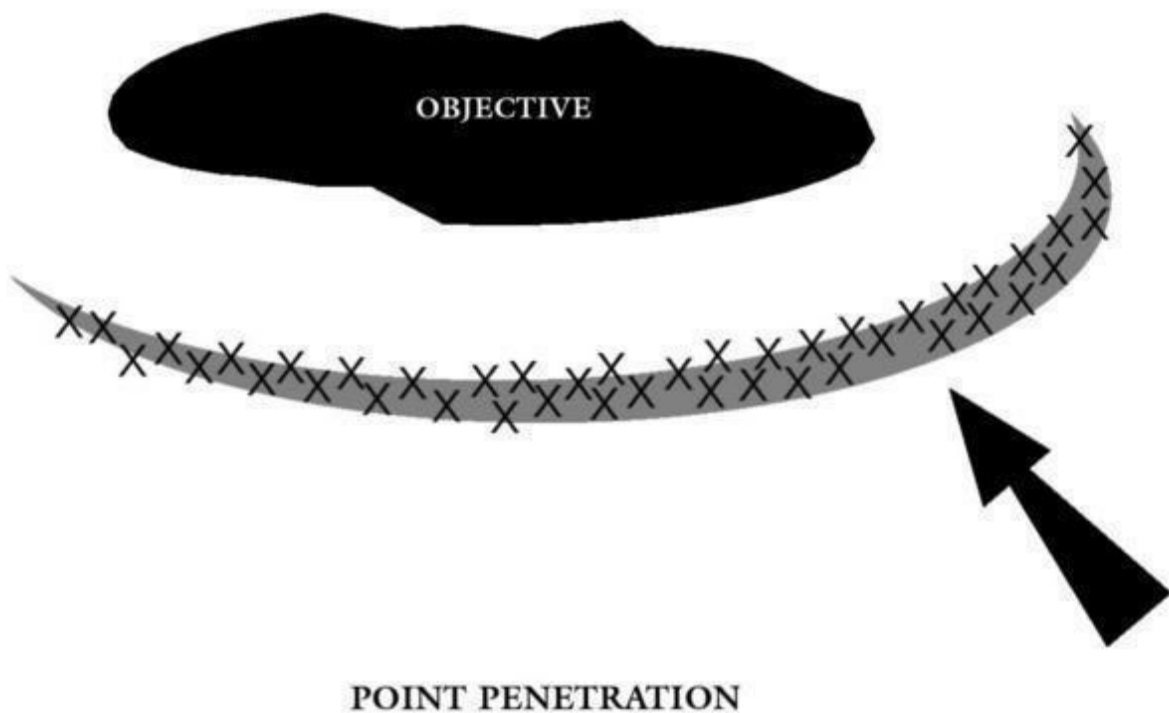
This was a favorite of the Vietminh during the French Indochina War and the Vietcong during the Vietnam War. It involves a sudden penetration of the enemy's defenses at a single point, which is quickly followed by the gap being rapidly widened to allow follow-on forces to rush through it in the confusion to strike a decisive blow within the enemy's compound. It is very risky but, as such, often offers great reward when done correctly.

How the rupture of the defenses will be accomplished is situational and will be determined by the leader after a careful reconnaissance and evaluation of those defenses to select the best possible point. The trick is to pick the right place for the rupture (which must take place quickly), instantly widen that gap so that the assault force can enter the compound without being cut down by fields of interlocking automatic weapons fire, and then get to the main target in a hurry and destroy it. Obviously, unless the plan is for the guerrillas to actually gain total control of the objective, they must also have a

plan for withdrawal that gets them out of there before fire support and the counterattack force can be deployed.

Single Envelopments

The single envelopment is one of the most useful forms of maneuver for a guerrilla force. Here, a supporting attack by a smaller group of guerrillas engages the enemy at a location along the enemy's defensive perimeter that makes the enemy believe a major attack is under way there. In reality, a larger or more heavily armed force has quietly sneaked into another position along a vulnerable flank that will give them to a decisive objective inside the enemy's perimeter. When the enemy commits his forces to the supporting attack, the enveloping force strikes quickly and savagely, destroying the objective selected for its criticality.

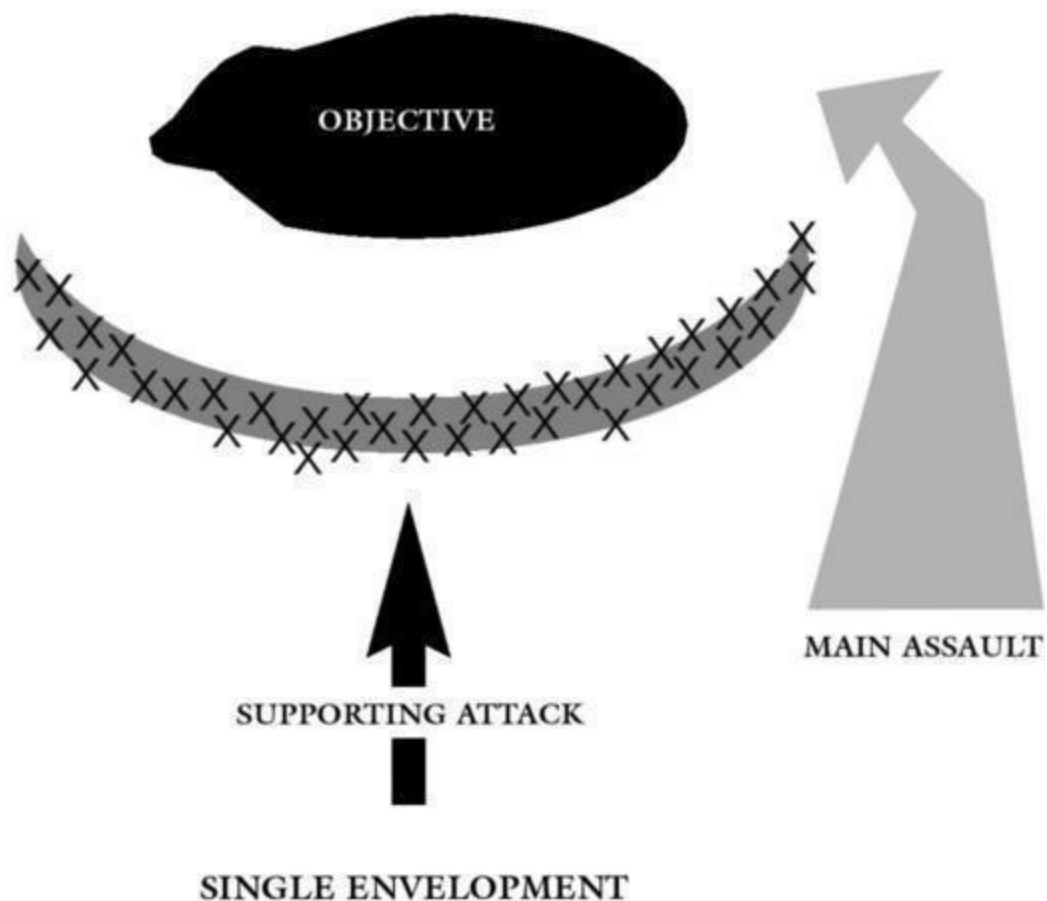


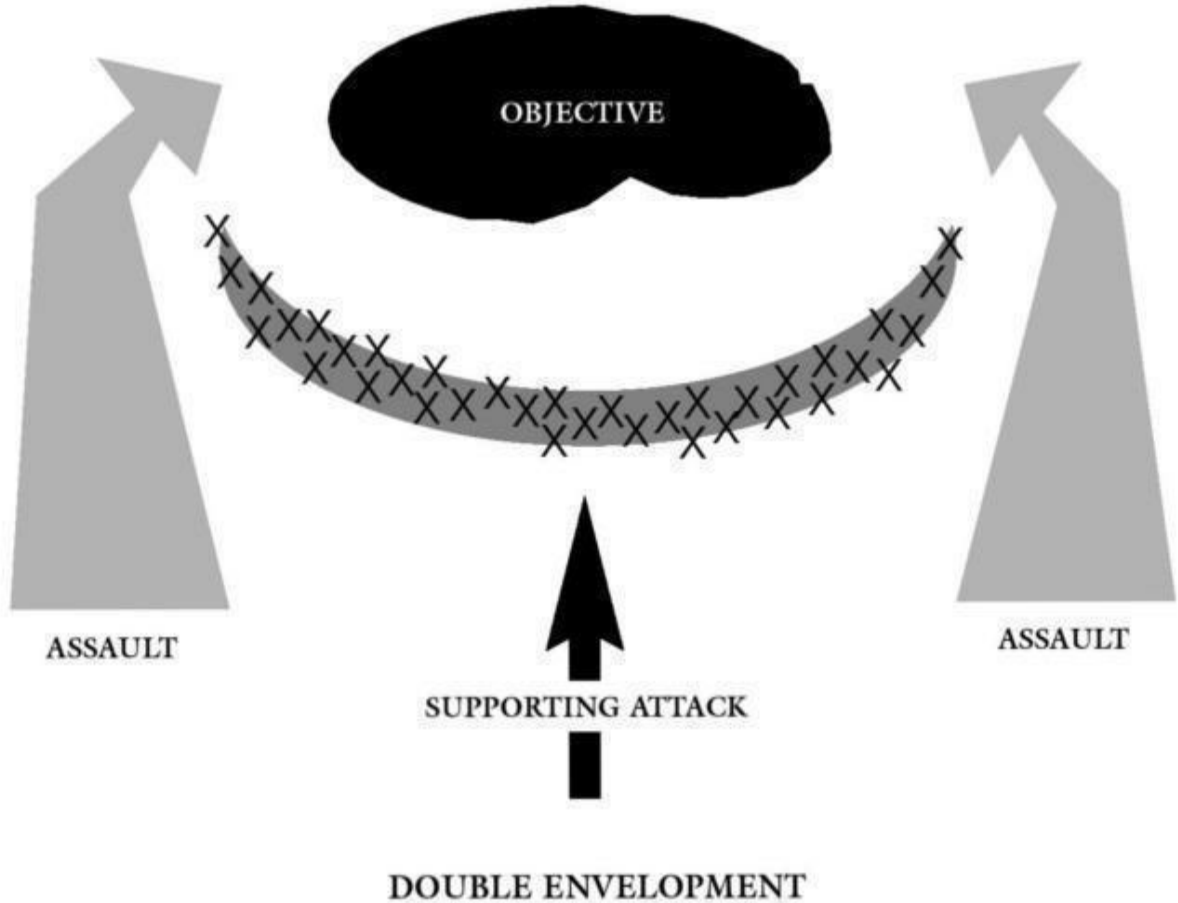
The following are the keys to a successful employment of a single envelopment:

- A supporting attack that convinces the enemy it is the main attack

- An enveloping force that has avoided detection until it is too late
- The selection of an objective that is truly decisive and vulnerable
- An enveloping force that has sufficient combat power to seize or destroy the objective before the enemy's reserve force has the opportunity to counterattack

Should the enveloping force be discovered trying to get into position, the attack must be canceled and the supporting and enveloping forces withdrawn immediately so that the enemy is unable to conduct pursuit or exploitation operations against the guerrillas.



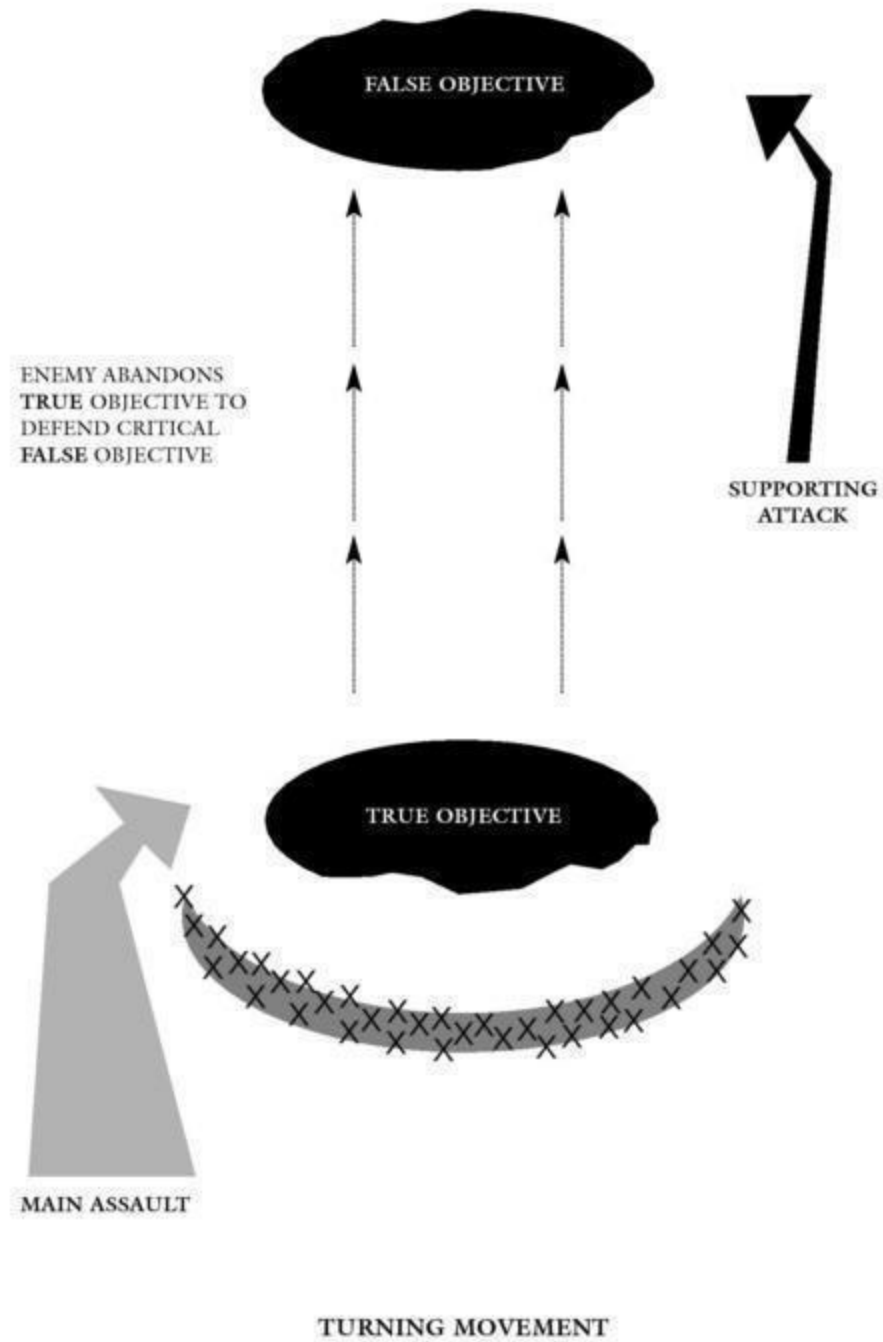


Double Envelopments

Identical to the single envelopment in concept, the execution of a double envelopment simply adds a second enveloping force to the scenario, with the second force attacking another vulnerable and decisive objective within the enemy's perimeter.

The obvious drawbacks to the double envelopment are that the guerrillas must covertly position a second main effort body without detection along the perimeter and that the likelihood of friendly fire increases because of the counterpositioning of the enveloping forces. Also, should one of the enveloping forces get into trouble within the objective, they are going to have to be extracted by either the supporting force or the other enveloping force. Either way is grim. And to leave the force in trouble there without extract would crush the unit's morale by telling each and every guerrilla that he is

very expendable and may not be able to depend on help from his fellow guerrillas.



Turning Movements

The insidious turning movement is a maneuver of great value to the crafty

guerrilla leader. In this maneuver, an objective important to the enemy that can be made to appear vulnerable and desirable to the enemy is selected for the supporting attack, but that objective is not really the objective at all. This false objective is always within emergency defensive support range of the enemy force occupying the guerrillas' true objective, and it is as deep as possible in the enemy's rear area, or at least well into his main battle area.

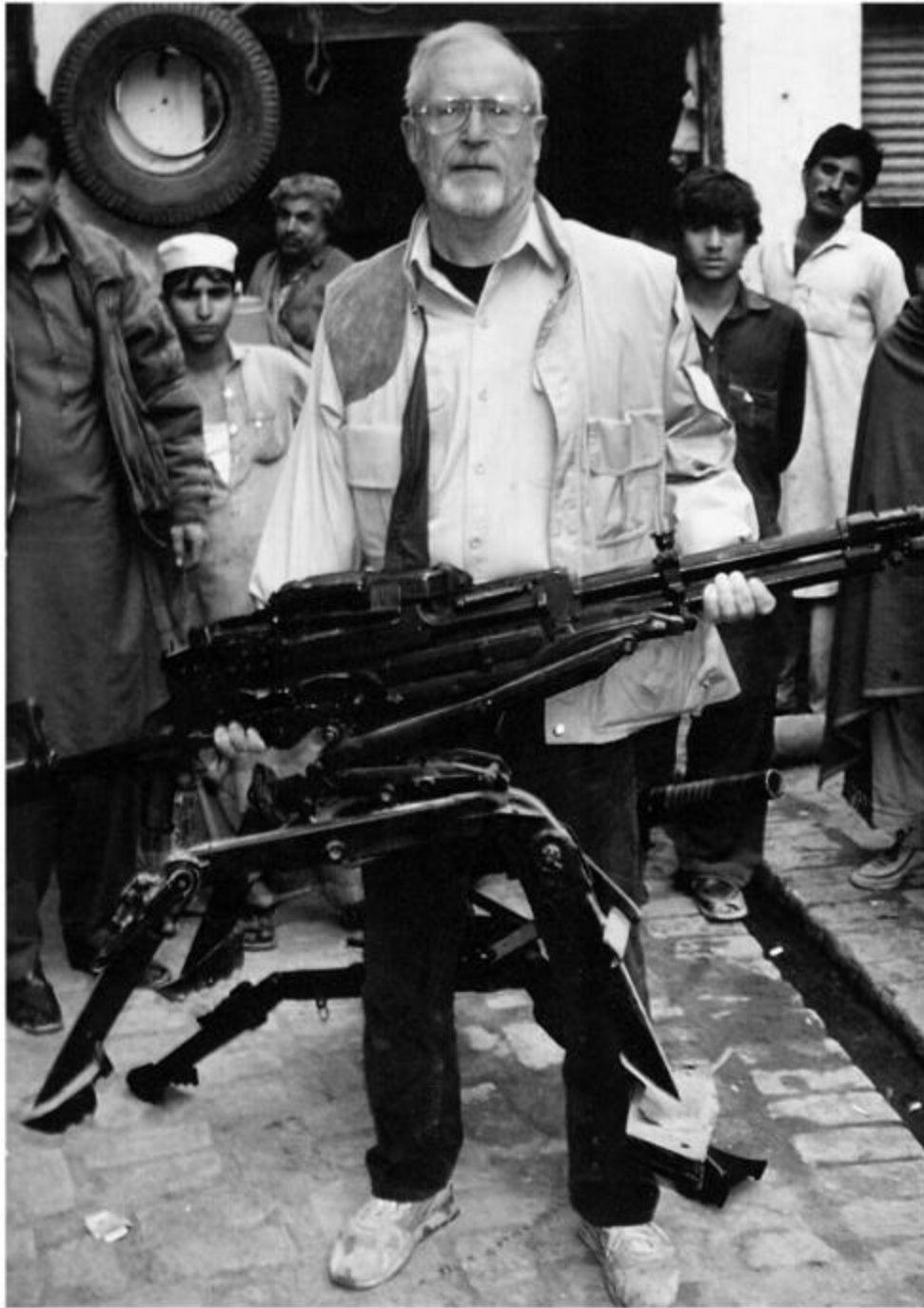
The idea is to cause the enemy occupying the guerrillas' true objective to abandon that objective in order to save the false objective from what appears to them to be a main attack to their rear, or, should the enemy refuse to completely abandon it, at least send enough forces to the false objective to weaken the true objective enough to be taken.



These are the basics of tactics, but to fully understand how a guerrilla force must engage the enemy, we must learn about mines and booby traps as well as ambushes, all of which will be covered in Chapters 8 and 9. But right now, let's take a look at the master guerrilla himself, a peasant's son from a far-away, ancient land.



Regardless of the maneuver, fire support may prove to be the critical factor in the end.



Soldier of Fortune's publisher Lieutenant Colonel Robert K. Brown USAR (Ret) with an Afghan mujahideen machine gun used, no doubt, in fire support and suppression roles.

CHAPTER 6



The Peasant's Son

"Methods suitable to regular warfare cannot be applied with success to the special situations that confront guerrillas."

-Mao Zedong, On Guerrilla Warfare

If ever there was a country ripe for guerrilla warfare, it was feudal China in the 1920s and 1930s.

Feudal China? In the 20th century? Indeed, feudal China. Centuries behind much of the Western world when it came to enlightened social thought (in both theory and practice), China at this time was populated with half a billion peasants eking out a brutal existence, made such by rampaging hoards of private armies commanded by savage warlords in cahoots with the landowning gentry. There was no local government and, therefore, no social services such as those we enjoy today-no police force, no medical services, no running water or sewage systems, no electricity, no schooling except for those who could pay, no nothing. If the marauding mercenaries, merciless winter, or brutal summer didn't kill you, then disease, pestilence, or the culmination of a nightmarish, horrible life did. (It is ironic-and inexplicable to some-that U.S. presidents continue to extend China "most favored nation

trading status," this despite its long and well-documented history-and current policy-of horrific human rights abuses, while denying the same to Cuba. Politicians clearly understand the axiom "business is business.")

In 1893, in a larger-than-most farmhouse in Hunan Province, a son was born to an enterprising and farsighted farmer (who had managed to secure more land than most of the other peasants, and who in turn was able to afford his progeny an education at a province school that would have been denied lesser peasants) and crafty mother. Historians tell us that this child's interests were diverse, but that his true loves were politics and history.

At the age of 20, his formal studies complete, he was offered an assistant's job in the library of Beijing University, a position that afforded him more than ample time and resources with which to study his beloved politics and history. Given the plight of the Chinese peasantry and his own upbringing, the young man began searching for a means by which he could change China forever. He believed he found the answer in the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the latter of whom was still alive and in the process of transforming what was recently czarist Russia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1921, he joined the Chinese Communist Party. Five years later, he returned to Hunan Province to lay the early groundwork for the revolution to come through his insistence on sweeping land reforms and the total elimination of the landowning gentry, whom he saw as being the driving force behind the wretched squalor forced upon the peasants.

Mao Zedong had begun his life's work, an endeavor that would change not only the face of China, but that of the entire world.

MAO'S GUERRILLA PHILOSOPHY

Mao Zedong, in his essay entitled "On Guerrilla Warfare," comes clean right away by stating, "Guerrilla operations ... are the inevitable result of the clash between oppressor and oppressed when the latter reach the limits of their endurance." From this belief, Mao pointed out that a successful guerrilla army must take seven "fundamental steps" in order to achieve its goals. These are as follows:

- Arousing and organizing the people

- Achieving internal unification politically
- Establishing bases
- Equipping forces
- Recovering national strength
- Destroying the enemy's national strength
- Regaining lost territories

Arousing and Organizing the People

"If you are planning to hunt a tiger or going to the wars, take some relatives."

-Chinese proverb

Mao did not fashion these seven steps helter-skelter. He gave considerable thought to what order they must be taken in-and in doing so showed an astute understanding of the foundation that must be laid for a guerrilla force to at least have a chance of success. His analogy that the people are the sea in which guerrillas swim is based upon his assertion that the masses must be motivated and organized before they can hope to fashion and employ an effective guerrilla force. Once a burgeoning guerrilla force has the backing of the people it is trying to free from oppression, the oppressor's job becomes many times more difficult. One of the reasons the Shining Path failed in Peru was because the guerrilla-terrorists began a policy of outright terror (linked to the coca trade) directed against not just the elite and the government, but the peasants themselves; they alienated themselves among their own people, who in turn began to see the Shining Path-rather than the government they claimed to be fighting against-as the enemy.

Organizing the people is one of the most challenging aspects of guerrilla warfare, for there are innumerable security concerns in doing so; it is often easy for the enemy to entice one of the people to become an informant within the guerrilla force, and an informant in the guerrilla force, if he (or she) takes the appropriate security measures, can be the group's Achilles' heel. For

instance, not only was it an informant who led the Peruvian police to Guzman's hideout, but it was an informant who helped Israeli counterterrorist forces to the terrorist known as "The Engineer" on the West Bank. It was also an informant who spilled the beans on an Irish Republican Army terrorist who was gunned down on Gibraltar by the British Special Air Service (SAS).

Recruiting must be carefully done as well. Recruits must be aroused into signing on with the guerrillas, and this can be accomplished by exploiting crimes and mistakes made by the enemy and the government they are supporting, as well as by taking the initiative to care for and protect the locals from harm. Recruits must never be "drafted" or pressed into service with the guerrilla unit, for this will alienate not only the recruit but the entire village from which he came. Besides, few recruits forced to join will ever prove to be highly effective in combat because their hearts probably aren't in the fight.

Villages and towns on the side of the guerrillas must be organized when it comes to active and passive defense against the government. Active defense is risky, yes, because once the village fights against the government forces the might of that government will likely come to bear against them, and this can cause the village to be wiped out or, worse, to blame the guerrillas for their pain and suffering. Passive defense is much wiser in most cases because it doesn't infuriate the government if carried off correctly. The idea is to make the government think that the village just wants to be left alone but that it will cooperate if it can. In truth, the village does very little to really help the government.

Achieving Internal Unification Politically

"Let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country."

-Daniel Webster, 17 June 1825

Politics are to guerrilla warfare as taxes are to the IRS-one cannot exist without the other. Let's face it: the reason you are in a guerrilla war is because you either want to overthrow the existing corrupt government, be it Communist, Socialist, Fascist, or what have you, and establish a democratic government that is truly by and for the people, or because your country has

been invaded by a foreign army and you are bent on destroying them at all costs.

The guerrilla army must be united politically and have a single, clear, attainable goal in mind when it initiates hostilities. Guerrillas and potential guerrillas who are waffling or who are unclear as to why a certain political goal is needed must be convinced through education and sound leadership that the political goal of the guerrillas is one of noble purpose, that everyone is going to benefit from the actions taken by the guerrillas, and that it is their duty to work toward that end.

Education is key. The enemy will have a propaganda machine up and running full tilt, a machine designed to lace a few truths with misinformation, half truths, and outright lies meant to confuse, scare, and otherwise weaken the resolve of the individual guerrilla and the civilian populace who are or might be leaning toward assisting the guerrillas. Fighting this propaganda will be a major concern of the guerrillas for as long as the war goes on. Education of the masses and of the individual guerrilla must be undertaken from the very beginning and carried out until victory is achieved, and it must be given on all levels, from one-on-one discussions between a leader and his charge to village and town classes and information dissemination. Caution must be used, however, when dealing with large numbers of people and through mass media. A radio broadcast can easily be traced to the source and attacked with artillery, mortars, aircraft, and a hasty insertion of ground troops into the area, and leaflets written by the guerrillas being found in the hands of civilians will likely quickly result in retaliation by government forces. The protection of the populace is paramount.

The guerrillas must constantly demonstrate to the populace the evil ways of the enemy, and then the civilians must be shown how the guerrillas are capable and worthy of protecting and serving them. To do this, the guerrillas must establish bases that facilitate the conduct of offensive operations.

Establishing Bases

"The conventional army loses if it does not win; the guerrilla wins if he does not lose."

-Henry Kissinger

Establishing bases for a guerrilla army can be a daunting task when pitted against an aggressive and determined counter guerrilla force backed by a government. But it can and must be done. Security and resourcefulness are critical.

Guerrilla bases are covert by nature, never out in the open for the enemy to see with his remotely-piloted vehicles, manned aircraft, and satellites. In fact, the best guerrilla base is the one that does not even appear to exist, with no physical evidence whatsoever being available to the scrutiny and punishment of the enemy. This is the guerrilla base of the American Revolution.

As you will recall from your American history classes, which recounted how many of the Colonists fought the British with a guerrilla army of minutemen who supported the Continental Army, Navy, and Marines (the latter were primarily used as ship's security, boarding parties, and snipers in the rigging), America was born of a guerrilla war. These farmers, merchants, craftsmen, clergymen, trappers, and other everyday folk wore no uniforms and appeared to be simple civilians going about their lives in the towns and countryside, but when the call came they would sneak away to clandestine musters and move to engage the British with hit-and-run tactics that served them extremely well. When a fight was over, they would return to their families and jobs and hide their weapons and gear from British search parties. The Vietcong used this same technique nearly 200 years later.

Security is everyone's concern insofar as establishing and maintaining a guerrilla base is concerned. Children are especially vulnerable to being tricked or scared into telling who is a guerrilla and where the weapons caches are, and every precaution must be taken to prevent this. Ignorance is best here-if the children don't know who is a guerrilla and where the goods are, then they can't spill the beans. The guerrillas and guerrilla supporters must strive to operate late at night (when the kids are asleep) as much as possible and use hiding places that aren't easily discovered by children accidentally. It might seem a good idea to forbid the children access to a certain place or area where guerrilla supplies and weapons are hidden, but this can backfire when the enemy comes to town and asks the children where they are forbidden from playing.

Bases established that are more corporeal in nature must still remain concealed or secret, away from the prying eyes of those who would do you harm. They must always be underground or hidden away in what the enemy considers to be some impenetrable region. See Chapter 12 for guidance.

Equipping Forces

"To make war with those who trade with us is like setting a bulldog upon a customer at the shop door."

-Thomas Paine

How to initially equip and then logistically maintain a guerrilla force is often one of the most challenging aspects of being a guerrilla leader. Nevertheless, history tells us that with perseverance and ingenuity, the guerrilla leader can come up with the arms, ammunition, explosives, communications gear, food and water, and support equipment necessary to successfully prosecute-at least logistically-a guerrilla campaign.

If America were ever invaded again by a foreign foe-the Japanese were the last to accomplish this with their ill-fated foray into the Aleutians, which were, at the time, a possession of the United States and not yet part of what was to become the state of Alaska-or should guerrilla warfare be taken up against an American government turned tyrannical, we wouldn't have much of an initial equipping problem for guerrillas, unless our weapons, ammunition, explosives, and communications equipment were first confiscated by the enemy. But the Second Amendment is still partially intact despite our socialist politicians' repeated attacks on it through such measures as the so-called "assault weapons" ban (even though "assault weapons" are used in less than 1 percent of all crimes committed with firearms) and Sarah Brady's personal vendetta against law-abiding handgun owners. The problem would be maintaining those weapons throughout a protracted war and coming up with the spare parts to fix them and ammunition resupply. Food and water would be equally important and might be hard to get from time to time due to enemy efforts at destroying the sources of both-farms and food caches could be put to the torch and water supplies contaminated, the latter of which is a very simple thing to do. Good communications gear (gear capable of operating with a reduced risk of jamming, monitoring, and directionfinding)

would probably prove to be troublesome to find and maintain with ease, and support equipment-everything from packs and magazine pouches to mess kits and canteens-will soon wear out and need repairs and replacement.



These weapons will become the guerrillas' weapons, a principle Mao stuck by.

The guerrilla unit must have the means to repair broken or damaged items and replace those in need of replacement as well as effectively provide the men with all the ammunition they need. Covert supply lines must be established and protected, and this will take great effort (and the North Vietnamese use of the Ho Chi Minh Trail is a good example of finding a way, no matter what the dangers). Local repair facilities must be maintained, too, and these must be underground.

It is likely that raids on vulnerable enemy supply depots will have to be conducted on a regular basis in order to acquire the necessary items, but the guerrillas must be constantly wary of ruses set up by the enemy that are meant to lure the guerrilla into a trap. This is often done by making a supply depot appear ripe for the plucking when in fact it is heavily defended. And the guerrillas must always be suspicious of "targets of opportunity" that appear as manna from heaven, those being much needed supplies that are left

behind or otherwise made readily available by the enemy. Such things are often ambushes in disguise.

Recovering National Strength

"Eternal peace lasts until the next war."

-Russian proverb

This step involves getting back up to speed after repeated hurtful attacks by the enemy. The guerrilla movement that is able to recover continually from endless brutal battles waged over years is likely to be victorious one day. The most powerful weapon the guerrillas have in this realm is a belief that they are right and the enemy is wrong, and that when the sun finally sets, they will be left standing on the battlefield looking over the broken body of their enemy.

But it would be unrealistic to think that the belief in your cause is enough to win the war. It's not. Winning the war will also take shrewd economics, brilliant tactics, the very best leadership, an uncanny ability to exploit mistakes made by the enemy, and much more. And it will take as few mistakes as possible made by the guerrillas. Intelligent decisions and the gift of correct anticipation are requisite at all levels.

One of the wisest things a guerrilla movement can do is make friends with those who might see them as being in the right, and who might be willing to assist them in their struggle. The North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and its guerrilla counterparts in the south would never have been able to continue what the West knows as the Vietnam War without the logistical and philosophical support of the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. Virtually every weapon system operated by the NVA and VC-except for those firearms captured on the battlefield was from either the Soviet Union or China. Conversely, the New People's Army in the Philippines was never very successful, partially because it received almost no foreign support, even though it was Communist.

Friendships with benefactors must be cultivated carefully and expertly in order to ensure continual support, and great caution must be exercised in

protecting secret alliances. When Admiral John Poindexter and Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North were caught selling weapons to the terrorist state of Iran and using the money to fund the Contras in Central America, they found out how important security is in such operations-the hard way.

Destroying the Enemy's National Strength

"What the hell is going on? I thought we were winning this war."

-Walter Cronkite, In an inadvertent broadcast remark during the Tet Offensive, February 1968

This is best described as taking the battle to the enemy's backyard and right into his family's and neighbors' living rooms. This isn't done by invading his town but rather his family's, friends', and neighbors' psyche. If the guerrillas can do this, the war is half won.

Up until the winter of 1968 and the infamous Tet Offensive (Tet is the Vietnamese Lunar New Year), most Americans back home held the belief that America was winning the war in Vietnam. The wealth of lies and disinformation splattered upon the American people by Presidents Johnson and Nixon, Defense Secretary McNamara, General Westmoreland, the joint chiefs and the service secretaries, and many of their minion, all came crashing down upon Joe American and his family when General Giap launched this massive and costly surprise attack on hundreds of targets throughout South Vietnam, from the Mekong Delta up through the Central Highlands to I Corps, Hue City, and the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone). Although it is absolutely true that, despite heavy losses by the Americans, the NVA and Vietcong lost this daring gambit on the battlefield, the Communists won it in America by slapping the American public into the reality of the situation. Suddenly everyone realized that this war we were supposedly winning wasn't even close to being won, and that despite horrendous punishment being meted out by massive American firepower, the Communists still appeared to be as strong as ever and in no way about to throw in the towel. Effectively, America lost the war in 1968. Sadly, it took the government another five years to cut its losses and run. Two years after that, the Communists rolled into Saigon as they always knew they would.

On the battlefield, the best way to destroy the enemy's national strength is to send as many of their sons home in body bags as possible, and to do so on a regular and graphic basis. Through perspicuous but effective tactics and solid leadership, the guerrillas can rack up a huge body count that will demoralize not only the enemy soldiers, but the enemy nation as well.

Regaining Lost Territories

"He who has land will have war"

-Italian proverb

It may be important to the guerrilla movement to recapture land lost to the enemy as a matter of honor, strategy, nationalism, and closure. When it is determined that certain territory must be taken back, you must consider that once you take it back, you are going to have to hold onto it. Sometimes it is wiser to just deny it or its use to the enemy without actually occupying it with troops. This can be done by making it too risky or by making it less valuable to the enemy.



Soldiers like these will often do whatever they think it will take to prevent the guerrillas from regaining lost territory.

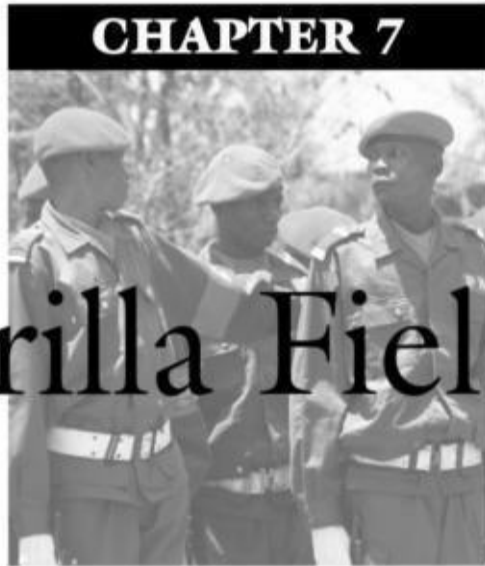
To make the land too risky, the guerrillas must mine, boobytrap, and cover the land with indirect fires to such a degree that the enemy makes the decision to simply leave the area alone. To make it less valuable, the guerrillas may be able to alter the land in some way that lessens its value, such as when the defoliant Agent Orange was applied to the South Vietnamese jungle so that-at least in theory-the Vietcong and NVA couldn't hide there as easily. Or the guerrillas may be able to draw the enemy away in something like a turning movement because they believe something more important is being threatened by the guerrillas.

In any case, the decision to regain lost territories must be made wisely and shrewdly.

One can learn much from a peasant's son.

CHAPTER 7

Guerrilla Fieldcraft



"Sweet is the smell of a dead enemy."

-Alus Vitellius at the Battle of Bedriacum, AD 69

Fieldcraft includes all those skills the guerrilla uses to make his existence in the forest, jungle, or what have you more efficient, safe, and comfortable. This might include creating a cooking vessel from a section of mature bamboo; finding, reading, and interpreting sign left by the enemy; purifying or filtering water taken from a mud hole; finding a place to sleep that the enemy will not discover; rigging an improvised antenna; building a booby trap; and much more. The guerrilla leader must go to great lengths to ensure that all his guerrillas have developed their fieldcraft prowess to the highest degree; he can never assume that they are proficient at fieldcraft because they are indigenous to the region in which they are operating. Just because a guerrilla was born and raised in a rural environment doesn't necessarily mean he will demonstrate the woods savvy his fellow guerrillas do.

FOOD ACQUISITION, COOIUNG, AND EATING

Acquiring food is constantly in the mind of the guerrilla leader. There are three primary means of food acquisition, and the use of each will depend on

the particular situation of the guerrilla unit in question.

Higher Unit Resupply

If the guerrilla war is being waged on a national level, lower guerrilla units will be able to-at least sometimes-depend on resupply from higher units. If this is the case, they must exercise extreme caution at all times when receiving those supplies. At no time should the supplying unit and the unit being supplied ever come face-to-face; to do so puts both units in jeopardy rather than only one. Unit-to-unit resupply should be done by cache. This is when the supplying unit stages and hides supplies for another unit and then notifies that unit in some way that its supplies are ready to be picked up.

Whatever communication system is used to tell the receiving unit that its food is waiting at such and such a location, it must be a secure one. This might consist of simple yet secure radio transmissions, or it might involve some signal on the ground that the receiving unit will be sure to see, such as a common soda can lying in a certain position near a certain rock, or perhaps a discarded vehicle tire being moved slightly to the right of where it usually is. This is sometimes called a dead-drop signal.

Voluntary Civilian Resupply

Civilians sympathetic to the guerrillas will sometimes be willing to supply them with food. Great care must be taken to protect these civilians from suspicion or, should they be found out, reprisals by the enemy.

The guerrillas and their civilian confederates must work out a clandestine system between them so that both parties remain as safe and detached from each other as possible. The village or town helping the guerrillas must never obviously store excess amounts of food in the town (the same goes for a family helping the guerrillas-they must never be caught with suspiciously large amounts of food). To avoid discovery, individuals must transport the food in small amounts to a cache site. When the time is right, a signal is given and the guerrillas will collect the food.

All foods provided by civilians must be paid for, or the civilians have to be compensated in some other way for the risks they are taking. Such mutually

agreeable details must be worked out at the local level.

Should the enemy catch a civilian helping the guerrillas and kill that civilian, the guerrillas must pay serious compensation to that person's family for their loss. They must communicate sincere condolences as well, and they must enact improved security measures in order to prevent additional security breaches. The guerrillas should not take obvious, immediate revenge on the enemy unit that killed the civilian; this will only bring more attention upon that family and village. Nevertheless, by waiting a few weeks and then striking the offending unit while it is well away from the village, the guerrillas can, if they feel it might be useful, report to the family and village that the enemy unit that killed the civilian in question has been severely punished. Reassure them that the enemy has no idea they suffered an attack because of who they killed in that village.

Involuntary Civilian Resupply

When the guerrillas are operating in areas they have not yet pacified, it may be necessary to acquire food by involuntary resupply. There are two means of doing this. The first is with compensation, an excuse, and an apology, otherwise known as forced requisition. Here the guerrillas take food from a village's communal stash (never from a single family unless it is very obvious that family has plenty), apologize for the inconvenience, pay fair market value for what they take (or a little more than fair market value, as a show of goodwill), and then offer an excuse that places the blame for their having to do this on the enemy. This technique must be used as infrequently as possible.

The second way of acquiring food by involuntary resupply is with a ruse attached. This is when the guerrillas steal food from an uncooperative village and do so in such a way that the villagers believe the enemy stole the food. A clever means of pulling this off is to first meet with the village headman or town mayor to "warn" him that you have received reports of enemy troops stealing food from gardens and communal stashes. Advise him to contact you for "assistance" if food starts coming up missing.

A few days or a week later, have your men steal some food and leave tracks like those that would be left by the enemy (have your guerrillas wear

boots taken from enemy dead). When the headman reports to you that the enemy has been stealing food, reassure him that you are doing everything you can to prevent additional thefts, but that your unit is small and has a lot of ground to cover and villages to protect. If you capture an enemy soldier, force him to admit to the headman that he was the one who stole the food. Then take him away and promise the headman that the soldier will be punished severely. This technique keeps the enemy in disfavor with the civilians and may very well bring you and your guerrillas into their favor, which is your goal.

EATING

Food preparation and consumption are always a concern to guerrillas, and important ones at that. Any time a guerrilla or guerrilla unit eats, security is automatically lessened because less attention is being paid to security. There are some steps the guerrilla can take, however, that reduce the chances of a security breach when food is being cooked or eaten.

On the Move

It is often advisable for the guerrilla to eat on the move, consuming a little at a time from a pocket filled with something high in complex carbohydrates, simple sugars, and protein. This is especially useful during midday when a large "sit-down" meal should be avoided; such meals in the afternoon can render the guerrilla lethargic, thus reducing his attention to detail and level of alertness. (The sleepy guerrilla who just consumed a big lunch is sometimes said to have fallen into a food coma.)

As is the case with every meal, the meal-on-the-move must be eaten in such a way that no trace of the food is left for the enemy to find; such sign can tell a tracker a great deal. Apple cores and fruit rinds, cellophane wrappers, bones, and all other evidence must be kept with the guerrilla while on the move and disposed of safely and tactically when the situation permits.

At no time should a guerrilla be eating anything while on the move that hampers his ability to employ his weapon, maneuver, or hide. And he should not have to look down at the food he is eating in order to get a hold of it; he should be able to simply feel for it and bring it to his mouth without taking

his eye off the zone or away from the direction he is supposed to be watching.

At Brief Halts

While on patrol or otherwise on the move, the guerrilla unit is going to have to stop from time to time, for whatever reason. Stops like these demand that no food be prepared or eaten-the guerrillas are now a stationary target and all eyes and thoughts must be tightly focused on security all the while.

In a Harbor Site

A harbor site is a clandestine hiding spot that a small guerrilla unit (squad-sized or smaller) uses to rest, and only rest. There is no eating or food preparation. Since the harbor site will always be in a spot difficult to reach or detect by the enemy, security can go down to 25 percent if the situation permits. The harbor site demands as little movement within the site as possible.

In a Patrol Base

Food may be prepared and eaten in a patrol base; however, security is always a serious concern. This means that, depending on the situation, up to 50 percent of the unit may be preparing and eating food; the other 50 percent should be tending to security. Cold food (no fires) is safer because of the lack of flames and smoke to alert the enemy of your presence. There are some situations where the guerrilla can get away with tiny fires, but they must be masked from possible detection at all times by being below ground with the smoke being diffused by vegetation above the fire site. Dry hardwood in pieces no thicker than a pencil is called for so that smoke is reduced. The Dakota hole fire lay is a good guerrilla fire lay because the flames are kept below ground at all times. Coals from the Dakota hole can be saved and used in an underground Dutch oven or similar fire lay so that food can be cooking while the guerrillas are out and about.

Avoid allowing individual guerrillas to each have a fire. The more fires built, the greater the risk of compromise. Squad fires are best, and the guerrilla squad leader must be made responsible for the proper use of those

fires.

In a Semipermanent Base Camp

The same rules apply in a semipermanent base camp (no guerrillas ever operate out of a permanent base camp; the risk of maintaining such a static site are too great) that apply in a patrol base. Two of the greatest dangers guerrillas face insofar as detection is concerned when operating out of a semipermanent base camp involve the disposing of food waste/containers and the denuding of the surrounding area by guerrillas foraging for fuel for fire.

Food waste disposal is made less of a concern by efficient preparation and consumption, i.e., cook only what you intend to eat and eat everything you cook that is edible. Bones and other inedible waste must be disposed of surreptitiously, well away from the camp. Large dump sites are out of the question. This leaves disposal in sites such as deep rivers (for waste that will sink) and one-man dumps. A one-man dump is a tiny hole dug by each guerrilla in which he places his food waste. These dumps are always well away from the camp, and the guerrilla takes care to cover the site in order to make it appear that nothing has happened there. Such holes should displace no more dirt and detritus than necessary.

Booby traps can do some good when placed near a dump site. Some counter guerrilla units will use dogs to sniff out dump sites. The more dogs and enemy forces injured or killed by booby traps at dump sites, the better. The mental stress experienced by dog handlers when searching for a dump site is bad for their morale.

The gathering of fuel for evasion fires was one of the problems we always counseled our students on at the Navy SERE (Survival-Evasion-Resistance-Escape) School in Maine. Just a few men could quickly make a very noticeable impact on the flora in a small area when gathering fuel (tinder, kindling, and the more bulky fuel) for a fire. We taught them to never gather the material they need near where they intended to build their evasion shelter, and that when they did collect twigs, bark, and small branches, there must be no evidence of that fuel having been removed from where it was. These same principles must be applied by guerrillas.

In some situations the guerrilla may be able to locate and procure alternate heat sources for warming or cooking his food. If at all possible, the guerrilla should have in his kit a small single-burner stove that is capable of using a variety of fuels, such as white gas, Coleman fuel, and gasoline. Stoves that can use only one type of fuel are to be avoided if possible because of the obvious logistical restraints they force on the guerrilla. One problem caused by these stoves is maintenance. Preventive maintenance is crucial in order to avoid unnecessary glitches. The stove must be cleaned regularly and thoroughly, and spare parts must be kept on hand.

As another alternative, that old standby, Sterno, is still a viable and often advisable means of heating food. A single can, if used right, can last quite awhile and heat many meals.

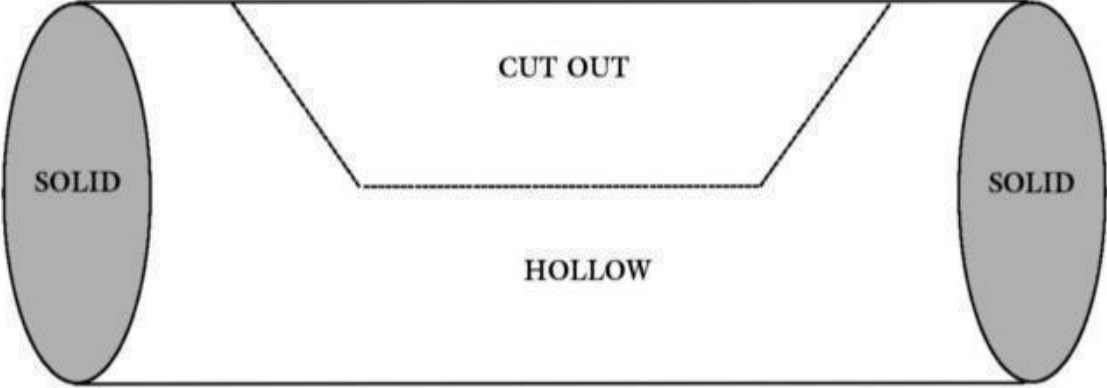
During the Gulf War, my Marine infantry unit was introduced to a new type of food warmer. Called an MRE (Meal, Ready to Eat) heater, it consists of a thin plastic sleeve a little wider and longer than an MRE package with a soft, flexible wafer of some material in it that, when soaked with a little water that is poured into the sleeve, quickly reacts with impressive heat. Hydrogen gas is produced as a result of this chemical reaction, so caution must be exercised not to have any open flames near the heater when it is in use.

There are still various forms of "heat tabs" available that burn when a lit match is applied to them. A major advantage of having chemical heating mechanisms such as these available is the fact that they can be carried right along with the guerrilla, thus eliminating the need for building a fire.

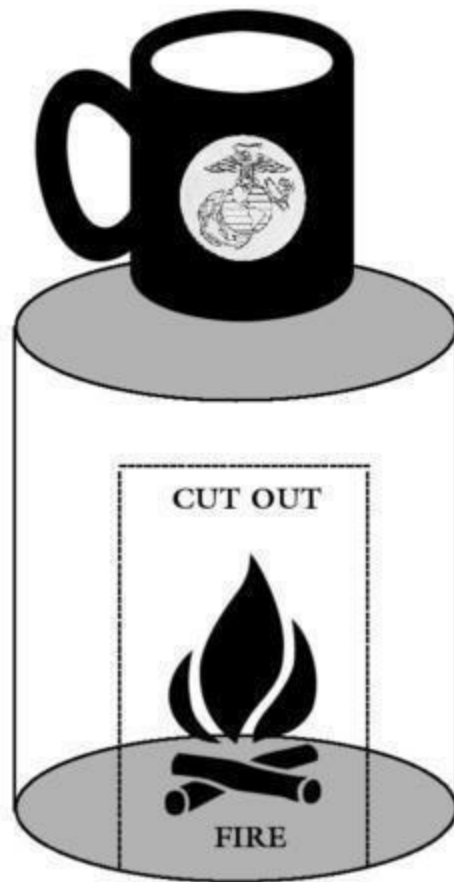
If logistics permit, each guerrilla should have his own cooking vessels and utensils in his kit; however, this isn't always the case. In many situations, the guerrilla is going to have to fashion and use items provided by nature.

If the guerrilla is fortunate enough to be operating in areas with stands of mature bamboo, the world's thickest and often most useful grass, he can use a section of the plant to make a vessel for steaming or boiling food. By cutting a rectangular lid in the center of one section, he can stuff food into the cavity and add a little water. He then replaces the lid and sets the bamboo over a fire. As an alternative, he can take a large section of bamboo and cut it off in two places-below the upper joint so the top is open and below the lower joint

so the bottom is solid. Then he can set it up on one end between two burning logs or some rocks to cook the food he has placed inside.



BAMBOO COOKER



HOBO STOVE

Large green leaves like that of taro can be wrapped around food items, which are then cooked over coals. The guerrilla places coals in a shallow hole, places rocks over the coals, sets the leafwrapped food on the rocks, and then covers the whole deal with dirt. This is the guerrilla's Dutch oven, a system that allows him to cook food with no further effort while he tends to other things. Also, those same leaves (or green leaves similar to them) can be wrapped around food and shoved directly into the coals of a burning fire.

A medium-sized steel, heavy aluminum, or tin can is easily fashioned into what is called a hobo stove. Such a device can last for many meals if made correctly and cared for.

SLEEPING

Where, when, and how a guerrilla unit sleeps is of critical tactical importance. As a general rule, most sleep will be taken during the day, since most guerrilla operations will be conducted at night. Although caution pervades sleeping arrangements, the guerrillas must get sufficient sleep if they are to be at their sharpest during attacks, patrols, and other activities.

On the Ground

Most of the time, guerrillas will be sleeping on the ground, with one exception being in wet areas like swamps, pocosins, marshes, and so on, which require either the construction of platforms or the use of hammocks strung between trees.

A guerrilla should never have to sleep with nothing between him and the ground except the clothing he has on. A ground mat, poncho, tarp, or similar item should be issued so that a buffer separates the guerrilla from the damp and/or cold ground. Remember that the guerrilla must be able to get some sleep; the guerrilla leader must use whatever plausible means he can come up with to make his fighters more comfortable.

In anything except subtropical or tropical climes, a sleeping bag of some kind is going to be required. In warmer, temperate zones, a sleeping bag can be constructed out of a poncho and a liner, but in areas with snowfall and colder temperatures, a genuine sleeping bag will be needed. As is the case with most gear guerrillas acquire, sleeping bags, tarps, ponchos, liners, and other things will be stolen or captured from the enemy. In friendly areas where the indigenous people favor the guerrillas, cottage industries can be set up to manufacture these items.

A technologically advanced enemy may have thermal imaging systems mounted in aircraft. In this case, guerrillas must sleep in the fetal position at night in small groups; this can make them appear to be a small herd of mammals such as deer. The vast majority of mammals sleep curled up this way to facilitate body heat retention. The guerrillas on guard duty will ensure that no sleeping guerrillas stretch out in the linear.

Above the Ground

When the guerrilla is required to sleep up off the ground, he may have up to three choices, not including sleeping in a vehicle, which is inadvisable from a tactical viewpoint.

First, he can string a hammock between two trees. Most hammocks are fishnet style, which makes them light and compactible. He can string a poncho above the hammock for rain protection (some commercially available "jungle" hammocks have poncho roofs as part of the system). A disadvantage of the fishnet-style hammock is that gear tends to get caught in it. The guerrilla using this kind of hammock should be taught to hang his combat gear on the tree at his head for ease of retrieval should he need it suddenly. Another disadvantage of the hammock comes with cold-weather use. Just as the surface of a bridge freezes before the road surface does because of the cold air passing beneath the bridge, the hammock will have cold air passing underneath it, causing the guerrilla to become colder faster.

The guerrilla can also construct sleeping platforms if time, equipment, and nature permit (enough satisfactory vegetation). Although most types of wood can be used to build a sleeping platform, the easiest to use is bamboo because it is hollow (easily chopped down), yet strong. Training in lashing is required.

The final choice might be sleeping in a tree. There are obvious dangers here, such as falling out of the tree and not being able to escape easily should you be discovered. Still, some trees offer fair protection as sleeping locations. Always use a safety rope to tie the guerrillas into the tree with a quick-release knot. Make sure no sign has been left around the base of the trees being used or in the general vicinity.

WATER FILTRATION AND PURIFICATION

The accounts are many of both guerrilla and conventional forces that fell prey to impure water and lost their struggle because of it. Guerrillas must exercise strict adherence to water purification practices, since so many natural pathogens and manmade contaminants are found in water sources. Clarity is never to be considered a reliable indicator of purity; many contaminants are invisible to the naked eye. Nor is the remoteness of the water source to be considered a reliable indicator; even the most remote streams are likely to contain some natural contaminants, and clouds formed

by water vapor originating over contaminated water or containing airborne contaminants (acid rain and other pollutants) can be dangerous.

Filtration

Filtration involves the removal or substantial reduction of suspended particulate matter, such as silt and detritus, from water. Filtration alone, although good for improving the appearance and perhaps the taste of the water, is not enough; it does not remove toxins.

Primitive filtration can be accomplished by suspending a trouser leg from a tree branch with the hem down and a knot tied just above the hem. Fill three-quarters of the leg with alternating layers of rock, sand, and grass (two layers of each). Pour the water to be filtered into the top of the leg so that it drains down through the layers and drips into a container placed on the ground below the knot in the leg.

Two shirts stretched horizontally tight, one above the other, can have water poured through them. Place a container directly beneath them to catch the water as it comes through.

You may be able to simply allow standing water to settle for as little as an hour or so in order for the suspended matter to settle to the bottom of the container.

Purification

Purification is the removal or destruction of harmful pathogens and other materials in the water. Some modern filters available at camping stores and from outdoor equipment suppliers do in fact purify water by removing nearly all known natural and man-made contaminants, including viruses, bacteria, dinoflagellates such as *pfisteria*, and other debilitating parasites like *Campylobacter jejuni* and *Giardia lamblia*, as well as heavy metals from industrial waste and fecal coliform bacteria, which is common in the water and sediment layers of rivers and streams meandering through agricultural areas.

Boiling water at a rolling boil for a few minutes kills all natural

contaminants but may leave synthetic toxins. Still, boiling is better than nothing.

Water can also be purified by chemical means such as bleach or iodine and chlorine tablets. Many conventional armies use these tablets for combat units operating along the forward edge of the battle area. Guerrillas should carefully search bodies and prisoners for these tablets, which they can take and use. Warning: I once operated in a counter guerrilla unit that kept highly toxic tablets that looked just like iodine tablets in a genuine iodine bottle in their uniform pockets in case of capture or death. Make sure you give a prisoner from whom you have just taken what appears to be iodine or other purification tablets a canteen of water containing one of these tablets first. Let him see you place the tablet in his water. If he balks, you know the tablets are bogus.

Water-Collection Sites

Water must be collected covertly. Entire guerrilla units must not show up at a single water source to collect water. A few guerrillas should take canteens from the whole unit and fill them from a position of safety. This way, if they are compromised, only a few guerrillas are in trouble rather than everyone.

The guerrillas must be careful not to use the same exact collection point more than once. An enemy unit watching the river (or other source) might easily spot some guerrillas getting water somewhere and allow them to leave without being attacked. Then they can set up an observation post to see if the guerrillas return to that collection point. If so, the enemy may allow them to leave and later mine or booby-trap the site. Or the enemy might let them leave and then send in a sniper team to track the guerrillas on their way back to their unit. The rest you can imagine. Another option the enemy has in this instance is to do a thorough map study of the surrounding area in order to deduce where the guerrilla patrol base might be, then send in a recon team, conduct aerial reconnaissance (manned or unmanned), or drop some listening devices in the area. Some counter guerrilla forces might even contaminate the water if they think it might harm the guerrillas.

How the guerrilla intends to use the water he is taking will determine

where he will take it from. For instance, drinking water comes from the point farthest upstream. Downstream from there is the point for cooking water, followed by utensil and cooking vessel washing, clothes washing, and, if necessary, vehicle washing (a rare event for guerrillas). Soaps must never be used unless they are the biodegradable kind that environmentally aware backpackers use-such soaps leave no bubbles or other signs of pollution.

NAVIGATION AND MOVEMENT

Guerrilla forces are usually indigenous to the region in which they are fighting. Nevertheless, the guerrilla leader must make every effort to ensure that each guerrilla is not only very familiar with the lay of the land but also knows how to move across that land without being detected. The guerrilla must also be adept at using technical (map and compass) navigation techniques as well as primitive means to get from place to place; the time may come when he must move out of his home area into a region unfamiliar to him, be it as a semipermanent relocation or to link up with another guerrilla force in order to conduct a joint operation.

This book does not contain a detailed explanation on technical and primitive land navigation, since this would require a section the size of a book itself. All the land navigation (and survival) techniques the guerrilla needs are found in my video, *The Ultimate Outdoorsman: Critical Skills for Traveling, Surviving, and Enjoying Your Time in the Wilderness*, available from Paladin Press.

Elusive movement techniques, however, shall be covered here.

Movement

Mao Zedong, when writing about *yu chi chan* (guerrilla warfare), said that guerrilla strategy must be based primarily on alertness, mobility, and attack. The first two are crucial to achieving the third.

Anyone, regardless of his background, can learn to move undetected. Whereas it is true that many guerrillas are born out in the countryside and have learned to move quietly through the woods while hunting, a new guerrilla born and raised in a city can also be taught to slink through the

forest without a sound. And country boys can be taught to improve their movement skills. (I am a perfect example of this. Although I was raised in the woods of Maine and in the backcountry of old south Florida and the Everglades when this region still had huge tracts of uninhabited wilderness and was quite proficient at sneaking about by the time I was 13 years old, I learned more as a reconnaissance Marine by paying attention to people like Stan Iramk, my point man, who was raised in the Palau jungle in the western Pacific; Pat Halling, a strapping country boy from the sugar beet fields of northern Minnesota who knew how to run a patrol better than most men; and Todd Ohman, my recon team machine gunner.)

The guerrilla must always be watching, listening, and learning. The day the guerrilla feels he has nothing more to learn is the day the guerrilla war is lost.

The Trail Fallacy

I recall being taught in the Marines that you must never use trails because of the increased likelihood of being ambushed. Although it is so that the more often one uses a trail to get from one point to another the greater the chances are of being ambushed, the truth is that all guerrilla forces and all conventional forces use trails extensively. The reason for this is expediency. It is often necessary to move quickly from one place to the next, and trails afford you that ability. The key is to use trails as infrequently as possible and, when using them, to reduce the amount of sign or impact left on that trail.

To reduce sign (whether on a trail or off), the guerrillas should travel in small groups with the lightest possible loads, and preferably travel during times of darkness and rain. The fewer feet on a trail, the fewer footprints left behind. The lighter the individual load, the less the impact of the foot on the ground. Rain helps wash away sign, and darkness allows a certain degree of visual safety.

Small trails are preferred to larger ones because they are more difficult for the enemy to detect. Guerrillas can use game trails extensively in many cases, provided they adhere to the aforementioned rules. It is wise to have a large guerrilla force break up into smaller groups and move independently via small trails and then form up at a predetermined, secure location for the attack when close to the objective. It is worthwhile to train dogs to run point

and detect booby traps and enemy ambushes with their sensitive noses.

Interval

The distance between one guerrilla and the guerrillas to his immediate front and rear is called interval. Interval is determined by the tactical situation: you want enough distance to prevent or lessen the chances of two or more men being wounded or killed by a single booby trap or ambush, but you also want to be close enough so that eye contact can be maintained and mutual support is available in case of trouble. Terrain, weather, vegetation, weapons capabilities, and the level of tactical proficiency the unit has all play a role. In any case, the interval should not be so great that one guerrilla cannot effectively communicate with the guerrilla in front of or behind him with hand signals.

Hand Signals

Hand signals should be simple and easily understood. For instance, pointing at your eyes means you see something, and then pointing in a direction means you see something in that direction. Next, flashing numbers with your fingers means that something is so many yards away in that direction. This signal might be followed by another numerical signal indicating how many of those things you see, which is followed by a signal for what those things are. The latter might be forming a handgun with your hand, which would mean enemy troops. In less than three seconds one guerrilla can "tell" another guerrilla that he sees five enemy soldiers 200 yards to the east and never have to open his mouth or risk detection by moving back to the other guerrilla.

Time Together

Guerrilla leaders must do everything in their power to keep small units together as much as possible. The more time a small unit spends living and operating together, the more efficient it will become as a team. After several months of combat together, a small team of guerrillas can seem to read each other's thoughts based on how they are moving, i.e., their body language. I have operated in units with this ability and can assure you that they are highly effective.

Minimize personnel turnover. Everything should be done as a team—sleeping, eating, training, rehearsing, and fighting. If a personality clash cannot be worked out within the team, move one of the guerrillas involved to another team.

Simple Rules of Movement

The following are some simple rules to make movement more tactically sound:

- A guerrilla must never use vegetation to pull himself up a slope; pulling on vegetation leaves additional sign of the guerrilla's passing.
- Stealthy scouts must be used in advance of the main body, and a reliable communications system must link them.
- Before moving out, the guerrilla must silence all gear with camouflaged (dark green, brown, or black) masking tape.
- Trails being avoided by villagers and townfolk are being avoided for a reason—they are unsafe for some reason, i.e., they are mined or booby trapped.
- Night movement must be practiced more than day movement; night movement is more difficult and the majority of guerrilla operations will be conducted at night.
- When using a trail system, use alternate routes to avoid patterning.

Alternate Movement Techniques

Besides moving over land on foot, the guerrillas should attempt to take advantage of rivers and other bodies of water. Watercraft can be an excellent method of moving supplies and infiltrating troops.

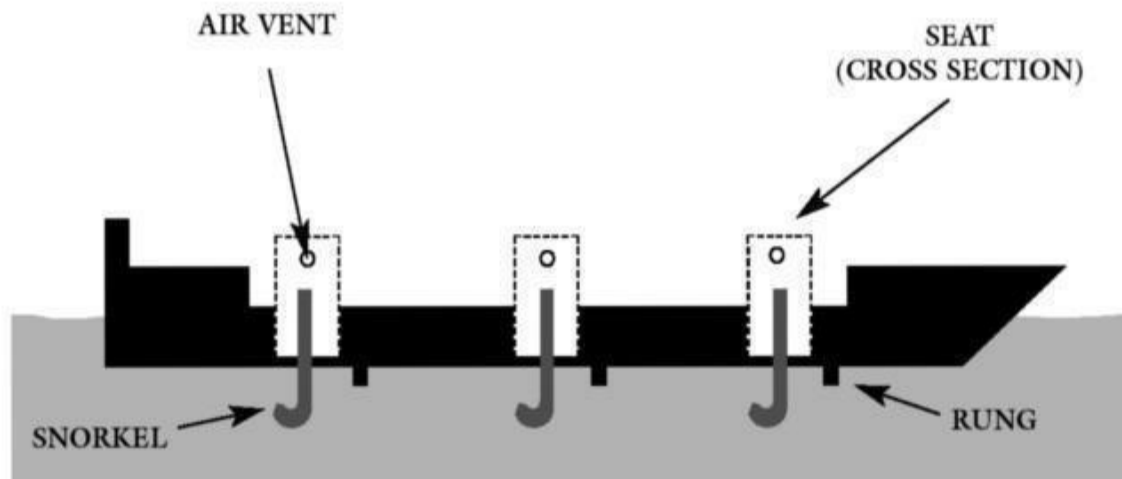
High Speed Cast

While operating in the Philippines, one of my reconnaissance unit's favorite insertion methods was by bonka boatdugout canoes with outriggers

and outboard motors operated by indigenous people like the Negritos and the Filipinos themselves. The boats are extremely common and therefore seldom attract attention. By having the boat operator run the boat at high speed (which is just about the only speed they run at) along a shoreline, a team of men can "high speed cast" into the water without the boat's having to slow down. They can then infiltrate from there.

Rung and Snorkel System

Slower craft can also be used, but like any boat it can be searched. In warmer waters the guerrillas can hide beneath a boat that has been specially rigged. Attach rungs on the bottom of the hull; at each rung, drill a narrow hole in the hull. Into this hole is inserted a snorkel with a short extension attached that runs up underneath a seat so that it can't be seen from inside the boat. The guerrillas hang on to the rungs and also attach a safety line between them and the wrung in case they lose their grip. I have used this trick many times and have yet to be caught by a search team investigating the boat midstream.



RUNG AND SNORKEL SYSTEM

Hang Glider

Gliders were first used by commandos in World War II, with the British,

Americans, and Germans all getting into the act. Today, hang gliders are more likely to be used because they are smaller, easily hidden, simple to operate, and often unexpected. You need an elevated launching point.

Hang gliders must only be used by guerrillas at night, and the operator must be an expert at aerial navigation via terrain association or, if available, Global Positioning System (GPS). He must stay clear of the moon and stay sufficiently high until it's time to land so that he is not heard; yes, all hang gliders make some noise as the wind pushes against the fabric and frame of the glider.

Bicycle

Guerrillas used bicycles extensively during World War II, and the Vietcong also used them to move supplies and weapons not only along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, but off it as well.

Some conventional forces are currently experimenting with mountain bikes as a means for messengers and even reconnaissance units to get about, and the guerrillas can do the same. These rugged bikes can also move supplies.



Pack animals may take the place of vehicles if that is all you have.

Animals

Horses and other animals can be used, too. A neat trick I once used to move some sheet explosives into an area was to sew the explosives right into the saddle blanket of the horse. No one suspected a thing.



Now let's look at some mines and booby traps.

CHAPTER 8



Mines and Booby Traps

"The mine issues no official communique."

-Admiral William Pratt, 1942

Mines and booby traps are to the guerrilla as lies and half truths are to politicians and many journalists; they go hand in hand and play a critical role in conducting day-to-day business. The guerrilla force that does not use mines and booby traps as a combat multiplier stands a substantially reduced chance of victory.

Mines and booby traps first came into their own on a grand scale in World War II when antitank and antipersonnel mines were used heavily by both the Axis and Allied powers; booby traps were used but to a much lesser degree. But it wasn't until the Vietnam War that we really began to see just how devastating an effect these guileful weapons could have on an army. Their surreptitious nature and tendency to brutally maim rather than kill outright makes them particularly effective in lowering the enemy's morale and shattering not only their will to fight, but that of their country, too. Also, they are readily available in the world arms market and can be very affordable, with some antipersonnel mines costing under \$3.00 each. When you add this to the fact that booby traps are just as easy to manufacture and rig as

antipersonnel mines are to purchase, you begin to see why they are so important to the guerrilla.

Every mine or booby trap set where a guerrilla might accidentally detonate it because he didn't know it was there must be marked to prevent this. A system of apparently meaningless marks (meaningless to the enemy, and perhaps even unnoticed) must be developed that warn any guerrillas passing by that a mine or booby trap lies ahead. These marks might be something as innocent looking as a machete slash against a tree.

Mines are divided into three categories: antitank or antivehicle, antiship, and antipersonnel. The judicious use of each can substantially turn the tide in a guerrilla war, and if the guerrillas have a reliable source of resupply, their combat power is all the greater.

DETONATION SYSTEMS

Mines and booby traps can be detonated by a number of means, including the following:

- Pressure
- Pressure-release
- Tension-release
- On-command
- Magnetism
- Timer
- Antidisturbance
- Air pressure change
- Air temperature change

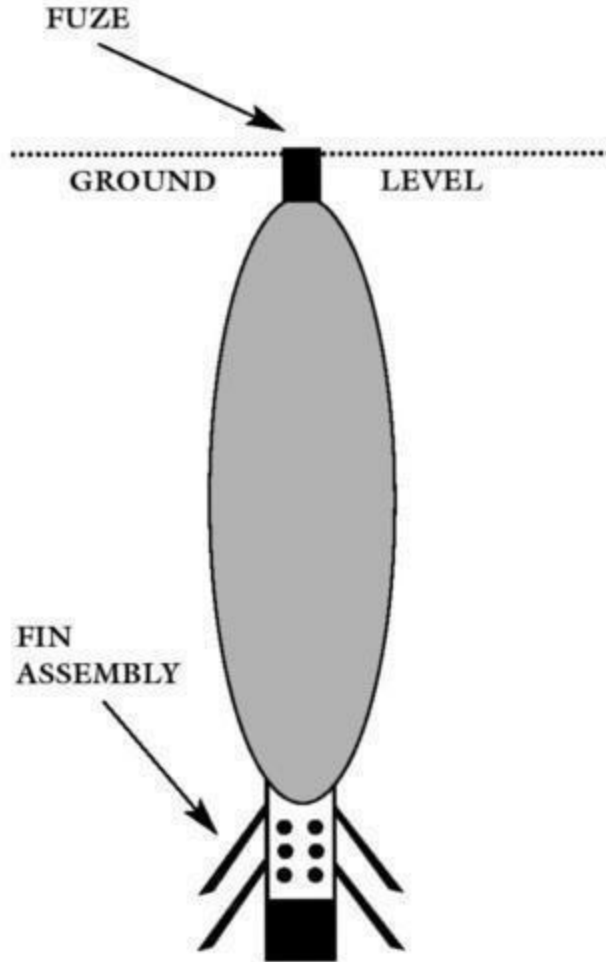
Which detonation mechanism the guerrilla selects will depend on the

circumstances.

Pressure

Pressure-detonated mines are among the most common types found in guerrilla wars. They work on the simple principle of someone or something applying pressure to the top of the mine, which detonates it instantly in most cases. They are commonly placed on trails, paths, and roads. Caution must be taken to ensure that it is placed at a depth that is just right for detonation.

Some types of mortar rounds can be rigged as mines by placing them nose up in the ground with the bore riding safety pin removed and setting the fuse assembly on impact. Failure to remove the bore riding safety pin will result in the round's failing to go off.



MORTAR ROUND MINE

Pressure-Release

The pressure-release mine is exactly the opposite of the pressure mine. This mine requires that the pressure keeping the mine from detonating be released or reduced in order for the mine to detonate. Such mines often rely upon some ruse perpetrated upon a careless or unsuspecting enemy soldier where the soldier picks up or moves an object sitting on the mine's pressure plate or switch. A classic example of this is when a guerrilla force leaves something that the enemy would find of interest on top of the unseen mine—a weapon, map case, radio, stack of papers, or what have you. When the enemy soldier removes it—whump. Even more insidious is placing a soda or beer can

upright along a road or path, underneath which is a pressure-release mine. Many soldiers just can't resist kicking at cans, so ...

Pressure-release mines can also be placed under the dead bodies of guerrillas and enemy soldiers.

Tension-Release

Tension-release detonators are normally associated with booby traps. These are the classic "trip wire" devices that cost so many American GIs body parts and their lives in Vietnam.

When setting these booby traps, it is important and very wise to have two sources of tension on the wire. This adds an extra dimension of safety to the operation.

The wire can be run across trails at various heights, most often utilizing the 5-to-1 rule. This rule says that after every five trip wires set at ankle height, the next one should be set at head or shoulder height. This is done because if the enemy point man finds five wires at ankle height, he may assume that they are all set at ankle height. The hope of the one who sets the trap is that the point man will be proven fatally wrong.

On-Command

The on-command (command-detonated) mine is most often a claymore, a container of pellets backed with an explosive charge that hurls the hundreds of pellets toward the enemy. It is a devastating weapon that can cripple or kill numerous enemy in a single well-directed blast. An electrical charge detonates the mine.

Magnetism

Magnetic mines are usually reserved for antishipping purposes. They can be set on the bottom of a harbor; when a ship passes over them, the magnetic pull lifts them off the bottom and pulls them against the ship's hull for immediate detonation.

Timer

Mines of many styles can be rigged with timers in the factory or by the guerrilla in the field. Limpet-style mines are commonly used by special operations forces, such as Force Recon Marines, Navy SEALs, and the British Special Boat Squadron to sink enemy ships. If a guerrilla force can come by such mines and use them against enemy shipping, it can add a powerful new dimension to the war.

Antidisturbance

Both mines and booby traps can be rigged with antidisturbance systems designed to detonate the mine when someone tampers with it. A simple mercury switch is all that is really needed, and these can be fashioned with the insides of a standard household thermostat containing a vial of mercury, which allows an electrical circuit to be completed.

Air Pressure Change

A more sophisticated detonation device uses a barometer to explode the mine or booby trap when the air pressure rises or falls to a certain level. This is an effective system to use when intelligence indicates that an enemy unit will be moving into a certain area ahead of or behind a storm front.

Air Temperature Change

The same principle as the air pressure change detonator can be used to rig a device to go off when the air temperature reaches a certain level. A digital thermometer is required.



Mines and booby traps are two of the guerrilla's best friends. If used wisely, they can cause the morale of the guerrilla's enemy to plummet.



Above: Unexploded antipersonnel bomblets from a cluster bomb unit (CBU) such as this can make excellent booby traps.

Right: Comrades of this Tupac Amaru terrorist booby-trapped the Japanese ambassador's home in Lima after seizing it and hundreds of hostages in December 1996. Fortunately their crimes failed when a CIA Schweizer RG-8A reconnaissance aircraft overflew the premises and pinpointed the booby traps as well as the exact location of everyone inside the mansion. This allowed the Peruvian commandos to take the building down with the loss of only two of their men (the unit's ops officer and a lieutenant) and one hostage (who apparently died of a heart attack). All the terrorists were justifiably

killed. The moral of the story may be that the guerrilla should never turn to terrorism.



CHAPTER 9

Ambushes



"We have the power to knock any society out of the 20th century."

-Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, 1964

Just hearing the word "ambush" can make a guerrilla fighter's jaw tighten and eyes squint, for if there is one hallmark of a guerrilla war, it is the ambush. The ambush is probably the oldest tactic in the guerrilla's warfighting manual, and the reason it is still there is simple: it works, and it works remarkably well when planned and executed correctly.

The list of guerrilla forces that used ambushes is long and impressive and includes dozens of American Indian tribes, the Huns, the Mongols, the Swiss, the Afghans, the French, Americans in nearly every war they have fought, the Russians and the Soviets, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Vietnamese, the Tamils, and thousands more.

The guerrilla force must be expert at setting and executing ambushes in a variety of situations. Once the guerrilla attains the ability to ambush enemy forces with bloody results, his combat power is greatly multiplied.

WHY AN AMBUSH?

Besides the obvious overall goal of weakening the enemy physically, tactically, spiritually, and logistically, the ambush is meant to either destroy a certain enemy force (and reap the many rewards that come from that destruction) or harass a certain force in order to wear it down and reduce its combat power.

When an enemy force is destroyed, meaning it can no longer fight as a unit, the guerrillas can benefit by capturing the following:

- Personnel
- Weapons
- Equipment
- Intelligence information

They will also benefit from the following:

- A rise in their morale
- Increased ambush experience
- Increased general combat leadership experience

The guerrillas benefit in the following ways when they successfully harass an enemy force:

- By forcing the enemy to abandon or alter its plans
- By keeping the enemy on the defensive
- By lowering the enemy's morale and will to fight
- By demonstrating to the civilian populace that the enemy is powerless against the guerrillas

And regardless of the type of ambush-destruction or harassment-the enemy will become less aggressive and more uneasy and distressed when operating

in guerrilla country. This will result in the enemy's substituting caution for aggression, which orients them more to the defense than the offense, and that is precisely where the guerrilla wants his enemy.

AMBUSH CLASSIFICATIONS

The type of ambush you conduct will depend entirely on the tactical situation at the moment. There are two types of ambushes: deliberate and hasty.

Deliberate

The deliberate ambush is an ambush planned against a preselected unit at a predetermined time and place. Solid intelligence and detailed planning are the two elements that make a deliberate ambush possible and worthwhile.

Deliberate ambushes require information on the following:

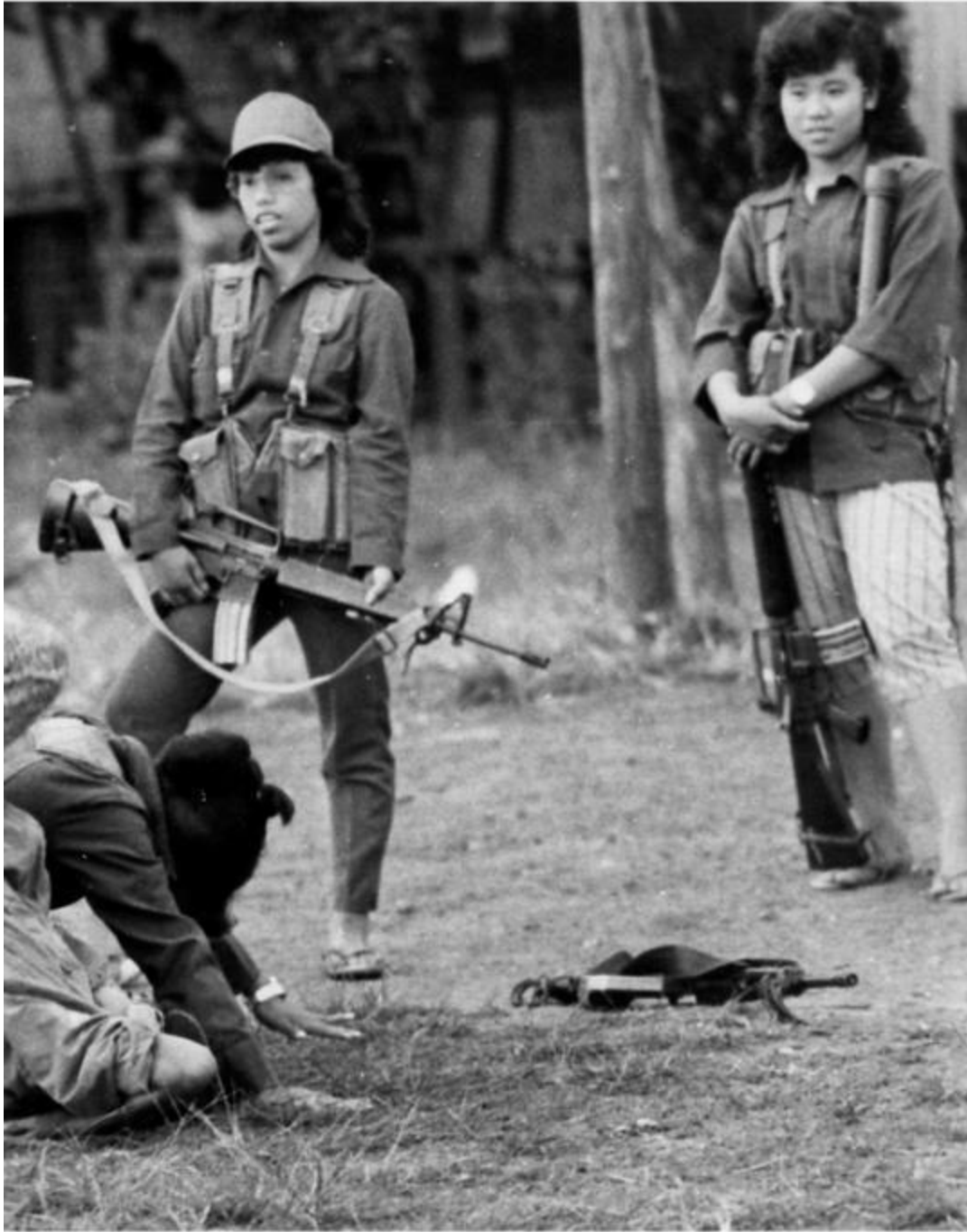
- The size of the enemy unit (squad, platoon, company, etc.)
- The composition of the enemy unit (infantry, mechanized infantry, motor transport, headquarters, supply, etc.)
- The disposition of the enemy unit (casual, somewhat alert and defensive, very alert and defensive)
- The strength of the enemy unit (weapons, leadership, support equipment, etc.)
- The route of march of the enemy unit and estimated time of the enemy's arrival



A deliberate ambush could easily result in the disabling of an important weapon system, which the guerrillas can then use.



Female New People's Army terrorists learn hand-to-hand combat, skills that can be used in an ambush designed to take hostages.



Hasty

The hasty ambush is conducted quickly on targets of opportunity. To make it work, the guerrillas must think and act quickly and have set SOPs that make them react correctly when the time comes.

Hasty ambushes require the following information:

- The approximate size of the enemy unit
- The suspected composition of the enemy unit
- The suspected disposition of the enemy unit
- The approximate strength of the enemy unit
- The current route of march
- The estimated time of arrival in the kill zone



Stream crossings can be excellent ambush sites if the enemy fails to take security precautions.



Support vehicles traveling along roadways where the trees grow right up to the road are frequently easy prey.

AMBUSH ESSENTIALS

The conduct of an effective ambush requires three essential components.

Surprise

It is no surprise that the offensive fundamental of surprise is critical to the successful conduct of an ambush. From surprise, all else comes when dealing with ambushes, for without surprise, you have no ambush. Good intelligence, thorough planning and rehearsals, individual and team preparation, and masterful execution are what lead to surprise.

Fire Coordination

This is frequently one of the most difficult and time-consuming factors to master. Communication and attention to detail are the keys to solid fire coordination, without which the ambush is doomed to failure. Every man must know precisely what to do and when to do it if the kill zone is to be filled with the bodies of the enemy. A mistake in fire coordination means a loss of concentrated mass fires in the kill zone.



You will need a weapon capable of stopping the enemy's forward movement immediately.

Command and Control

The ambush is the most intense form of combat and, as such, requires the

very best in command and control. Leaders all up and down the chain of command must have a tight grasp of the procedures that control the ambush, from the insertion to the setting up to the execution to the extraction. SOPs, thorough planning and rehearsals, and supervision are what it takes to command and control an ambush effectively.

Command and Control Goals

The guerrillas must use command and control measures to do the following:

- Detect the enemy's approach and inform the ambush team
- Allow the enemy to fully enter the kill zone before initiating fire
- Utilize immediate action if the ambush is discovered prior to initiation
- Utilize direct and indirect fires when needed
- Utilize search and sweep techniques immediately after the ambush
- Safely and tactically withdraw once the ambush is finished

AMBUSH FORMATIONS

The type of ambush formation you select will depend upon the following:

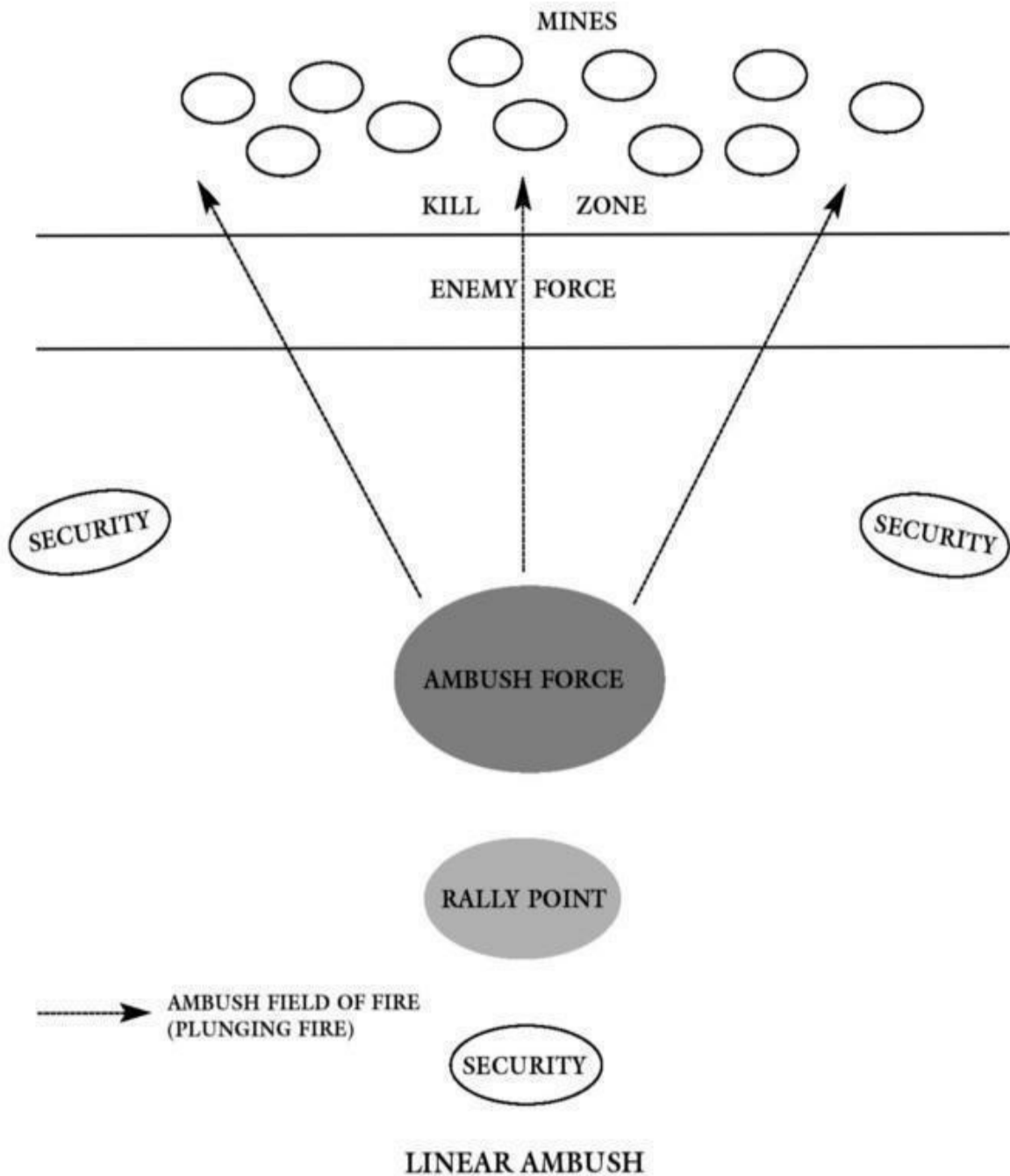
- The size and formation of the unit being attacked, as well as its composition and disposition
- The weaponry being carried by the unit being attacked
- The terrain
- The vegetation
- The size, composition, and disposition of the ambush force
- The weaponry available to the ambush force

Once the guerrilla leader has determined these factors, he can better select the best ambush formation to use.

Linear (Line) Ambush

The linear ambush situates the ambush force parallel to the enemy force. After pinning the enemy in position by sealing off both ends of the long axis with mines or other weapons, the ambush force attacks the enemy with large volumes of fire along the enemy's flank that is exposed to the ambush force.

The guerrillas must use caution to ensure that the majority of enemy troops and weapons is within the kill zone; an enemy unit that is strung out on its long axis is unlikely to be damaged seriously by a linear ambush.



Box (Rectangle) Ambush

The box ambush is especially effective against a force that has little or no experience with ambushes. It relies upon four ambush teams forming the four corners of a box with the enemy inside the box. One corner engages the enemy at a time. When the enemy turns to fight in that direction, the initiating

team ceases fire and appears to be withdrawing. At that time the team diagonal to the first team opens fire and forces the enemy to shift their focus of attention. As they do so, a third team engages the enemy as the second team ceases fire and appears to withdraw. When the enemy goes after the third team, the third team also ceases fire and appears to withdraw. Now the fourth team opens fire to finish off what's left of the enemy force.

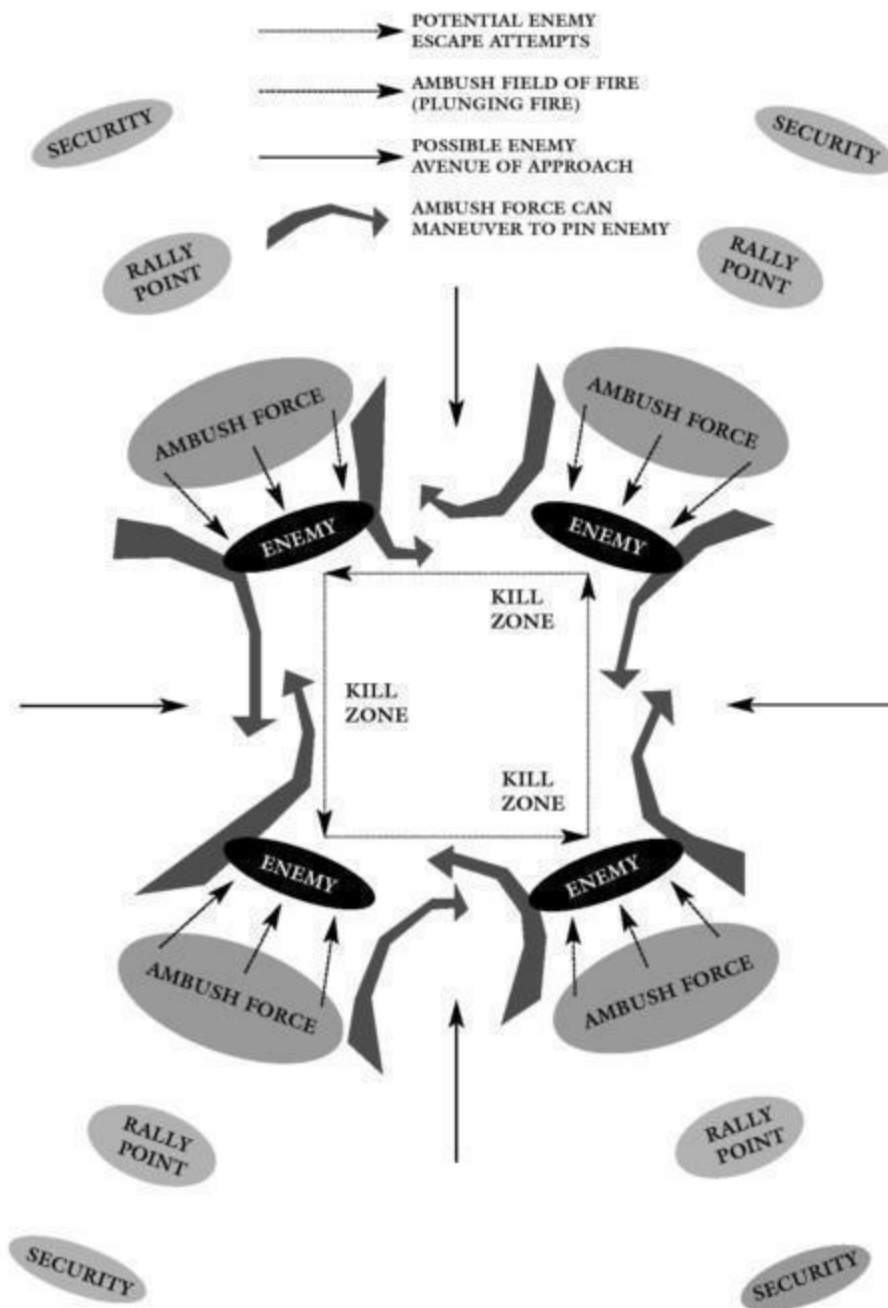
Pyramid (Triangle) Ambush

There are two types of pyramid ambushes: tight configuration and loose configuration.

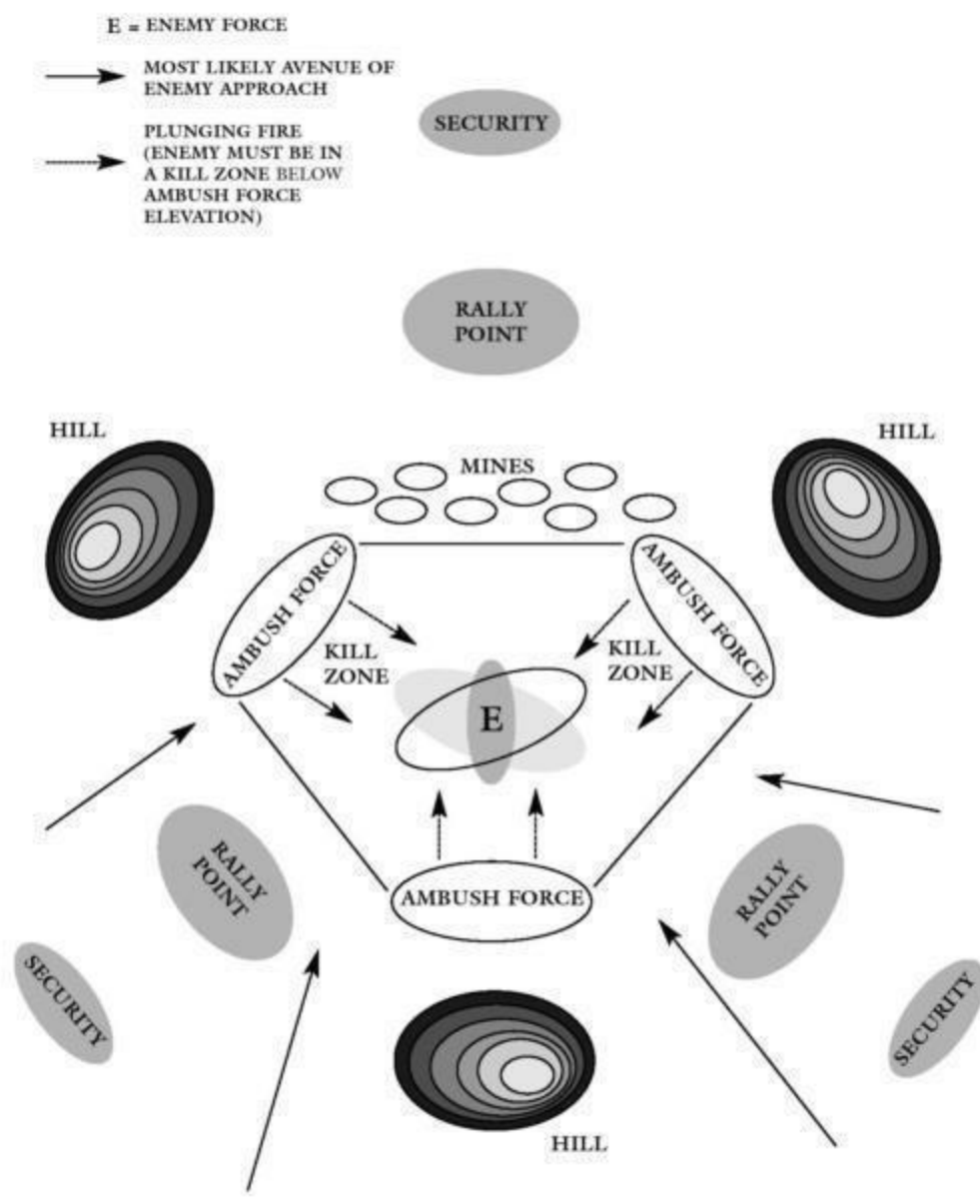
The tight pyramid or triangle is used with interlocking fields of fire from automatic weapons set at the points of the configuration when the direction from which the enemy will be approaching is unknown. This configuration is fairly secure but requires at least 20 or so men due to the risk of the enemy assaulting through.

Similar in concept to the box, the loose triangle has the automatic weapons engaging the enemy's lead first until the enemy tries to assault through them. When they do so, one of the flanking automatic weapons opens fire to draw the enemy off. When the enemy tries to attack that team, the other flanking team engages them.

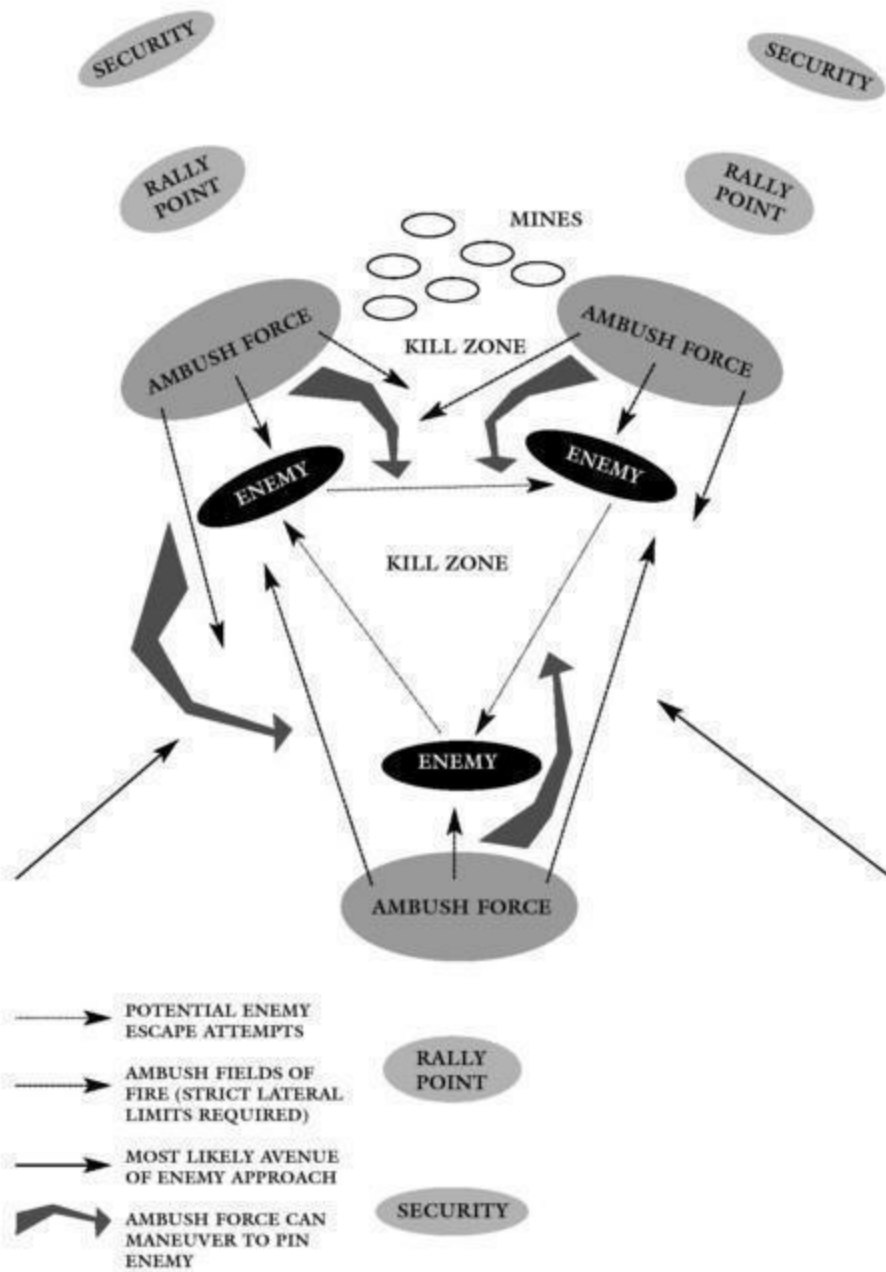
An offshoot of this is to have assault teams standing by to close with and destroy the enemy as soon as they are in disarray and being worn down by the automatic weapons fire.



BOX AMBUSH



PYRAMID AMBUSH

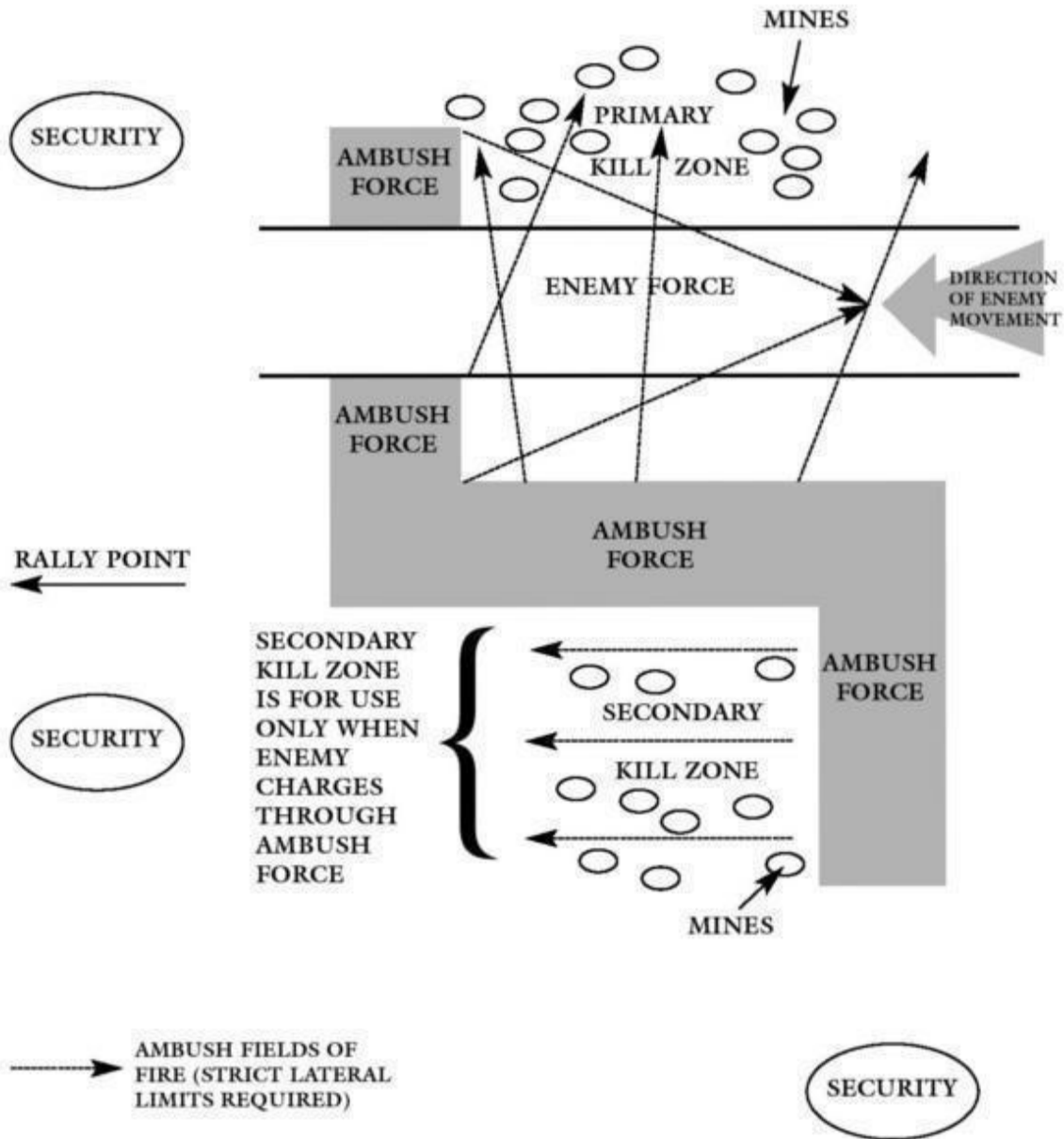


LOOSE PYRAMID AMBUSH

Z Ambush

When an ambush force may be faced with an exposed flank, a reinforcing enemy unit, a single envelopment, or even a kill zone with a potential escape route, the Z ambush is used. It provides a secondary kill zone in case the

enemy manages to get through the parallel ambush team.

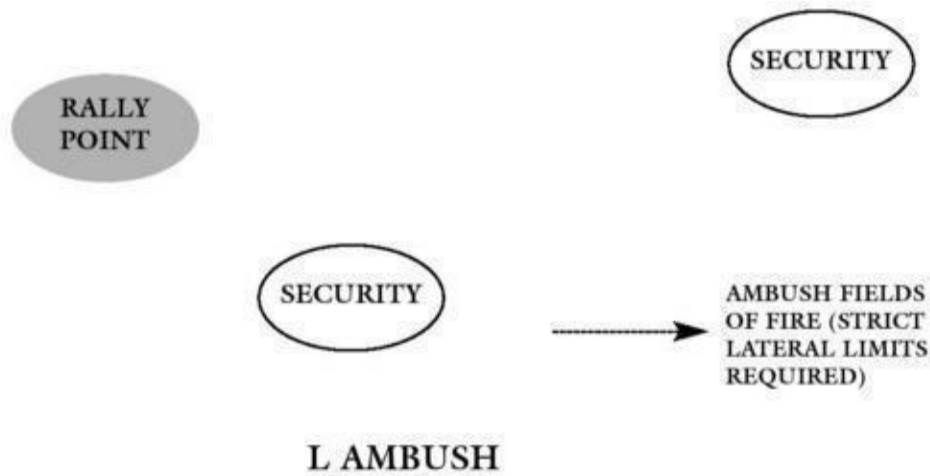
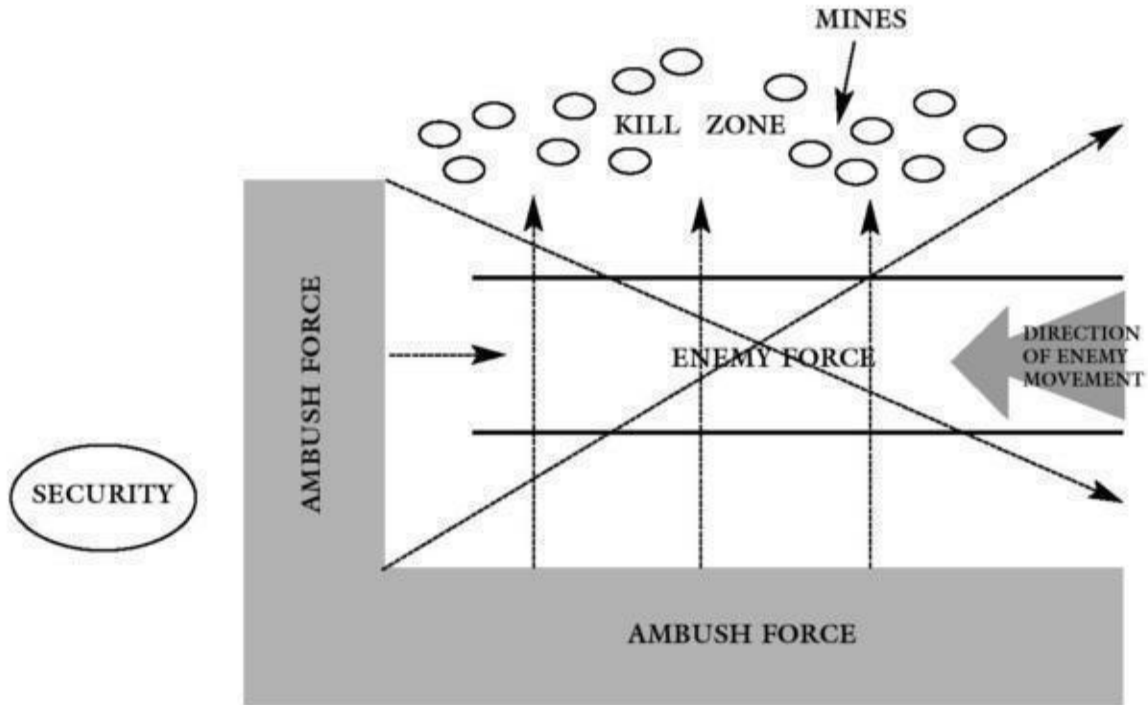


Z AMBUSH

L Ambush

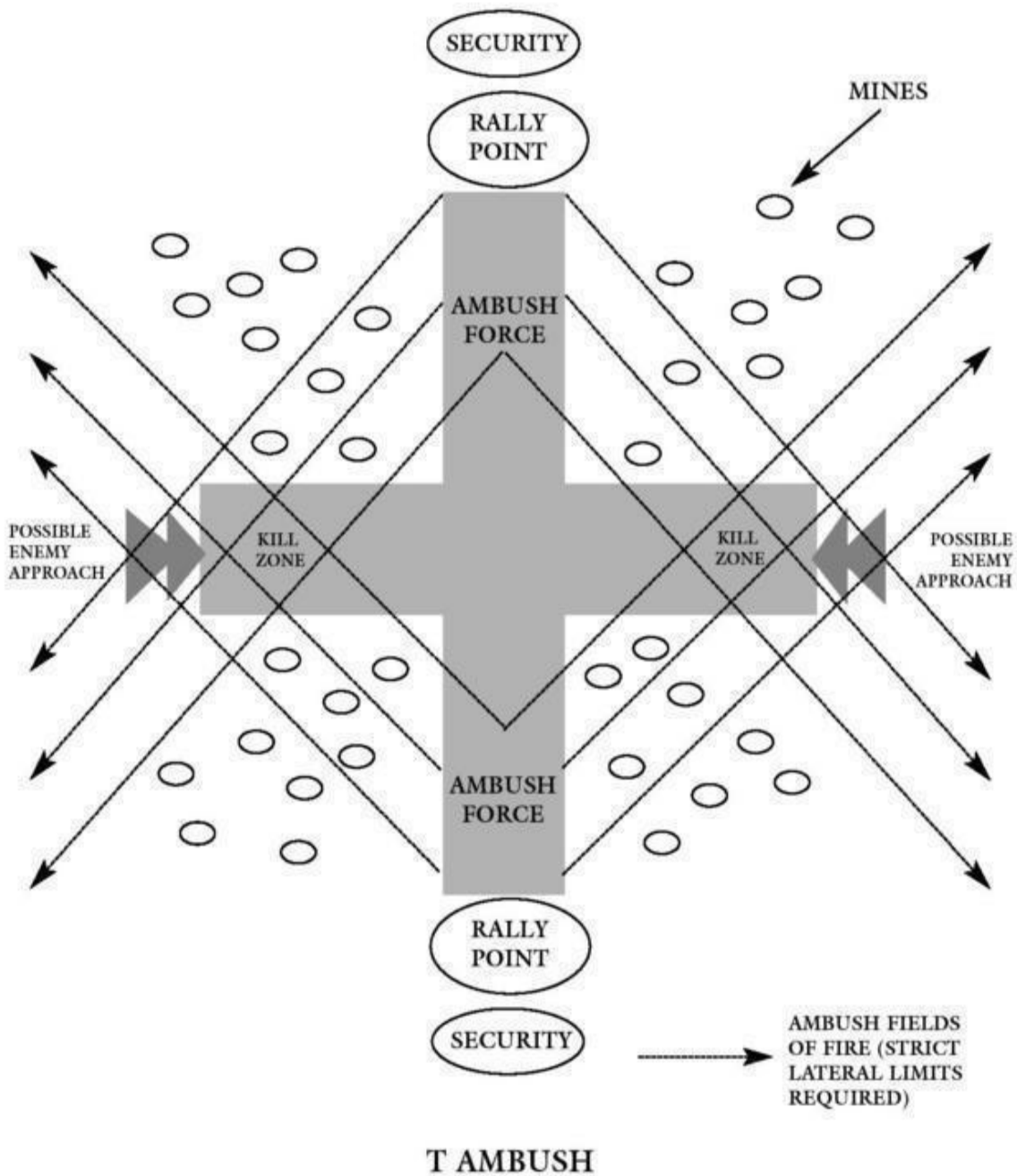
The L ambush is considered the classic ambush because it can be used in various situations. The team occupying the leg parallel to the kill zone

delivers flanking fire that supports the blocking team's fire into the enemy element's lead. The ambush force must ensure that the enemy's rear does not escape. This can be accomplished by setting a claymore mine to cover this possibility.



T Ambush

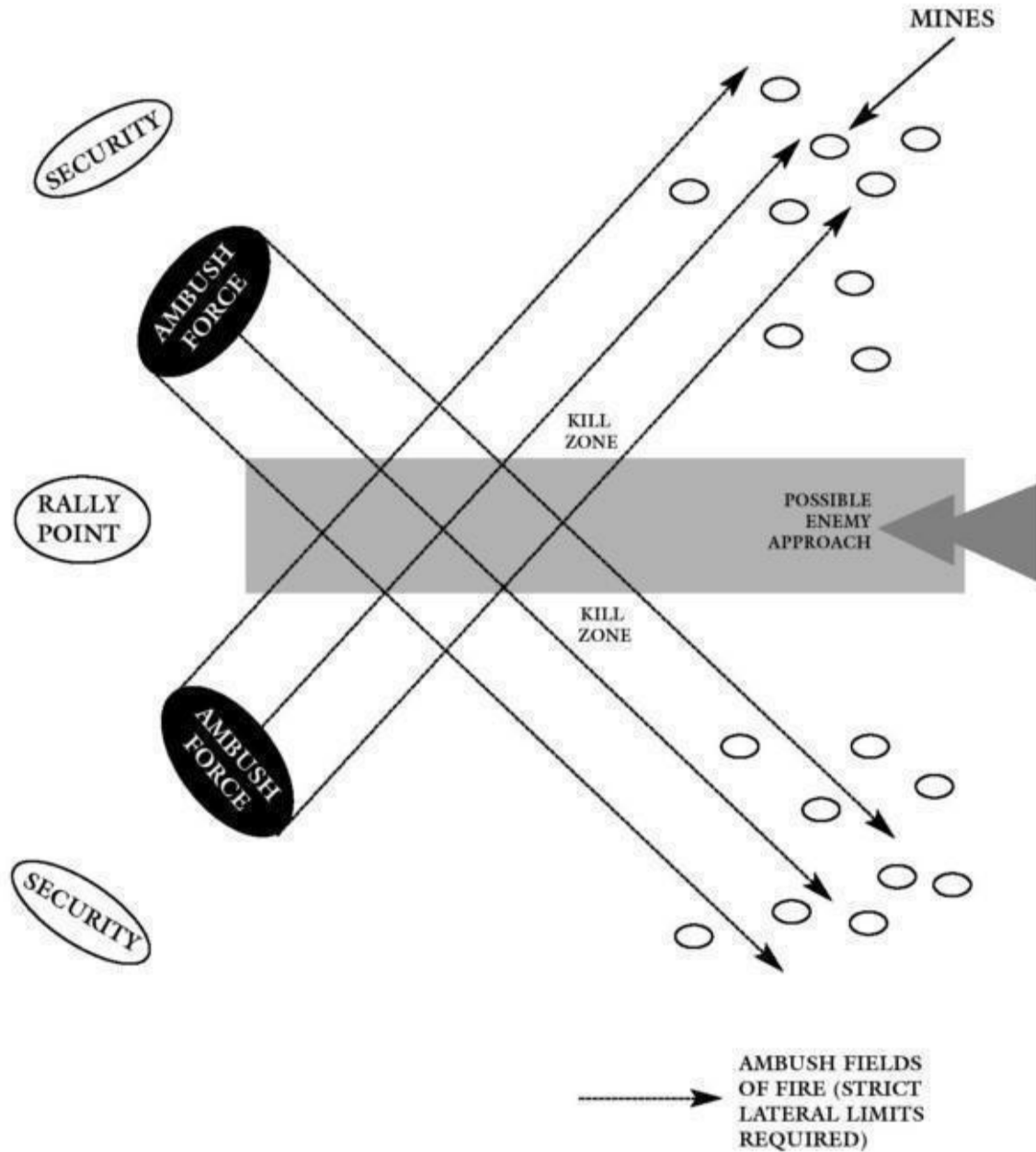
This formation takes its name from the shape the opposing forces take in the ambush. The ambush force is perpendicular to the route of march of the enemy force and is able to deliver harassing fires onto the enemy's lead as well as down their long axis in a conical fashion. It can also be used when the direction of the enemy's approach is somewhat in doubt but believed to be most likely from a right angle.



V Ambush

This ambush is also quite versatile and gives the ambush force an excellent chance of complete surprise when the ambush is set in a wooded area along a trail. Strict fire discipline is needed to prevent one leg from shifting fire too

far toward the opposite leg. The diamond-shaped kill zone is covered with interlocking and enfilading fires.



V AMBUSH

SPECIAL AMBUSHES

Special ambushes are limited only by the situation and the audacity and

imagination of the guerrillas.

Helicopter Ambush

By disabling an enemy helicopter in a kill zone but leaving some of the enemy alive inside or just outside the chopper, the guerrillas can lure in another helicopter or helicopters in an attempt to extract the downed bird's crew and/or troops. To do this the guerrillas simply cease fire and remain hidden until the rescue choppers arrive.

In many cases the rescue force will first fly a couple of gunships along the perimeter of the landing zone to check for and clear guerrilla forces. This makes camouflage and discipline critical: no guerrilla must be seen or open fire until the rescue birds are on the ground. Then they open with a large volume of concentrated fire to cripple or destroy the other helos. Withdrawal must be immediate if the enemy has the resources to engage the guerrillas from the air with gunships or with supporting arms like artillery and mortars.

Demolition Ambush

A demolition ambush is initiated by first attacking something important to the enemy with explosives. Harassing fire is then delivered to the target as the enemy reacts to the explosion. It may behoove the guerrillas to hold their fire for a while before opening up with their automatic weapons from a distance; the enemy will likely be expecting some immediate harassing fire and by delaying for a short while the guerrillas may find that the enemy, once it appears that no harassing fire is imminent, relaxes its guard somewhat.

Claymore-Sniper Ambush

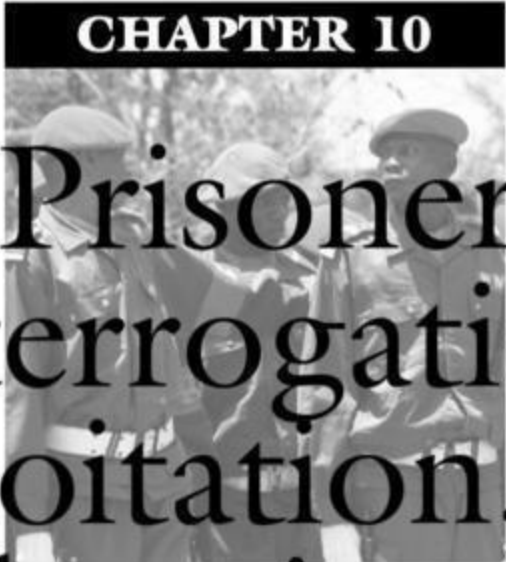
If the enemy is moving across fairly open ground with little cover, a claymore mine can be detonated to stop his forward progress. Several snipers are positioned around the kill zone and withhold fire until the enemy thinks that the guerrillas have fled. Once the enemy comes out into the open again, the guerrilla snipers pick off as many enemy as possible and then withdraw.



Ambushes are one of the guerrillas' best ways to even the sides.

CHAPTER 10

Prisoner Interrogation, Exploitation, and Indoctrination



"Death is lighter than a feather, duty heavy as a mountain."

-Emperor Meiji, 1883

For a few years I was an instructor at the U.S. Navy SERE School in Maine. One of my jobs at this most demanding and challenging school was within the Resistance Training Laboratory (RTL), training and testing students on their ability to survive a simulated prisoner of war (POW) experience honorably. Also during this time, I served as an advanced SERE instructor teaching graduates of the basic SERE course things they needed to know prior to making a deployment overseas in the near future. In both jobs I worked for former prisoners of war who had been shot down over North Vietnam and captured in 1968. Their experiences helped me-and the rest of the instructor staff-better understand the myriad factors governing the interrogation, indoctrination, and exploitation of prisoners of war.

Immediately after finishing my tour at the school, I was sent to Saudi Arabia and then Kuwait with a Marine rifle company for the Gulf War, from the buildup to the final withdrawal from Kuwait in May 1991 of the last

Marine combat unit, which happened to be my unit (2nd Battalion, 4th Marines; then Lieutenant Colonel Kevin A. Conry, commanding). I found that, just as I expected, it is often easy to make prisoners useful in some way, sometimes extremely useful.



Prisoners are very valuable commodities. Exploit them properly. (Department of Defense photo.)



CAPTURE AND HANDLING

Let me make this perfectly clear-a prisoner of war is a valuable commodity

that you, the guerrilla, must learn to exploit. A very valuable commodity. As such, you must go to the greatest lengths to make extremely sure your men do or otherwise-injure, maim, harm, or otherwise damage the prisoner.

Combat is an incredibly emotional experience. All at once it can be terrifying, thrilling, shocking, horrifying, disgusting, repulsive, maddening, sickening, humorous, confusing, and mind-numbing, and every guerrilla is going to be, to some degree, affected by these emotions. This undeniable fact is what you, as the guerrilla commander, are going to have to deal with on probably a regular basis when it comes to prisoners of war and how they are handled during and immediately after their capture and, if you are required to hang on to the prisoners for an extended period, perhaps for months on end after their capture. Emotions-those of the guerrillas-are the greatest threat to the value of the prisoner of war, and you must do everything in your power to prevent emotional responses from degrading the value of your prize.

Prisoners of war are afforded certain rights under the Geneva Conventions Relevant to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, which was signed in August 1949 by many signatories and has since been signed by many more. Abiding by these conventions actually increases the combat power of the guerrillas in many (most) circumstances, so it behooves the guerrillas to abide by them. Brutality for brutality's sake is of almost no value to the guerrillas and only serves to gain immediate physical compliance. Although there is something to be said for physical compliance, there are other, more valuable means for gaining such compliance, as we will see.

The 5 Ss

The American military uses the 5 Ss-search, silence, segregate, speed, safeguard-to lay out how prisoners of war should be handled initially on the battlefield and all the way to their permanent detention facility. By sticking to this formula, the guerrillas will reduce the number of problems they have between the time they actually capture the prisoner and the time they turn him over to higher command.

Search

The search is the first thing the guerrilla does upon capturing an enemy

soldier. After taking the prisoner's obvious weapons away, the guerrilla conducts an immediate search of the soldier's person, including his uniform. He thoroughly searches pockets, pack, and other web gear, as well as boots, hat, gloves, and every other uniform item for weapons or anything that might be used as a weapon (a comb, pencil or pen, keys, watch, compass, belt, boot laces, identification tags and their chain, and so on). Once the tactical situation permits, the guerrilla performs a strip search, and this includes body cavities and depressions. The anus, ear canals, mouth, bottoms of feet, armpits, groin area, small of the back, hair, nostrils, navel, posterior knee, palms of the hands, and other potential hiding spots are checked and cleared.

All searches are done with one man doing the search and one man covering the prisoner with a rifle. The searcher must never step between the prisoner and the man with the rifle, for obvious reasons. If the guerrillas have the funds (and this doesn't require much), some electronic dog collars should be bought and placed on the prisoner during the detailed search. Should the POW decide to get feisty, a guerrilla just pushes a button and a nice stream of electricity flows directly into the prisoner. A stun gun is another worthy investment.

The guerrillas must translate immediately all documents and process them for their intelligence value and their exploitation and interrogation potential. Letters to and from home, warning and operations orders, radio frequencies, SOP cards, resupply requests, and much more may be of substantial value to the guerrilla effort.

Silence

Every POW must be silenced from the moment of capture until he is well away from the battle area and in a controlled situation. Masking tape is excellent for this (yes, it hurts when you take it off but it does not harm the prisoner). Make sure he can breathe through his nostrils when you put the tape over his mouth. A friend of mine once lost a prisoner (read: the prisoner suffocated) after taping his mouth shut. The guy had a cold and his congested nose didn't allow enough air into his lungs, so ...

Depending on the tactical situation, you may have to bind the prisoner's legs and arms as well to keep him from thrashing around.

Segregate

It is permissible to segregate prisoners by rank upon their capture so as to prevent immediate escape attempts, and escape attempts are more likely to succeed when they are undertaken soon after capture, before the prisoners are deposited in a more permanent detention facility. In the first 24 hours or so after capture, the new prisoner usually has the following points in his favor:

- He is close to his unit or friendlies.
- He is often in excellent physical condition.
- He is in situations such as traveling in vehicles that make escape easier.
- He is in situations that otherwise make escape easier because of the fog of war.

By segregating prisoners by rank (junior enlisteds, NCOs, and officers), in many cases the guerrillas can undermine the organization of covert escape committees and committees that facilitate escape in some way (e.g., supply, intel, communications).

Later, when the prisoners are in more permanent facilities, it may behoove the guerrillas to segregate prisoners by race, religion, gender, and even age. Such segregation can make exploitation easier and more productive.

Speed

Removing the prisoner from the battle area as quickly as possible is crucial to his future exploitation. By getting him away from the fighting and speeding him to a safe area, the guerrillas are more likely to prevent his successful escape or additional injury.

But with speed comes the danger of overlooking a security concern. Every precaution must be taken to deny the prisoner the opportunity to slip away unseen or make a bold dash for freedom in the confusion of the fight. Plans and SOPs must be carefully laid to increase the chances of a successful extraction of the prisoner.

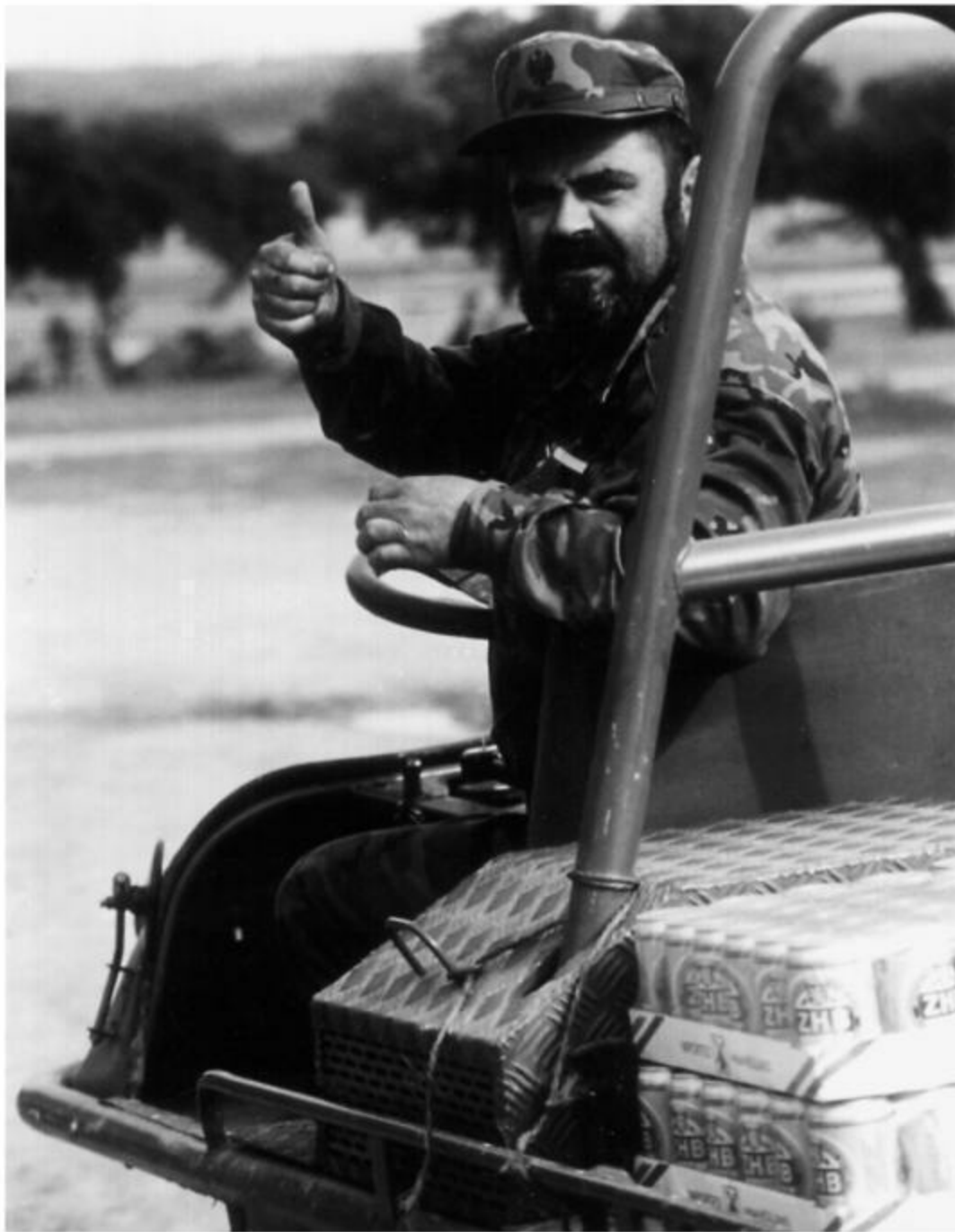
Safeguard

Every prisoner must be afforded sufficient protection from enemy fire and friendly retaliation. The more damage you do or allow to be done to a prisoner, the more likely he is to be of little use. Remember that the prisoner of war is a most valuable commodity that is to be zealously safeguarded regardless of the tactical situation. If this means that he must be allowed to keep his personal protective gear like a helmet, gas mask, and flak jacket, then so be it.

The guerrillas must move the prisoners frequently to help prevent rescue attempts by their comrades. They must conduct searches continually so that they can detect and deal with secret stashes and covert organizations within the ranks of the prisoners. If facilities permit, prisoners should be kept in solitary confinement and secured with redundant security systems.

Interrogation and Exploitation

Prisoner interrogation is an art unto itself and would require a book to cover it in its entirety. Given this, I won't cover all the approaches and tricks of the trade here but will instead give you general advice that will assist you in interrogations.



Alcohol can often be used to loosen a prisoner's tongue faster than any other approach. This Spanish Legionnaire knows the deal.

Torture Is Out

Forget torture altogether. This surprises you? It surprised me, too, when I

was training to be an interrogator under the tutelage of career Marine interrogator Gunnery Sergeant George Misko (who conducted many interesting interrogations during the Gulf War, and elsewhere, a man who can terrify a prisoner with a mere look), former prisoners of war Commander Bob Fant USN (Ret) and Commander Tim Sullivan USN (Ret), and now-retired Navy SEAL Master Chief Tom Keith, the latter of whom conducted numerous field interrogations in the Mekong Delta.

Torture gains compliance, physical compliance, but it doesn't often elicit useful information that is reliable, and it doesn't serve any purpose in the practical exploitation of the prisoner. For instance, during an exploitation session in Hanoi where several American POWs were brought before a select group of media (selected by the Communist regime, that is), one prisoner of war was forced to walk on stage in front of the cameras and was then told to bow. The prisoner intentionally walked out and acted like a zombie, then bowed stiffly to the assembly first to the front, and then at 90-degree angles to "box the compass." This made him appear like an automaton who had lost his mind, and it was made even worse for the man's captors when a guard ordered him to bow again. This gave the clever prisoner another chance to box the compass with bows, three of which went toward the sides and rear of the stage.

During another exploitation session in Hanoi, a group of American Communist media was allowed to question several POWs. A bowl of fruit had been placed on the table to give the idea that the prisoners were being fed well, which was far from the truth, of course, but one prisoner saw an opportunity to turn the tables on the turncoats by snatching a large handful of the fruit and feeding ravenously as they questioned him, showing that he was underfed.

The very best way to extract useful information is to use proven approaches that do not call for genuine physical abuse or torture. It is almost always easier to get useful and accurate information by using trickery.

Professionals Only

The interrogation of prisoners by guerrillas other than those trained in interrogation techniques must be avoided. There is much too much to be lost

at the hands of an irate, untrained interrogator in the field. Discipline and extraction SOPs will help get the prisoner away from the battlefield and into the hands of someone who knows exactly what he is doing when it comes to extracting information.

Information Storage and Exploitation Systems

Information gleaned from prisoners must be kept in a safe place and in a system that is easily and accurately accessed by the guerrillas' intelligence network. Systems with holes that allow good information to be lost or not fully exploited must be tended to.

The dissemination of intelligence from the interrogation center down to the troops must be smooth and efficient at all levels. Otherwise, the guerrilla movement is simply spinning its wheels in this area.



Smoke tells of a guerrilla strike made successful by the information extracted from a prisoner by a professional interrogator.

Indoctrination

It may or may not be worth the time and effort of the guerrillas to run an indoctrination program; it all depends on their resources, abilities along these lines, and the education level and resistance techniques of the prisoners. If the guerrillas have the financial and logistical resources, as well as indoctrinators who are experts at their craft, and if the prisoners' educational level is fairly low and they have little or no training in resistance techniques, it is advisable for the guerrillas to indoctrinate the prisoners into their way of thinking. This not only makes them more compliant, it also makes them excellent propaganda sources, and that propaganda can be directed at both the local populace and the enemy's homeland.

But as the previous two examples of exploitation attempts demonstrate, exploitation and indoctrination are not without risk, especially when the prisoners are educated and have been trained to resist enemy indoctrination attempts. Interrogators should always try to learn the prisoner's educational level.

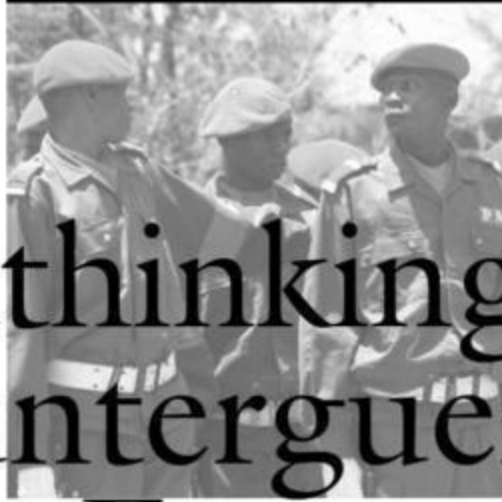
To indoctrinate prisoners-make them think like you think and see things as you see them-the guerrilla must use a smattering of truths mixed with half-truths, lies, disinformation, and vagary to sway them. Propaganda used against them must be of the highest quality; anything less will be seen for what it is: a trick. Persistence and the ability to use seemingly insignificant data as tools in the indoctrination system are two of the guerrillas' most valuable assets.

On the Other Hand

Lastly in this chapter, a word on guerrillas who are captured. Every effort must be made to rescue guerrillas who are taken prisoner, and every guerrilla must be taught escape procedures and how to resist enemy interrogation, exploitation, and indoctrination techniques. Strict accountability must be maintained so that guerrillas taken prisoner are not willingly left behind in the name of political expediency, such as when America left nearly 1,000 American POWs in North Korea and China after the Korean War during Harry Truman's presidency, and when, as some allege, hundreds more American POWs were knowingly left behind in North Vietnam after the truce was signed in 1973 during the Nixon presidency.

The leadership trait of loyalty must be demonstrated at all levels.

CHAPTER 11



Outthinking the Counter guerrilla Force

"Better to die than be a coward."

-Gurkha saying

Guerrilla warfare is a war of tactics, strategy, operational art, and firepower, but it is also a war of wills and minds. The guerrilla army that understands the counter guerrilla techniques the enemy uses and moves to thwart those techniques at every turn will be the victor. Even America-a country with extensive experience fighting guerrillas, ranging from the Barbary pirates in the early 19th century to Mohammad Farah Aidid's guerrilla thugs in Mogadishu-continues to be stymied by Third World hooligans, this despite the world's most powerful nation having been bloodied in guerrilla wars in Central and South America, Africa, Asia, North America, and Europe. Major powers will always, it seems, be vulnerable to the guerrilla because of the modern nation's arrogance, poor leadership (in the capital and on the battlefield), and remarkable ignorance when it comes to how a guerrilla army can and should be engaged and defeated.

THE ADMISSION

The number one problem conventional armies make when going to war against a guerrilla force is refusing to admit that their ally-the nation with the insurgency/guerrilla problem-is suffering from political, social, and economic problems that have given birth to the very insurgency it is now faced with. Who is to blame for these problems is less relevant than finding and implementing solutions to them or, if that fails, accepting the loss early on so that one can get out.

America lost the Vietnam War because untutored, contemptuous politicians believed they could defeat the Vietcong and North Vietnamese Army with sheer firepower and advanced technology, and these same politicians made the fatal mistake of relying upon military officers who, in most cases, never understood the nature of their opponent and what lengths he was willing to go to in order to win. President Johnson, already one of the most egotistical, crass politicians ever to sit in the Oval Office, accepted the recommendations of generals who told him what they believed he wanted to hear-that massive bombing in the north was the answer. History tells us that although the bombing of Hanoi terrified the civilian populace, the people were never in a position to demand that their government stop the war in the south, and those people did truly see the Americans as barbarians committing war crimes against an innocent society. When Richard Nixon entered office, he began secret bombing missions in Laos and Cambodia in an attempt to strike NVA and VC bases there, but the policy failed miserably on the national level, even though B-52 strikes were greatly feared by the enemy. Instead of merely increasing the level of violence and letting it go at that, America should have set out to either remove the impetus of the struggle or, if that proved impossible (and sometimes it will prove impossible), cut its losses and fled Vietnam in 1968. Instead, the war didn't end until 1973, a fact that cost tens of thousands more American lives, and all for naught.

A review of the tactics used by the most successful counter guerrilla forces in Vietnam shows that small units of disciplined, aggressive, crafty soldiers who were willing and allowed to fight the VC on their own terms were the most successful. When Special Forces outfits started training and arming people like the Montagnards and Hmong to defend themselves using guerrilla tactics and Marine units began their strategic hamlet program along with useful cordon and search techniques, the VC suffered serious setbacks. Add

Navy SEALs to the Mekong Delta hunting VC with guerrilla tactics and you start to win. But even these successes would never have been enough to win the Vietnam War because the Communists had an almost inexhaustible supply of young men and resolve, and they knew that America was unwilling to fight for decades and see more and more body bags coming home. The truth of the matter is, some guerrilla wars are unwinnable because of the nature of the insurgency itself. Japan learned it in China, America learned it in Vietnam, and the Soviet Union learned it in Afghanistan.

Once a nation providing foreign internal defense (FID) to a friend admits that its friend has social and political problems that led to the insurgency and moves to correct these problems, it can get on with the war. The guerrillas must be ready for this and ready for the strategy and tactics used by both the nation providing the FID and the host nation itself.

COUNTERING THE FIVE STEPS IN COUNTERGUERRILLA WARFARE: THE MALAYAN INSURGENCY

Many modern nations use the successful British counterinsurgency operation in Malaya (1948-1959), where the British fought and defeated a guerrilla army belonging to the Malayan Communist Party, whom the British referred to as CTs for Communist Terrorists (and they were just that), as a good example of how a nation can conduct a prudent counterinsurgency war. One of the most insightful writings on this topic is Lieutenant Colonel Roland S.N. Mans' essay, "Victory in Malaya." Mans served in Malaya from 1953-1956, and he both filled combat billets on the front lines as a rifle company commander with the First Battalion of the Queen's Royal Regiment and served as a staff officer on the headquarters staff of the 7th Gurkha Division, one of the most dangerous and effective counterinsurgency forces ever to be mustered.

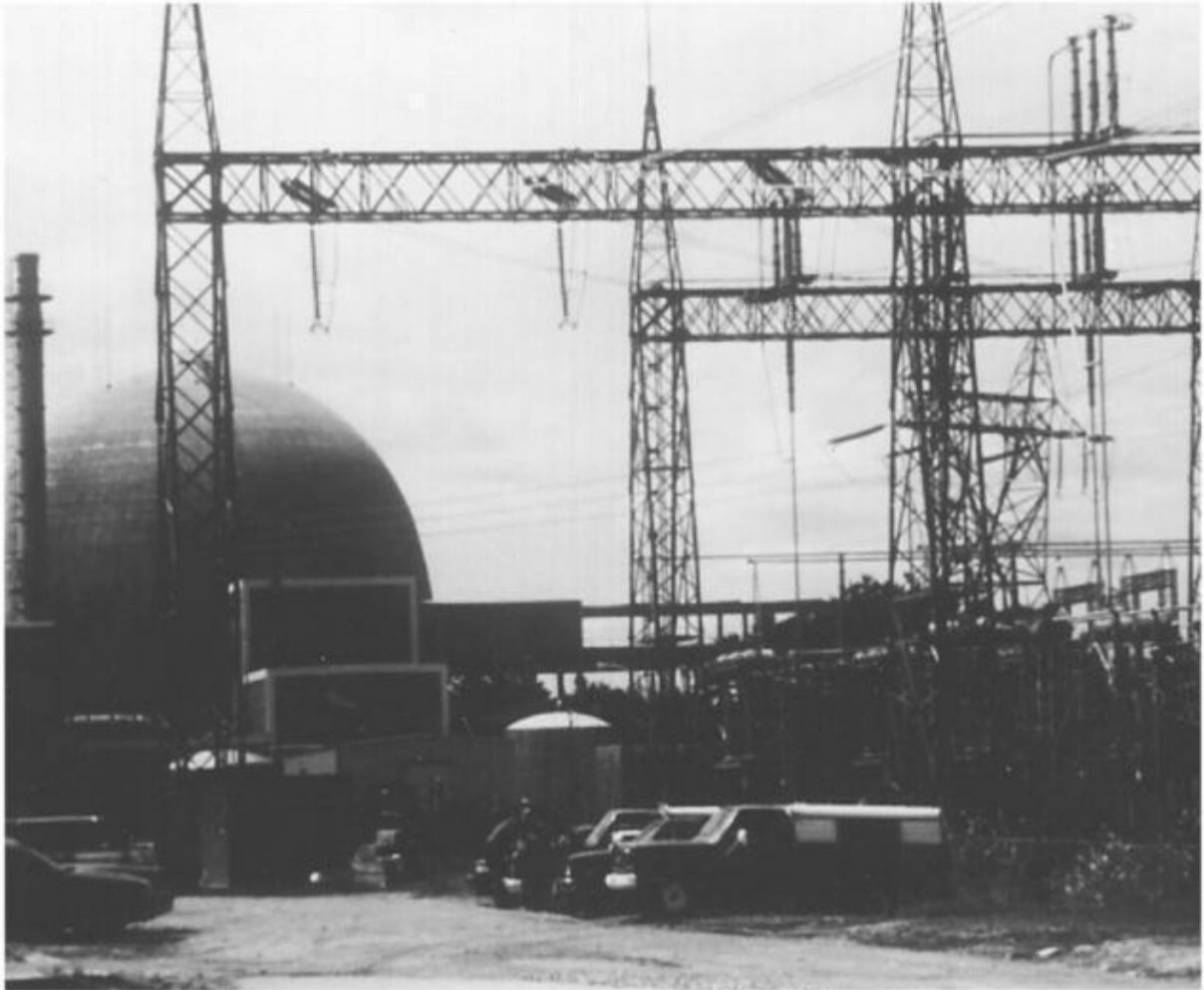
Lieutenant Colonel Mans cites five factors that are critical to a successful counterinsurgency campaign. The guerrilla leader who is familiar with these stands a much better chance of preventing them from ever taking hold.

Coordinated Intelligence Network

Without an accurate and active intelligence network that can be used by all

in need of that intelligence, the counter guerrilla force is going nowhere. Mans used an outstanding police force of sorts to establish and run this network, and it was highly effective. The British knew a great deal about the CT plans, tactics, and strategy and were able to thwart many of the CT initiatives because of this.

The guerrillas must strive to prevent a police force (or any other enemy unit) from establishing an intelligence network of any kind. The guerrillas can accomplish this by sniping individual intelligence operatives, ambushing the enemy police patrols before they ever reach their objective, and using propaganda to sway the populace to their side. A fine way to accomplish the latter is to invite the local chieftain to tag along for an ambush of a police patrol coming toward his village. One guerrilla will have on his person a set of bogus orders that direct the police to interrogate and then slaughter all the men in the village after they are forced to watch their women and children being gang-raped. Immediately after the ambush, while the guerrillas are searching the bodies, the guerrilla with the orders tucks them into the coat pocket of the senior police officer without being seen by the chieftain, who is being distracted. The guerrilla calls out to the leader that he has found some important-looking papers, and the leader and the chieftain approach to see the guerrilla removing those papers from the officer's pocket. He hands them to the leader, who immediately examines them.





Feeding false information into the intelligence system, such as a plan by the guerrillas to hit this nuclear power plant, might cause the enemy to lessen security at a port facility, making this ship vulnerable.

Now a little acting. Feigning rage and disgust upon reading them, he thrusts them into the chieftain's hand, who then reads them and sees that the police were coming to slaughter his men and defile their women and children.

This ploy can be reinforced by having a "refugee" from a distant village enter the chieftain's village and tell of how he barely escaped with his life after the police came to his village and massacred everyone therein, women and children included. He also tells of how the guerrillas fought valiantly to defend the village but were also killed, and how he lived only because three bodies fell on top of him during the massacre, shielding him from the bullets and bayonets. He then moves on. Of course, he is no refugee, but actually a guerrilla, and there never was any massacre.

Another ploy, which is ongoing, is feeding disinformation and inaccurate information into the enemy's intelligence network. This should be done from many sources and on all levels so that the enemy uses up as much time,

energy, and manpower as possible backtracking the bogus information.

If you have a civilian informing on you, he must be killed. However, it must be made to appear as though the police themselves killed him, perhaps because they suspected he was a double agent. His death must show plausible evidence that it was the police (or other intelligence operatives) who murdered him. The word will spread quickly that the police cannot be trusted. And the body or head of a police officer should be shown to the village from which the informant came with the explanation that he was the officer who murdered the informant and that the guerrillas took revenge upon the evil enemy for his crime against the people.

Winning Hearts and Minds

The enemy will try vigorously to "win the hearts and minds" of the people by caring for the people with expert medical and dental care, food and water, and much more. They will also try to educate the people to show how the government is right and the guerrillas are wrong. Still, unless the government is mending its ways and has moved to give land to the landless and money to the poor, while holding the wealthy criminal elite accountable for their crimes, the guerrillas can always ask simple questions such as, "Has the government given you the land you were promised? Land that is rightfully yours?" When the answer to pointed questions like these is "no," then you have arguing power.

An excellent way the enemy convinces some people to see it their way is by providing the people with food. To counter this move the guerrilla has choices, including ambushing the food convoy before it ever gets to the village it is destined for and lacing the food with a strong but nonfatal poison that makes the people sick. This is done by an agent inside the enemy organization who has access to the food before it goes on the trucks. A week or so after the people eat the food and have recovered from their illness, the guerrillas spread the word that all villagers should use extreme caution when accepting food from the government because a plot was unearthed that called for the poisoning of certain villages by the government.

Integrated Command

The military is going to be required to interface on many levels with civilian officials, and this includes any foreign military assisting the government. The military will try to appease the bureaucrats and officials as often as possible, but will endeavor to always make clear to them that the military is in charge at all times, even if it is trying to make nice.

The guerrillas can do a lot of damage here by finding which officials had a well-known run-in with the military that was witnessed by several people. Soon thereafter the official is found dead with a single bullet hole to the back of the head, gagged, and with his hands bound-an obvious execution. Word is spread that the government assassinated him because he wouldn't cooperate fully with them. This method can quickly destroy already shaky alliances between the military and civilians.

Patience and Tenacity

A wise counter guerrilla force will be both patient and tenacious, accepting that the war may take decades to win and accepting that it is indeed in it for the duration. The guerrilla can best counter this by applying Mao's principle of destroying the enemy's national strength.

When the enemy is never allowed to rest and recuperate, is constantly being harassed and maimed and killed, and when its own people back home are being convinced that the war is far too costly and probably unwinnable, it will lose patience and its tenacity will wane.

Training and Aggressiveness

This is the most difficult factor for the guerrillas to counter. The training and aggressive nature of the enemy will likely be instilled in them well before they come after the guerrilla, and once they have that training and aggressive spirit, it is troublesome to take it from them.

Nevertheless, the enemy's aggressiveness can be depleted somewhat through the sagacious use of mines, booby traps, and, to a slightly lesser degree, ambushes. (Ambushes are more easily countered in most cases than mines and booby traps.) Everyone fears being maimed more than anything, and the more graphic maimings the enemy suffer, the more cautious they are

likely to become. Caution is like a cancer when smeared on aggressiveness.

MANS' PRINCIPLES

Lieutenant Colonel Mans set down four principles that he believed-and with good reason-were the reason the British were successful in Malaya. The guerrillas themselves can apply these same principles in their quest for victory.

Initiative and Aggression

The success of the guerrillas in individual operations will often depend on the initiative and aggressive action taken by NCOs and how well they are able to lead their men in like action. These small unit leaders must do whatever it takes to get their men to be the most physically resilient, hard-charging dogs of war they can possibly be. The guerrillas must all be almost immune to the most extreme hardships over an extended period of time-usually years and sometimes decades. They must live and operate for one thing and one thing only: the complete destruction of the enemy no matter where it goes or what the conditions are.



Some simple training will have guerrillas poisoning the enemy's water supply with toxic waste.

Firearms and Explosives Expertise

Mans stressed the criticality of being an expert marksman at short ranges, but the guerrilla must go beyond that to being highly proficient with all weapons at short and medium ranges, and be at least proficient at ranges up to about 500 yards. He must also have a thorough understanding of explosives and be able to kill silently with a knife.

But Mans also realized that it is impossible for the guerrilla leader to train a unit in which every man has the same marksmanship skills, and he recommended keeping your best shots "up front" where they can do the most good. But everyone must be able to shoot quickly and shoot accurately.

Practice is the key to achieving this; there is no other way.

Navigation

Training in land navigation-to include not only traditional map and compass work but more primitive means as well, such as celestial navigation, contouring, and terrain association-is paramount to the success of a guerrilla unit operating in a rural environment, regardless of whether that environment is an alpine forest, a jungle, a desert, or the taiga (the wet, coniferous forest below the tundra). Every single man must be able to go it alone anywhere, with or without map and compass. This is important for the conduct of patrols, wilderness survival, and escape and evasion. The guerrilla who lacks such skills is a threat to the success of the unit.

Fieldcraft

Mans called this "junglecraft" because that's where he was fighting the CTs, but since you may find yourself in places other than a jungle, we'll call it fieldcraft.

Lieutenant Colonel Mans quoted Field Marshal A.P. Wavell's famed perception of the skills a grunt must have: "He must be a combination of cat burglar, gunman, and poacher." This is a very accurate description of a guerrilla as well and works well here. (Field Marshal Erwin Rommel said of Wavell in *The Rommel Papers*, "The only one who showed a touch of brilliance was Wavell.") With regard to Wavell's description, Mans went on to say that "certainly the good jungle warriors in Malaya needed all these antisocial characteristics and a surprisingly large number acquired them."

See Chapter 7 for additional guidance on fieldcraft.



Now that we know how to outthink the enemy, we can go underground.

CHAPTER 12



Going Underground

Guerrilla Tunnel Systems

"War is a singular art. I assure you that I have fought sixty battles, and I learned nothing but what I knew when I fought the first one."

-Napoleon Bonaparte to Gaspard Gourgard, 1815

Without question, the masters of guerrilla tunnel warfare were the Vietcong. Entire books have been written about the remarkable abilities of these savvy guerrillas when it came to building and utilizing secret tunnels and bunkers, and we can learn a great deal from them. One American general's dying wish, as he lay mortally wounded at the height of the Vietnam War after a sweep of a tunnel-infested area, was to meet the man who built those tunnels. Just meet him. It is this level of respect that shows us just how shrewd the Vietcong were.

The tunnel rat was born in Vietnam. A tunnel rat was a Marine or soldier, usually of slight stature, who would enter a tunnel with a pistol and a flashlight to try to flush out the Vietcong hiding therein. It was extremely dangerous work, and soon it became clear that the secret tunnels and associated subterranean bunkers were marvels of clever engineering and audacity. One sergeant major related to me an incident he witnessed with his unit in the Central Highlands where a Soviet-built T-55 tank belonging to the

NVA was seen coming down a trail. It turned right and entered the jungle.

And disappeared.

Within minutes Marines were swarming in the jungle where the tank had just been seen, but the huge metallic beast was gone; it had disappeared underground. Despite hours of frantic searching, the tank was never seen again. Aircraft were called in to bomb the area with the hope of the bombs collapsing the concealed bunker the tank had pulled into, but to no avail.

But tunnels are not without dangers to the guerrillas. A very useful tactic that Marines and selected Army units used in South Vietnam in areas where tunnels were a problem was to leave a two-man sniper team behind to watch the area after the main body departed. According to 1st Marine Division records, in one eight-month period, Marine snipers chalked up nearly 500 confirmed kills using this technique, which exploits the fact that the guerrillas must come out of their tunnels and bunkers sometime. And poor construction techniques and mistakes made by the guerrillas while they are in the tunnel/bunker complex can lead to the system's discovery by counter guerrilla forces as well. For instance, tunnels dug without sufficient turns and sumps to prevent smoke from filtering through the entire system will be vulnerable to being flooded with smoke as a method of determining where the other entrances to the tunnel are. Tunnels that weren't built so that one entrance can be covered by fire from another entrance are also vulnerable, as are tunnels that contain no booby traps, false walls, trapdoors, and hidden exits/entrances. The point here is that if you are going to build a tunnel/bunker complex, build it right or not at all.

TUNNEL PROS

The advantages of tunnel and subterranean bunker usage are many. They can be used as follows:

- For evasion when being pursued
- For staging food, weapons, ammunition, and equipment well forward in enemy areas

- As hospitals, rest and recreation facilities, observation posts, sniper positions, and infiltration routes
- For conducting briefings and training
- As repair facilities for weapons and equipment
- As command and control facilities
- As morale builders for harried guerrillas

TUNNEL CONS

Attentive counterguerrilla forces are adept at finding and destroying tunnels and underground bunkers. They look for the following:

- Things out of place, such as small food plots hidden in undergrowth away from habitation
- Wisps of smoke with no apparent source (from cooking fires underground; the odor of food cooking is another giveaway if that smell isn't near a house or hut)
- The odor of diesel fumes (from an underground generator)
- Small piles of dirt or spoil spread out on the ground with no other explanation for its being there
- Guerrillas all heading in one direction after being detected with no apparent avenue of escape
- Continual sniper fire or harassing fire from one area that has been swept by conventional troops but with negative results
- Ventilation shafts (usually hidden in clumps of brush or under logs or rocks)
- False canopies (extra brush and branches placed in living vegetation above a tunnel)

- Entrance
- The smell or sight of human feces that appears out of place
- A faint trail leading into a thicket and then disappearing
- A cluster of scuff marks, footprints, and hand-holds on nearby trees or bushes with no obvious explanation
- An individual who appears to be by himself and has no obvious reason for being where he is

Counter guerrilla forces operating against guerrilla units known to use tunnel systems are trained to look for entrances in certain areas. They focus on buildings-where tunnel entrances can be hidden under sections of false flooring and under cooking pots hanging over fires on the ground (usually in a corner), and even beneath food stockpiles-and anywhere that would allow the guerrilla better observation of the surrounding area: just off trails in a thicket, beside streams, and in hedgerows. The guerrillas must be sure to avoid patterning themselves in this manner. Imagination and ingenuity are the hallmarks of a good tunnel system. Sometimes the most obvious place is a good location for an entrance, and sometimes a good place is ingenious. An obvious place could be a secret entrance built halfway down the town well (make sure the actual entrance looks just like the wall of the well) or in the base of a bomb crater. If there are burned-out vehicles lying around that are being taken for granted by the soldiers as just part of the scenery of war, a tunnel entrance could be run into the underside of a vehicle with part of the wreckage serving as the door cover.

To further avoid detection, fill in the initial excavation shaft that is dug to get to the level on which the main tunnel complex will be located below. This way, should someone who helped dig the excavation shaft be captured and interrogated, he won't be able to tell the enemy where the old entrance is because it will no longer be there. It is also wise to keep the system's whereabouts a secret from civilians so that, if questioned, they won't be able to divulge where it is either.

COUNTERING THE TUNNEL SWEEP-AND-DESTROY OPERATION

Modern counter guerrilla forces conduct tunnel sweeps with a force whose size is determined by the size of the area they are to search. Seldom is this force smaller than a platoon (anywhere between 25 and 40 troops), and it is usually no larger than a company (100 to about 160 troops). If the discovery of a major system is the goal, occasionally the enemy will bring in a battalion, but this isn't often the case. In any case, the unit is broken down into squads, which are given sectors to search.

Unit Task Organization

The enemy will divide into three primary groups-the search unit, security unit, and reserve unit.

Search Unit

These are the troops who will be doing the actual looking around for a hole leading to the tunnel/bunker system. They will try to get into every imaginable place to find a hole and will be looking hard for anything that might indicate a possible entrance. This team might also have its own security detail to supplement the perimeter security unit. Search teams that are effective are methodical and patient, and they don't care what lengths they have to go to in order to find a tunnel.

Security Unit

Securing the perimeter of the search area will be the security unit. Its job is to prevent attacks from outside the area and be watchful for guerrillas trying to sneak out. The security unit can employ observation posts, automatic weapons positions with cleared fields of interlocking fire, and sniper teams. The most modern counter guerrilla units may also employ remotely piloted vehicles to watch the area from above with a real-time video camera.

Reserve Unit

These are the troops who back up the security team and assist in keeping the area cordoned off to unauthorized foot and vehicle traffic. The reserve unit also contains the headquarters element. (The headquarters element contains the company or platoon commander, but it is unlikely that he will

stay right with the headquarters element and sit on his duff. Most companygrade officers will go from subordinate unit to subordinate unit-a company commander will go from platoon to platoon, a platoon commander from squad to squad-to personally monitor their progress. A sniper should watch for this man and his ever-present radio operator. It is easy to identify this pair moving from unit to unit, with one of them always handing the radio handset to the other. If the tactical situation permits, the guerrilla sniper should kill this officer.)

Tunnel Infiltration and Destruction Techniques

The following will dictate the infiltration and destruction techniques employed by the enemy:

- The level of training it has received
- Their fiscal resources (what they can afford)
- Leadership ability (including that of any foreign advisors with them, who may consist of experienced soldiers-officer and enlisted-or more clandestine types from the military branch of the supporting nation's intelligence service)

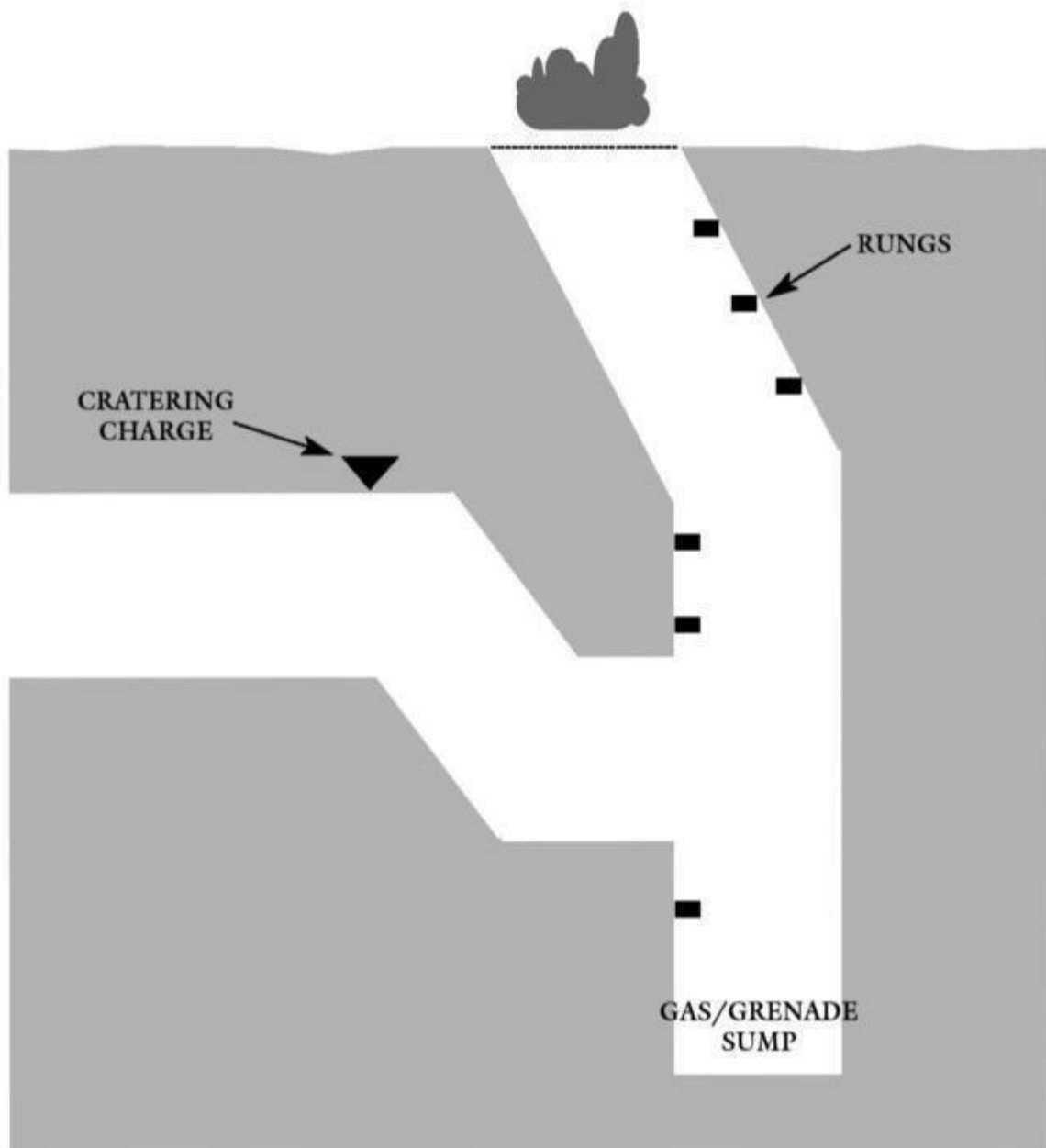
By knowing his enemy, the guerrilla can often predict what techniques and equipment they will use; therefore, the guerrilla can work to nullify both.

Demolitions, Grenades, and Bombs and Artillery

The use of demolitions (usually satchel charges) and grenades is commonplace when destroying tunnels. Given this, the guerrilla can construct tunnel entrances that thwart their use.

The illustration at right shows a typical tunnel entrance with a gas sump and a demolition sump. When intending to collapse the tunnel with demolitions without first sending in tunnel rats, a soldier will usually clear the entrance with either a burst of automatic weapons fire or a grenade and then enter the tunnel with a satchel charge. He will probably suspect a gas sump near the entrance and will go by it to try to find the main vertical shaft.

Unless he is very brave, he will likely drop the charge down the main vertical shaft and retreat, then detonate the charge once he is clear of the entrance. A demo sump at the base of the vertical shaft will catch the charge and allow it to explode harmlessly. Above the gas sump on the second horizontal stretch, the guerrilla can place a hidden charge that he will detonate after the enemy's charge has gone off in the sump. This small charge is just strong enough to collapse this section of the tunnel so that, should enemy troops reenter the tunnel to see if their charge worked, they will find the tunnel collapsed just inside and think it did. When the troops depart, the guerrillas dig a new entrance; never re-excavate the old one, since the enemy will remember where it was and check it from time to time.



A TYPICAL TUNNEL ENTRANCE WITH A COMBINATION
GAS/GRENADE (DEMO) SUMP

Bombs and artillery with delay fuses might be used to collapse tunnels. Artillery is much less effective than powerful fuse delay bombs. When the enemy has heavy air power, tunnel systems must be very deep and heavily reinforced. Entrances dug beneath thick canopy are somewhat protected as they help to detonate the bombs and artillery shells before they strike the

ground and have a chance to burrow underground.

Gas and Smoke

Smoke, tear gas, and white or red phosphorous from grenades, and, in some cases, special generators that force smoke into a tunnel can be used. These methods can be very effective provided the guerrillas do not have gas masks. Therefore, every guerrilla should have a gas mask.

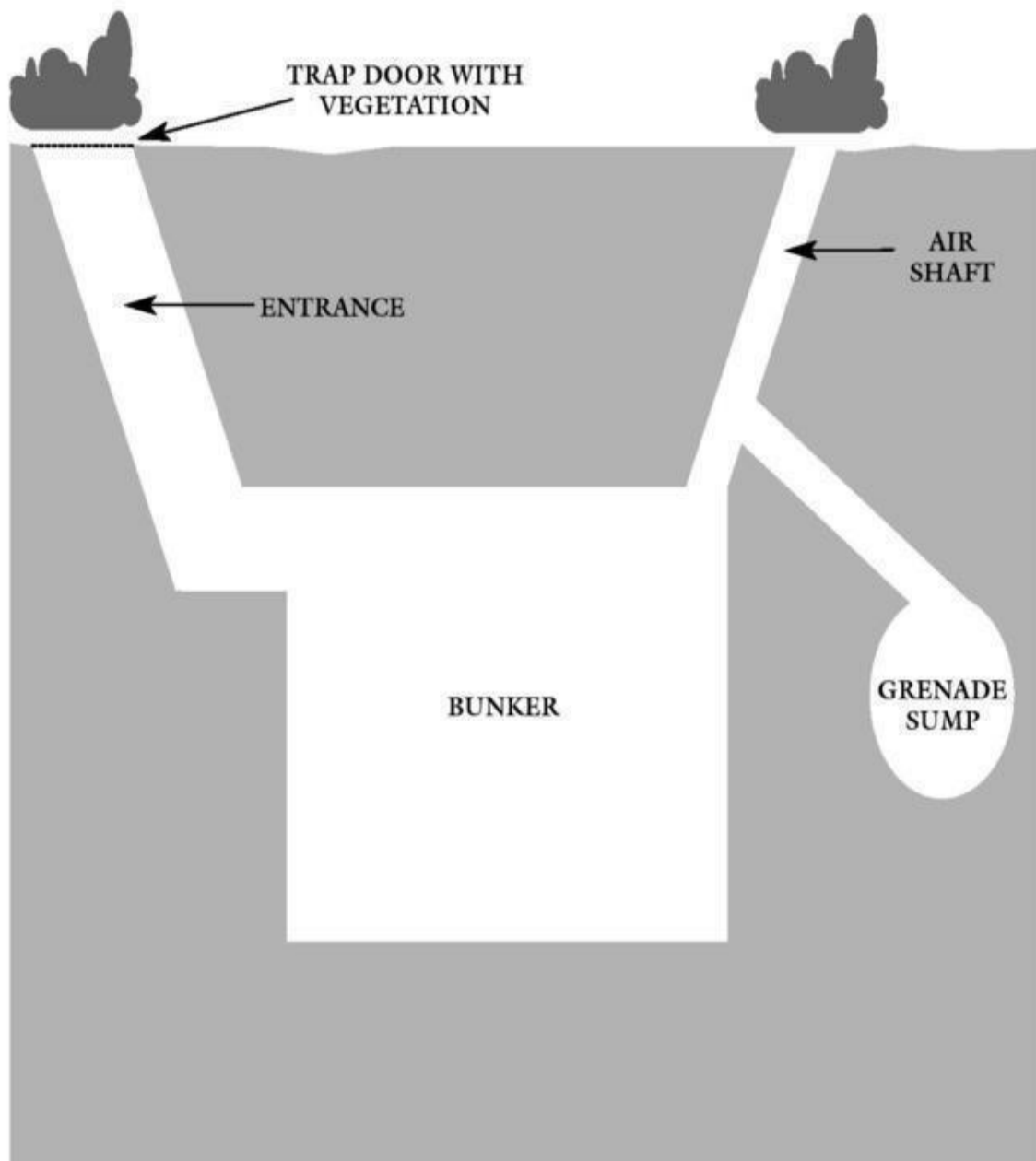
Besides being used as a flushing tool designed to force the guerrilla to flee the tunnel system, smoke can be used to locate ventilation shafts-the smoke finds its way into the shaft, drifts upward, and is then seen by watchful soldiers. When the enemy can see smoke rising from several ventilation shafts, they get a rough idea as to the layout of the system below their feetknowledge they can easily use to help destroy the tunnel.

The enemy may elect to roll fragmentation grenades down these ventilation shafts. This means that the guerrilla must build a grenade sump into the shaft so that no rolling grenade makes it to the main tunnel or bunker. Most fragmentation grenades have a 3- to 5-second fuse, so the sump should be no more than a meter or so from the surface. A sump so placed will catch the grenade before it has a chance to roll very far down the shaft, but far enough so that the soldier who rolled it thinks it did the trick.

Ventilation holes that are more narrow than a standard grenade may not be useful because of their reduced ability to move air, and when dealing with advanced intelligence agency advisors, the guerrillas may find that those advisors carry grenades that are half the size of a standard grenade.

Mine Detector

Mines made of metal should not be used near tunnel complexes because of the ease with which they can be detected by a mine detector; however, plastic mines (which are commonplace today) might be used. Better than mines are booby traps, which can be rigged above ground in many ways.



TUNNEL AND BUNKER SYSTEM WITH GRENADE SUMP AND AIR SHAFT

Any type of metal (mine) detector can locate metal below ground, including ammunition, weapons, comm gear, and so on stored in the complex. But the metal detector is only as good as the soldier operating it, and being human, that soldier is often easily led astray. Here's how.

As the tunnel complex is being built, a team of guerrillas should be collecting as many shell fragments from enemy artillery and mortars as possible. They place these in the ground at various depths between the tunnel and the surface.

When the detector indicates metal below, the enemy operator steps back and allows another soldier to carefully dig for the "mine," but he only finds metal fragments from what he will assume must have been a previous artillery or mortar strike on the area. When the guerrillas have placed several fragments at each spot above storage areas holding metal, oftentimes the enemy soldiers will get tired of detecting metal and only finding fragments, and they will start to become lackadaisical in their duties, believing that every time the detector goes off, it is just another shell fragment and not worth their time and effort.

Another trick, a little more insidious, is to rig mines with antitampering devices such as a mercury switch. When a soldier touches the mine, the mercury in the vial rolls and completes the connection, thus detonating the mine. This is usually only good for one event, however, because every time after that the soldiers will just blow the mine in place rather than try to remove it.

Dogs

The use of dogs is quite rare when clearing a tunnel, but it may be common in some units for locating tunnels. Dogs with good noses like Labradors, golden retrievers, German shepherds, and beagles can be trained to detect a great many things, tunnel entrances among them, but most dogs don't like going into narrow, dark tunnels and they aren't that effective when down there because of booby traps and difficult passages, such as vertical shafts.

It may be useful to engage the handler-dog team. Shoot the handler, not the dog. Why? This may sound strange, but shooting a man's dog is likely to cause more anger within the enemy unit than shooting the handler. Humans often form the strongest of emotional bonds to dogs, and they get highly upset when a dog is shot. This could easily result in a substantially greater level of determination and revenge being demonstrated by the soldiers. Also, dog handlers receive just as much training as the dog, and the two are a

bonded team. It might take longer to replace the handler than the dog.

Night Vision Goggles and Flashlights

Digging tunnels with frequent turns can lessen the effectiveness of night vision goggles and flashlights; even the best night vision goggles (NVGs) can't see around corners.

If electricity is available within the tunnel system and the rat is wearing older model NVGs that don't have the ability to counter sudden bright lights quickly, rig up a lightbulb right in the middle of the tunnel. Keep it off until the guerrilla is right in front of it and then turn it on. The sudden bright light will "white out" his goggles and temporarily blind him. Then do what you have to do.

Weapons

Tunnel rats carry pistols. Like NVGs and flashlights, bullets don't go around corners (at least not the ones I am familiar with, although some acquaintances of mine don't even ask; they even scare me-in a certain government agency say their organization is working on it). Frequent turns help reduce the effectiveness of pistols.

Flame weapons come in four types: those that fire an incendiary projectile (such as the old M202 Multi-shot Incendiary Rocket Launcher, white or red phosphorous shells, or Fuel Air Explosive bombs [FAE]), those that fire open flames (the classic flamethrower), those that burn after being detonated (certain mines and booby traps), and those that burn after being poured (gasoline). Only poured flammable liquids are effective in tunnels in most situations, and even then modern counter guerrilla forces seldom use them because they are so easily foiled through the use of sumps.

Some Evil Tricks

Besides avoiding detection in the first place, one of the guerrilla's goals in tunnel warfare is to discourage the enemy from entering the tunnel. This is done by making tunnels extremely dangerous to enter and clear. All tunnel tricks must be subtly marked on both sides (coming from both directions) in

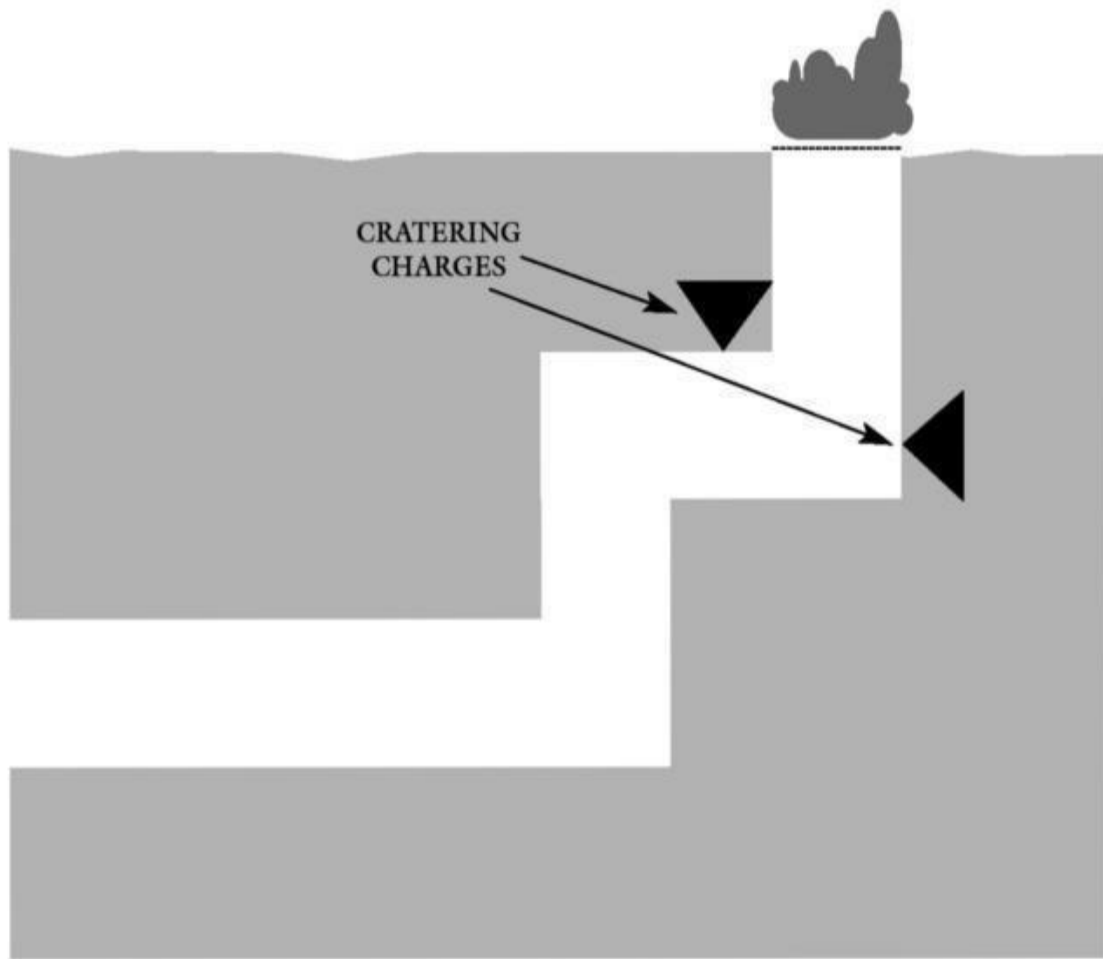
such a way that every guerrilla will know not only that there is a trick there but what kind of trick it is and therefore not fall prey to it. Use whatever system works best for you, but make sure every guerrilla knows that system by heart. Ensure that the mark won't be readily noticed by a tunnel rat and identified as a warning. Simple marks like a single bullet left lying in the tunnel might make a rat think that a guerrilla just dropped it there unknowingly, but it is really there to tell the guerrillas that a certain trick is just ahead.

Miner's Nightmare

More than anything, a miner fears a cave-in. All tunnel rats fear cave-ins just as much as the miner does.

Walls and ceilings of tunnels can be weakened and rigged to collapse through the use of remotely detonated demolitions carefully placed behind opposing walls and in the ceiling above those walls. The charges can be detonated by command or by the rat tripping them with a hidden pressure switch in the floor. A modification of this is to have the pressure switch eight or nine feet past the charge. This is good to terrorize the rat by trapping him inside the tunnel, or for when two rats are in the tunnel, one right behind the other. The second rat is buried alive by the actions of the first rat, who tripped the device, and who then has to either try to dig his partner out or find another exit. If the first man lives to tell the tale, he now has to continue fighting knowing that he caused his pal's death. Tunnel warfare is always a game of psychological warfare.

At a minimum, a tunnel collapse with a soldier inside slows the search down as would-be search teams come to help excavate the trapped soldier. If a less than aggressive commander is in charge, he may even call off the search and withdraw.

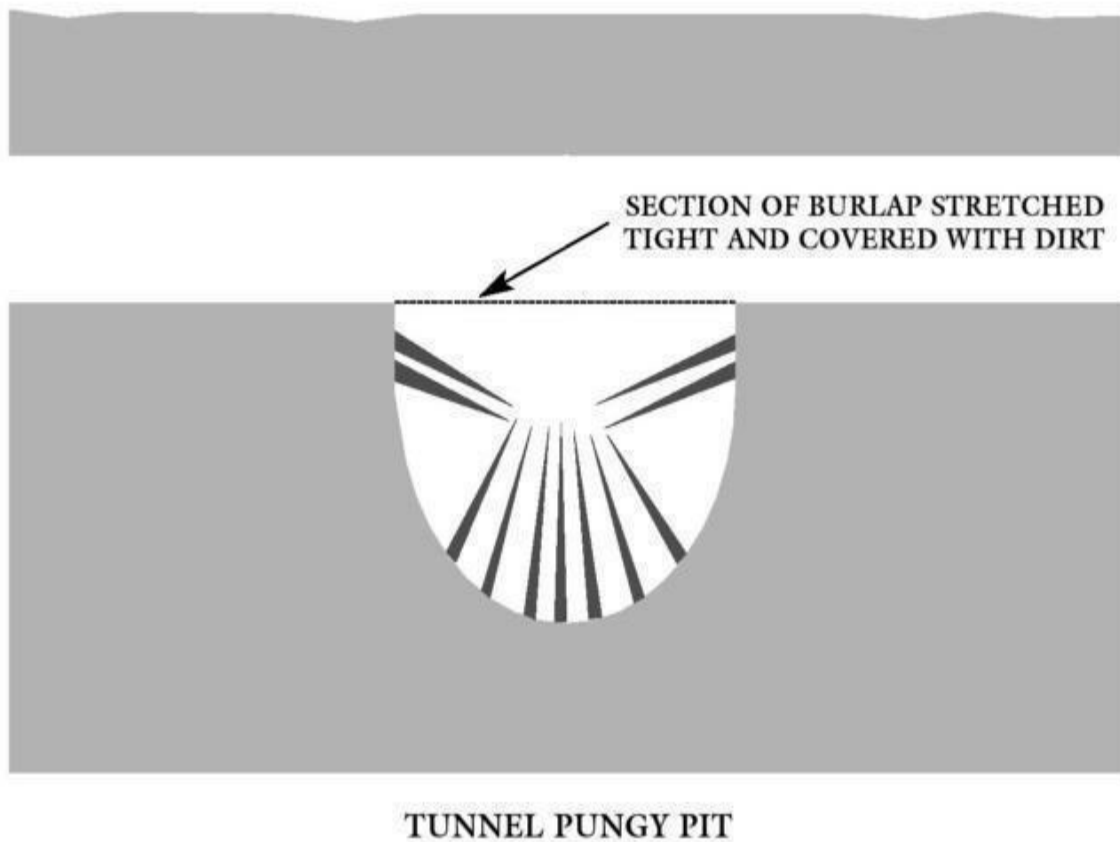


TUNNEL CAVE-IN CRATERING CHARGE

False Floor Pungy Pit

Taking yet another cue from the Vietcong, dig a pungy pit in the tunnel floor and cover it with a false floor so that the tunnel rat's hand goes through the false floor as he crawls forward. Rare is the tunnel rat who will continue the search once his hand has been perforated by several sharpened stakes.

A modification of this is to place a very aggressive, highly venomous snake in the pit along with the pungy stakes. Now the rat has holes in his hand from stakes and a nasty snakebite; he will depart the tunnel immediately to seek treatment, and the other rats won't be especially keen on going into the tunnel Corporal Deadguy just came out of screaming his head off.



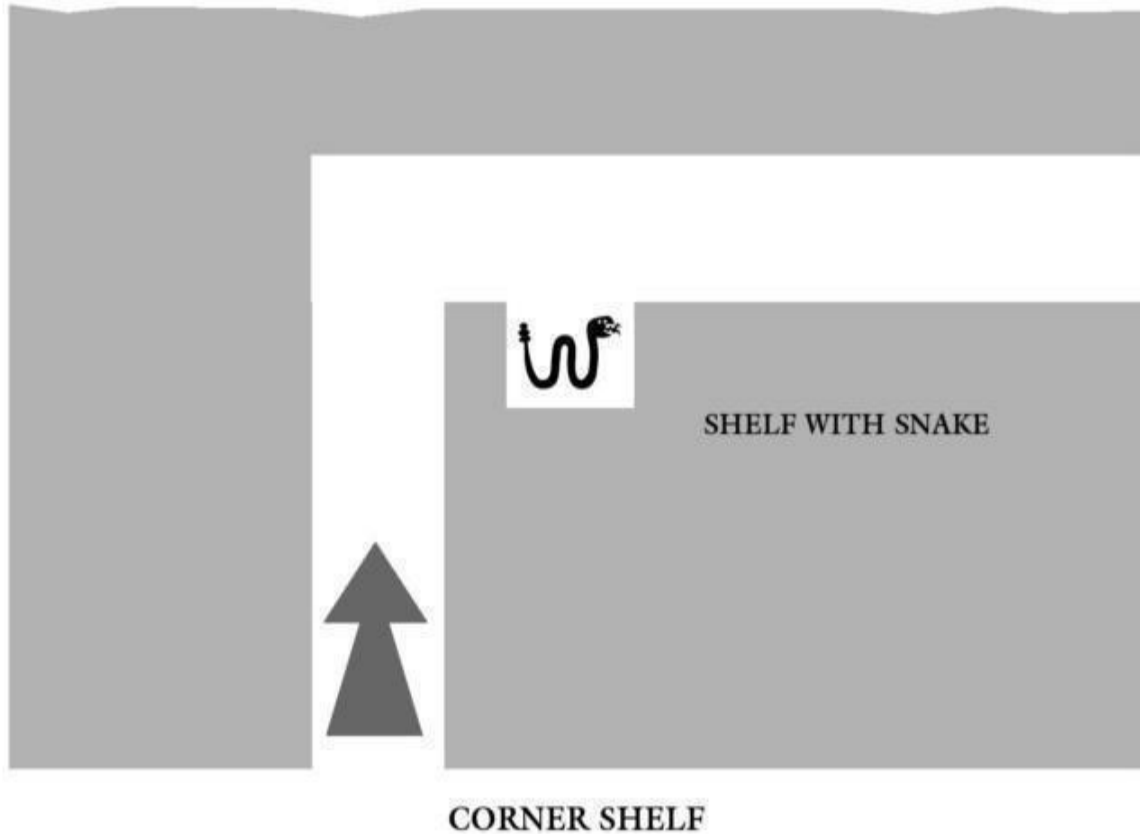
Corner Shelf

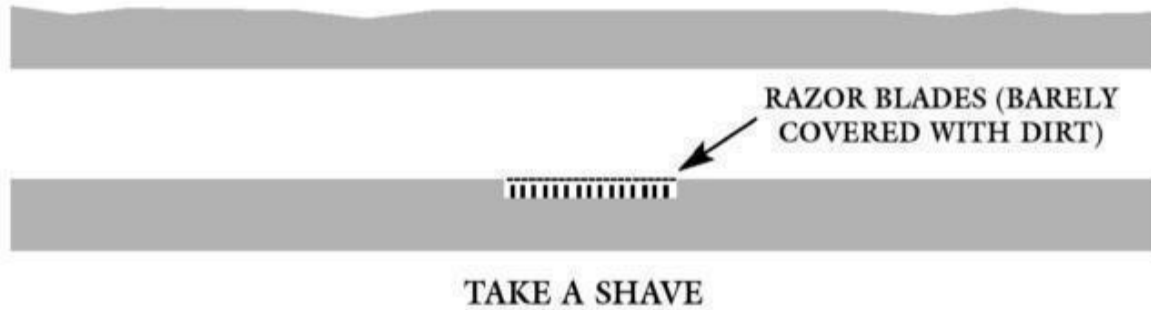
About head height for a crawling man and immediately around a 90-degree corner in the tunnel, dig a shelf into the wall. Place a deadly snake on it and tie its tail to a stake with a strong piece of string (have another man hold the snake behind the head to prevent your being bitten as you do this). As the guerrilla turns the corner, the idea is for the snake to strike. A head wound inflicted by a snake like a bushmaster, western or eastern diamondback rattlesnake, krait, fer-de-lance, puff adder, or other equally dangerous reptile is more likely to kill the soldier than a wound elsewhere on the body.

Take a Shave

Single-edged razor blades can be placed in the floor in bunches about an inch apart and barely covered with dirt. The rat places his hand on them and is cut to shreds. As you can do with pungy stakes, apply feces to the blades to increase the chance of infection. If you are operating in areas with certain

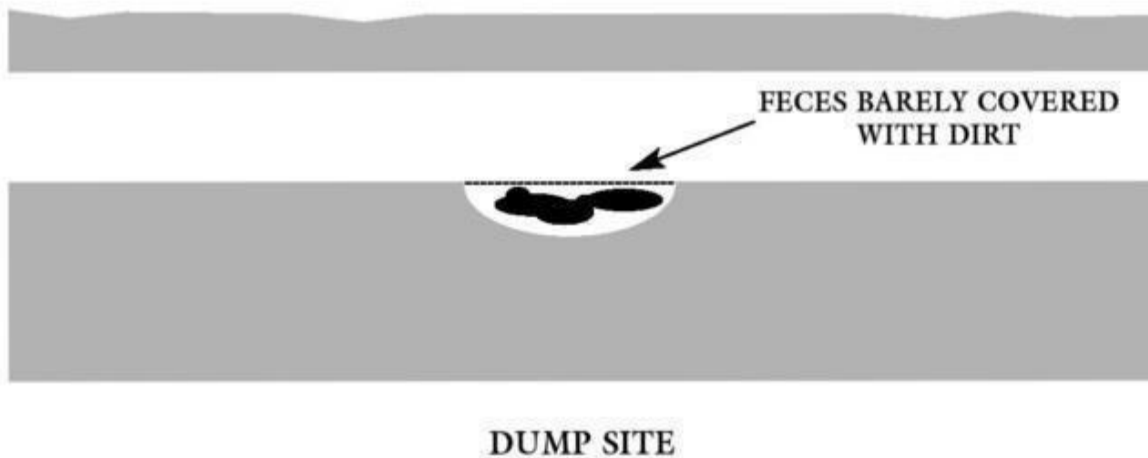
species of wildlife that are highly toxic, such as the poison arrow frog of the South American rainforest (a colorful little frog that is unbelievably toxic just to the touch; Jivaro Indians use leaves to pick the little buggers up, lest they be poisoned themselves, and then use the poison the frog's skin releases on their hunting arrows and blowgun darts), even more evil can be done.





Dump Site

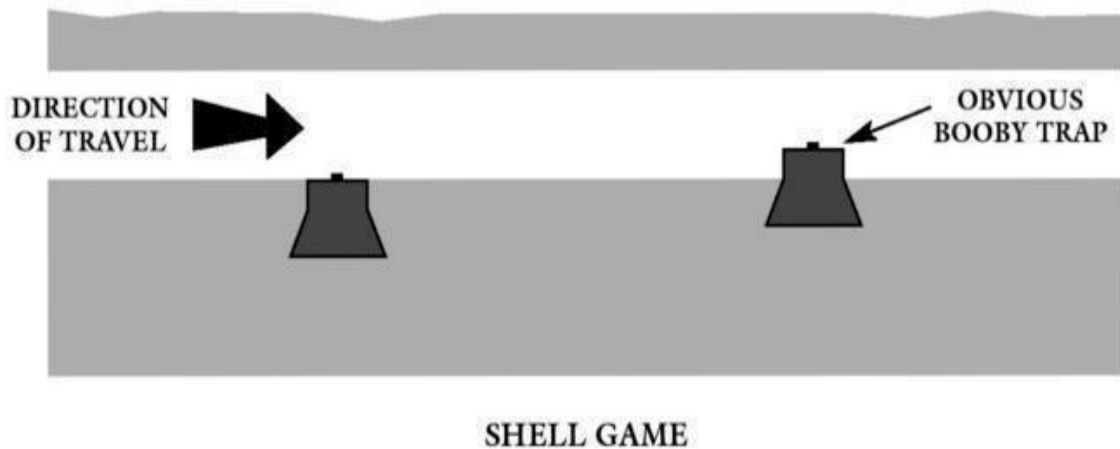
Although not fatal, a pile of human feces placed in a shallow hole in the floor and then barely covered with dirt will prove highly annoying and disgusting to the tunnel rat.



Shell Game

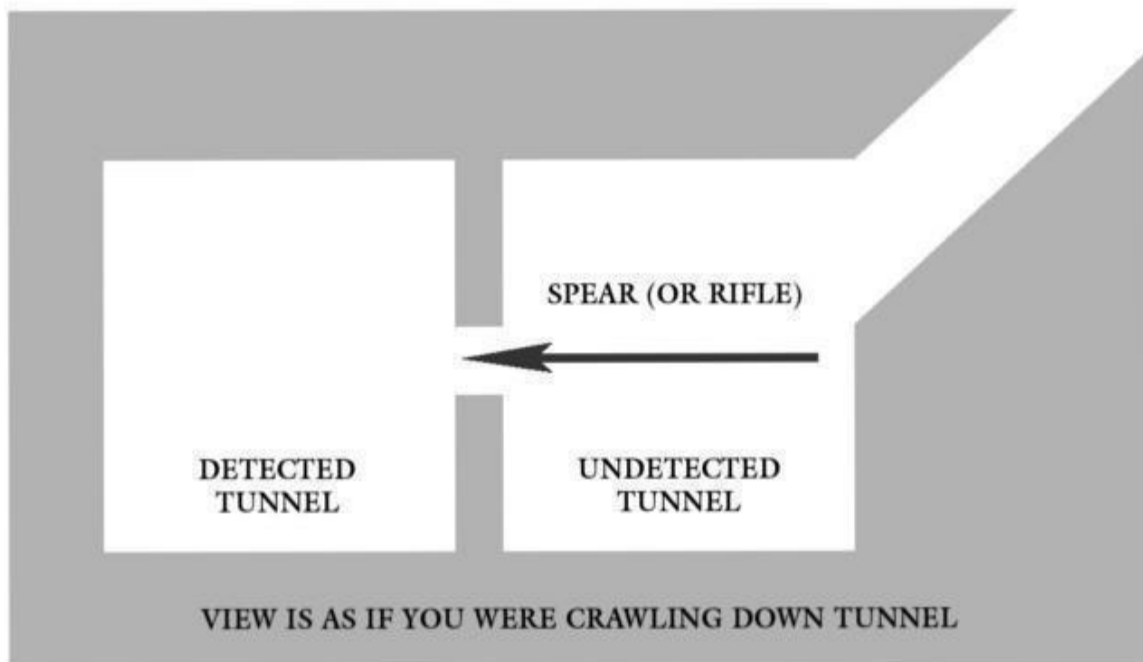
Rig a detectable but not blatantly obvious booby trap in the tunnel. This one isn't intended to hurt the rat, but the unseen antipersonnel mine or booby trap 10 feet before it is. Most tunnel rats, when they see a booby trap, will

crawl forward to check it out and see if it can be bypassed or rendered inert. They often forget to look for better-hidden devices between the point they detect the ruse booby trap and the booby trap itself.



Poker

At chest height for a crawling man, a hole is drilled through the tunnel wall into another chamber the rat doesn't know is there. In that chamber is a guerrilla with a spear. The spear's tip and the hole the spear is in are concealed from the crawling soldier by a small piece of false wall that is thin enough for the spear to pierce easily. From another secret hole unseen by the rat, the guerrilla watches. When the rat gets in front of the false section of wall, the guerrilla rams the spear forward and skewers the tunnel rat. (A firearm can be used in place of the spear.)

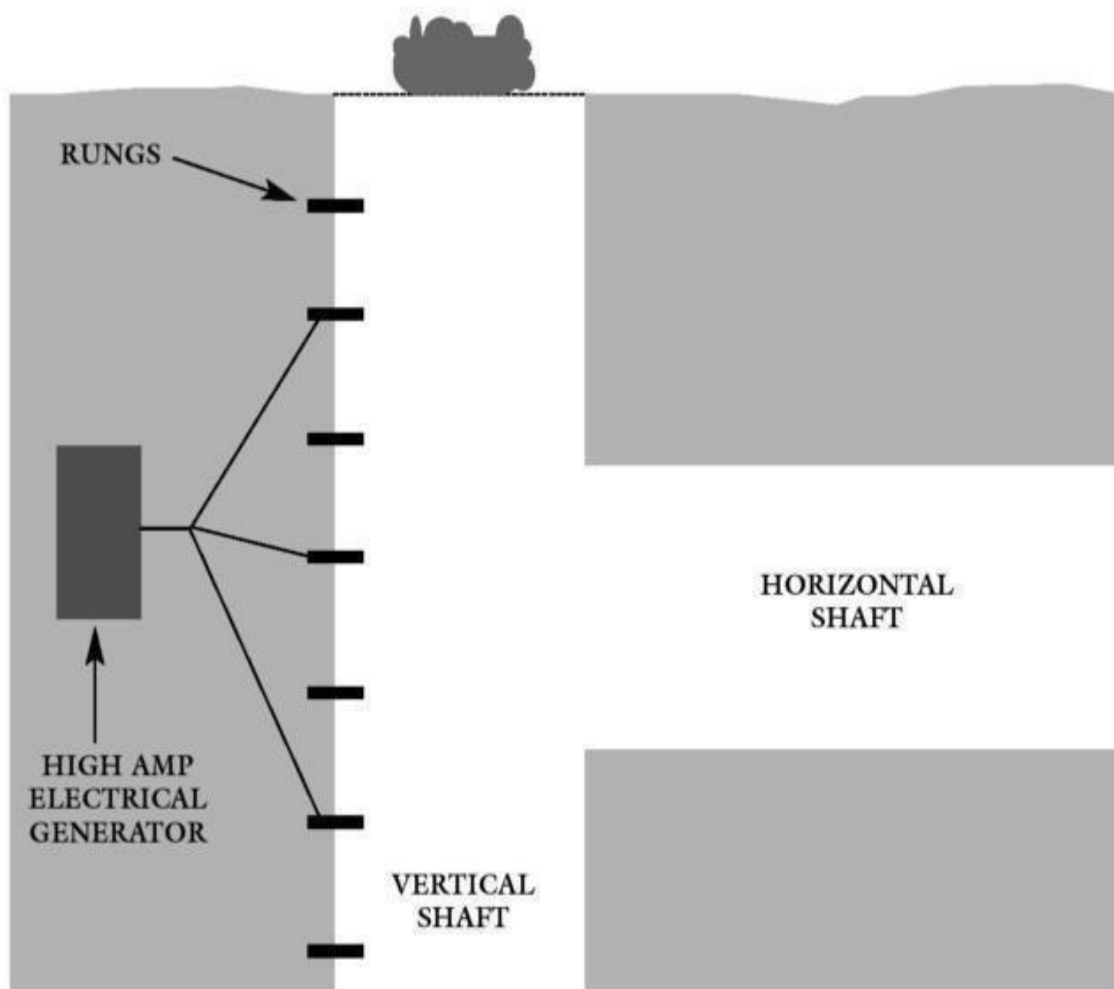


POKER

Ben Franklin

Run a metal bar about a foot out from the tunnel wall so that it appears to be just a piece of rebar reinforcing, or run it out of a wall forming a vertical shaft to appear as a rung for climbing in the shaft. Now attach a live wire with a few amps running through it to the other end of the bar. When the tunnel rat grabs the bar, he's toast.

These are only some of the tunnel rat deterrents a guerrilla force can employ. Use your imagination to hurt the enemy, and don't forget to make the experience a terrifying one. Mind games are terrible for the tunnel rat. Try this one: place a soda can right in the middle of the tunnel with a note attached that reads, "No, this isn't a booby trap, but there are some ahead. Have a nice day. It will be your last with eyesight." Or, "Poisonous snake ahead." Remember Madonna's line in her song "Vogue": "All you need is your own imagination, so use it, that's what it's for."



BEN FRANKLIN

TUNNEL CLEARANCE AND DESTRUCTION SOPs

Most counter guerrilla units will have set SOPs for clearing and destroying tunnels. Because of this set-in-their-ways approach, the guerrilla can observe the enemy clearing and destroying tunnels and make plans to counter those techniques. Modern counter guerrilla forces often use a four-step procedure.

Burst of Fire

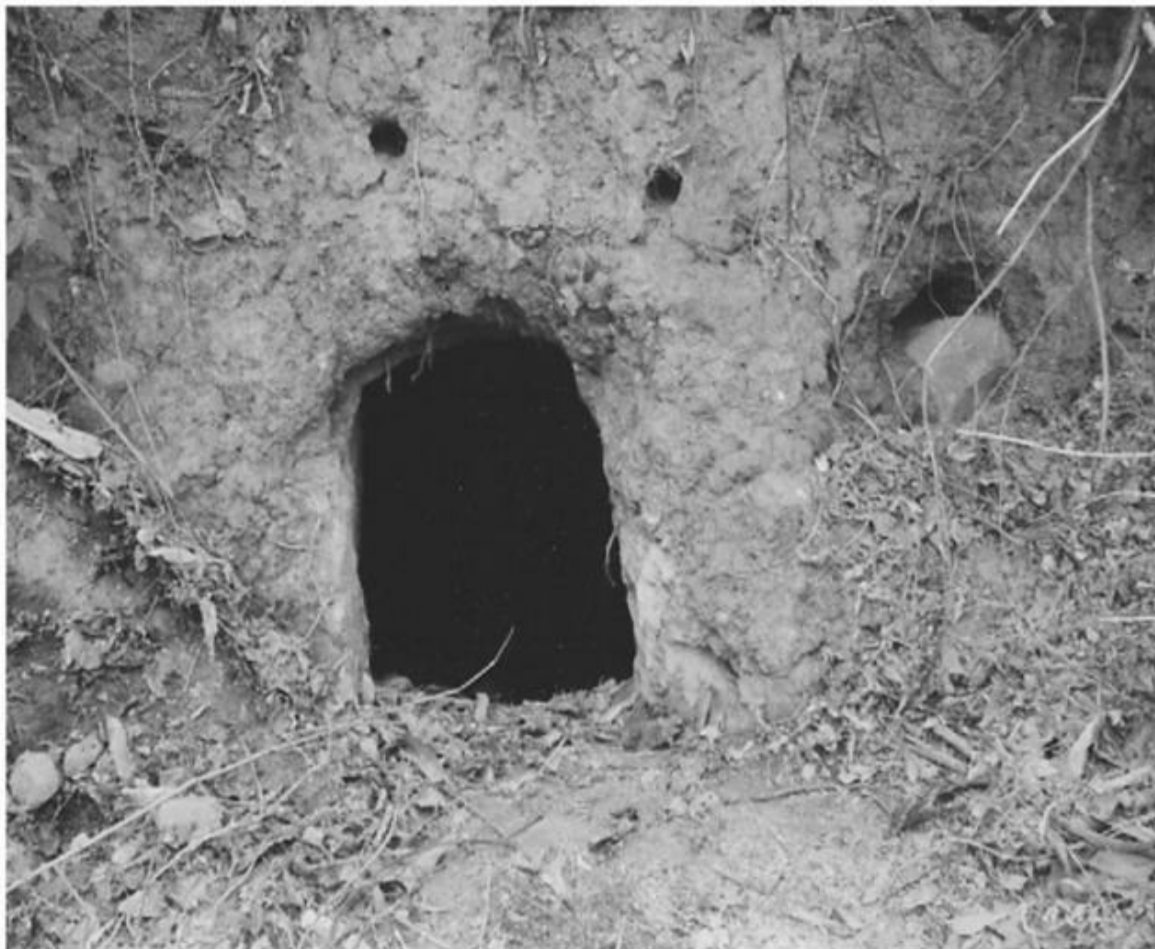
To kill enemy troops near the entrance or force them to move deeper into the tunnel, a soldier fires a long burst of automatic weapons fire directly into the tunnel opening straight through the hole's door. (If the door is thin wood

or thatched grass or branches, a flamethrower-a weapon that the Marines used effectively during World War II to flush the Japanese from tunnels and "spider" holes-can be used for this as well.)

The guerrilla can reduce the effectiveness of this first step by building two turns into the tunnel immediately after the entrance hole.



This Japanese soldier found out the hard way that a Marine with a flamethrower can be an effective countertunnel system. (Department of Defense photo.)



Even the darkness of the tunnel's entrance sends shivers down the tunnel rat's spine. What waits inside?

Door Destruction

If the door is still intact, a demo charge or grenade is placed on it to clear it and also detonate mines and booby traps that may be associated with the door.

There isn't a lot the guerrilla can do about this.

Drop Charges and Grenades

The third step is to drop a demo charge or fragmentation grenade down the tunnel itself.

As already discussed, sumps and turns help reduce the effectiveness of this step. The enemy may choose to use gas or smoke grenades at this point, too, and the countermeasures for these have already been discussed.

Tunnel Rats

The final step comes with the introduction of tunnel rats into the system to clear any remaining guerrillas and gather documents, weapons, equipment, and so on, and then destroy the system from within.

All the possible methods for countering the rats were listed earlier.

TUNNEL DESTRUCTION

In most cases, the enemy will choose to destroy the tunnel complex with explosives. Therefore, it is wise to construct tunnels with false walls and trapdoors hiding reinforced bunkers and connecting tunnels. The enemy, when using explosives, might use one or more techniques.

Bangalore Torpedoes

Most often used to breach perimeter defenses, a series of bangalore torpedoes placed throughout the complex and detonated simultaneously can bring down the entire complex. Reinforcing walls and ceilings may have little effect. It might be feasible for a sniper to target the bangalores if the enemy is foolish enough to stack them all in one place in preparation for use.

Cratering Charges

These can be very effective against subterranean bunkers. The deeper the bunker and heavier the reinforcement, the better for the guerrillas.

Block Charges

The primary benefit of a block charge is that it can be tamped right against the tunnel ceiling and, when detonated, could have a ripple effect that collapses the whole tunnel. However, this usually takes a charge of at least 10 pounds.

Satchel Charges

These can be placed or tossed into shallow tunnels and bunkers and can be effective in collapsing them, but the destruction does not often go far beyond the room or tunnel section in which the charge exploded.

Shaped Charges

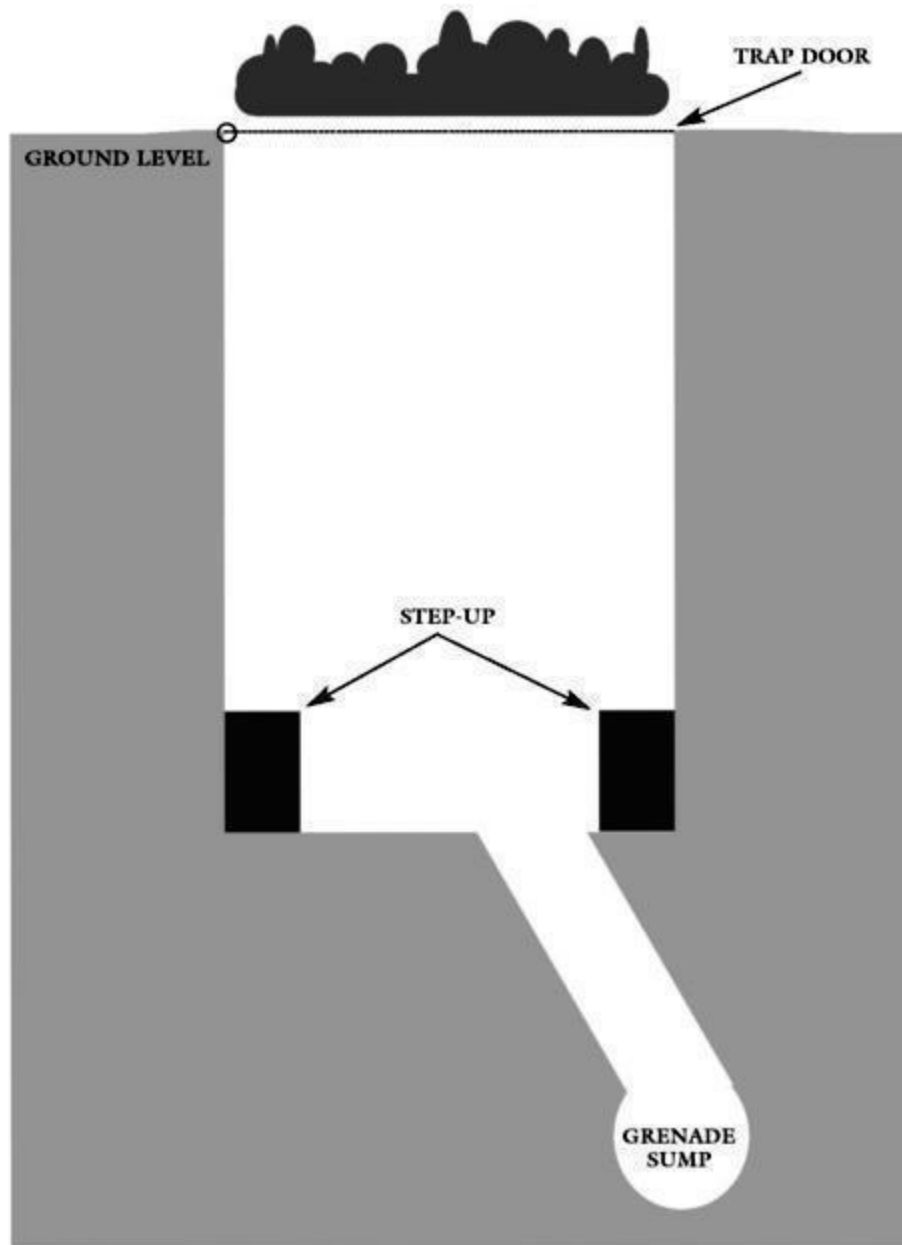
Shaped charges can be set deep within a system and detonated either upward or downward to achieve a lot of destruction. Reinforcing walls doesn't often do much good against such a charge.

TUNNEL AND BUNKER COMPLEX CONSTRUCTION

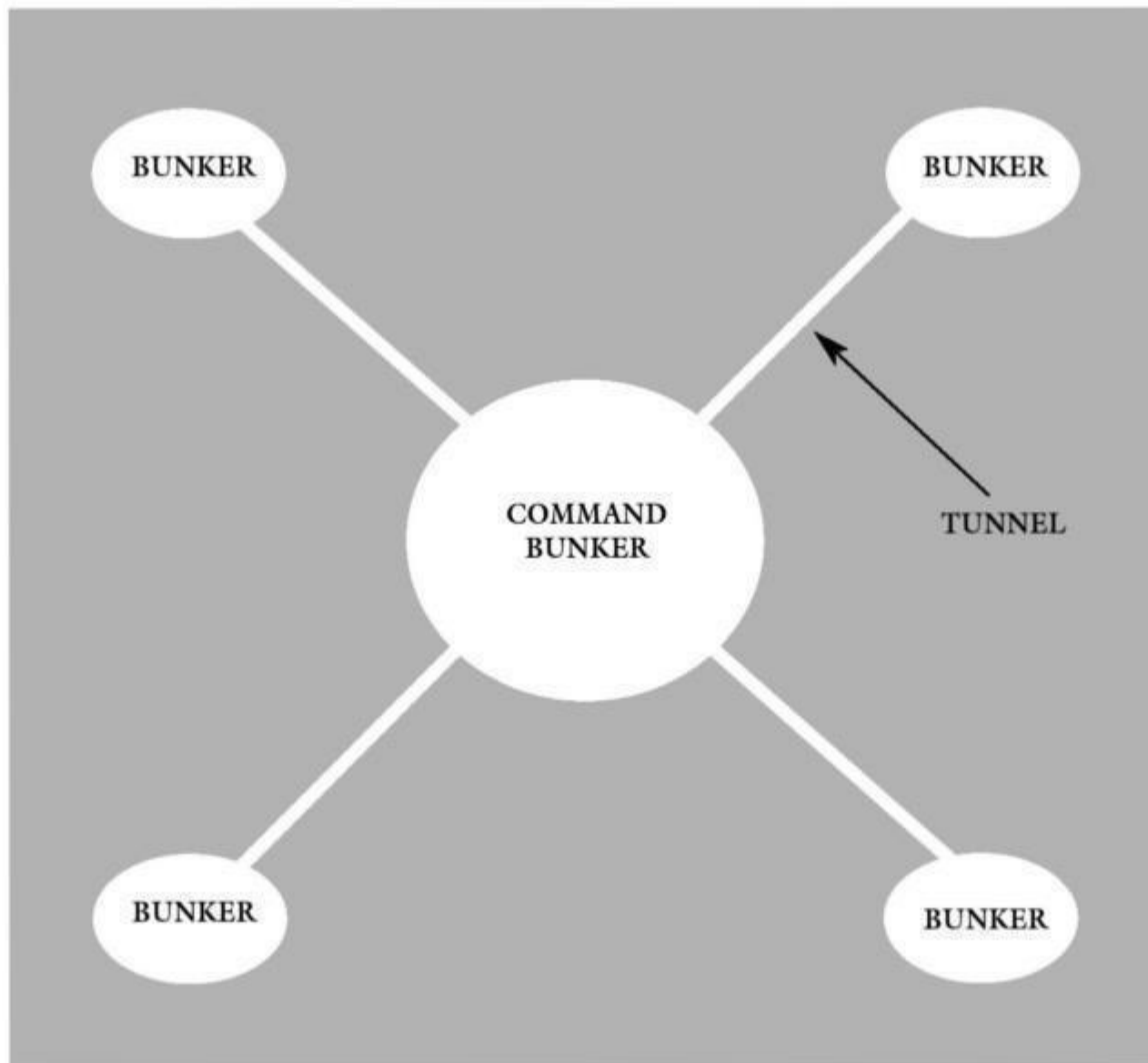
Tunnel and bunker systems run from the very simple to the very intricate. What gets built where depends entirely on the tactical situation and available manpower and logistics.

Simple Holes and Hides

These are the easiest to construct and take minimal manpower. They can be built in enemy areas as infiltration supporters and for when the guerrillas must break contact and hide quickly. Normally they are only large enough for a maximum of three guerrillas, and that is often pushing it, with one and two-man holes being more common. They can be placed below huts or under clumps of vegetation, and they can even have underwater entrances that are accessed from drainage ditches and streams. Two air holes are the norm, but in some cases one will suffice.



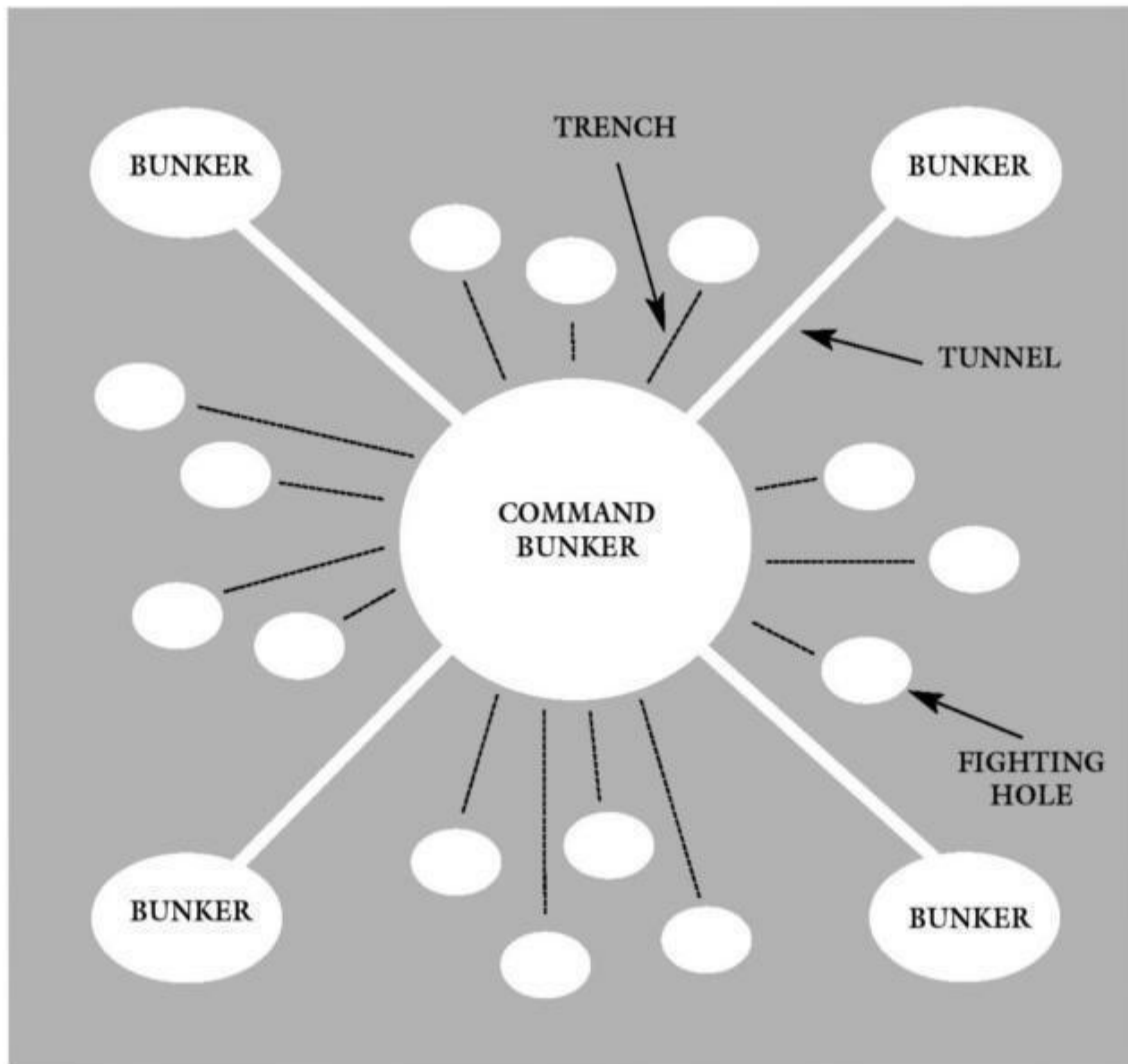
SIMPLE FIGHTING HOLE/HIDE



UNFORTIFIED UNDERGROUND BASE CAMP

Unfortified Base Camps

Since they are unfortified, these base camps are maintained in regions controlled by the guerrillas and are used for logistical and command and control sites. Because they are in guerrillacontrolled areas, they are often very complex and deep. A variety of rooms and room sizes can be used. Trenches and supporting fighting positions are not used.



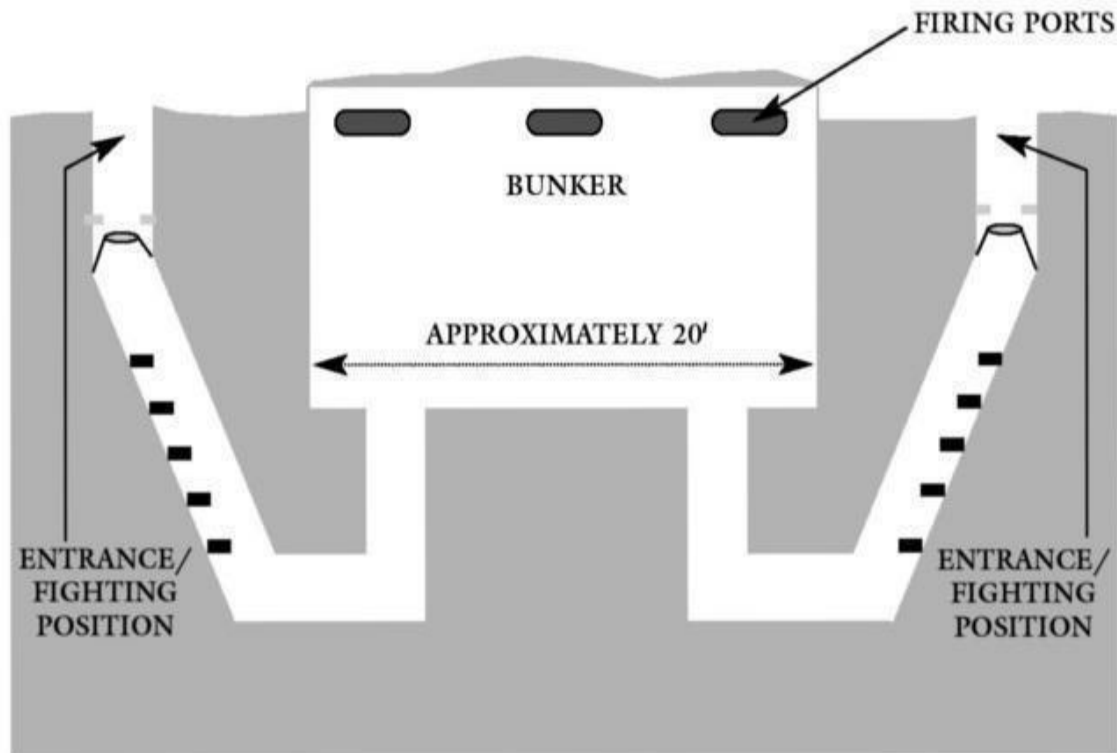
FORTIFIED UNDERGROUND BASE CAMP

Fortified Base Camps

The most complex of systems, the fortified base camp is centered around a command bunker that often protrudes up to two feet above the surface with firing and observation ports. These camps are in enemy areas. Radiating out for long distances (often hundreds of yards) from the command bunker are tunnels that lead to outlying bunkers of similar design to the command bunker, and these outlying bunkers all have mutually supporting fields of fire.

In between the tunnels are trenches leading to individual fighting positions

at various distances from the command bunker. These, too, offer mutual support.



**BUNKER WITH TUNNELS TO COMBINATION
ENTRANCE/FIGHTING POSITIONS**

Bunkers

Bunkers can be made of assorted materials ranging from bricks, cinder blocks, and concrete to logs and sheet metal and any combination of these. Some have firing ports, others don't, but all are protected from overhead fire and have tunnels leading to and from them.

Guerrillas must be experts in designing, building, maintaining, and operating from bunkers. They are an excellent combat multiplier for a force that is intrinsically weaker than its enemy. The guerrilla force that uses them well stands an improved chance of victory.

CHAPTER 13



Into the Streets

Guerrilla Tactics in Built-Up Areas

"My solution to the problem would be to tell [the Vietcong] they've got to draw in their horns and stop their aggression or we're going to bomb them back into the Stone Age."

-General Curtis E. LeMay, 1965

Guerrilla movements are more and more likely to be at least partly involved in built-up areas such as the inner city, industrial areas, and the suburbs. This is true because our world populations continue to grow and there appears to be no chance of their stabilizing, much less dropping.

In the near past, guerrilla wars have been fought in cities like London, Derry, and Belfast (although the IRA has made the terrible and unforgivable mistake of turning to terrorism rather than abiding by an honorable and genuine guerrilla war), Kabul, Madrid (where the Basque separatists, known as ETA, also made the mistake of going the terrorist route), Colombo, Grozny, Saigon, and Lima (again, the latter suffering terrorism at the hands of the Shining Path and Tupac Amaru) to name a few. Future guerrilla wars will increase in the cities and their surrounding communities.

In an urban or suburban environment, the guerrillas will be unable (and unwise) to muster and maintain large standing forces. Instead, individuals and small cells of guerrillas will be operating in such a way that only one member of each cell will know a member of another cell. This increases internal security. The individuals and cells will focus on the following:

- ambushing vehicular and foot patrols
- bombing enemy supply points and other logistical or command and control facilities
- sabotaging public services such as mass transit, communications, sewer systems, garbage collection systems, medical services, power plants, port facilities, and security services
- attacking industrial targets that directly support the government and city
- sniping enemy patrols, roadblocks, check points, and leaders
- conducting bomb or rocket attacks on government buildings
- provoking the enemy forces in such a way that they lose control and injure or kill civilians

The guerrillas must make all of these actions appear to be the fault of the government. They must make a great effort to prevent unnecessary civilian injuries and deaths that will be seen as being the fault of the guerrillas. When the people believe that the guerrillas are on their side and the government is unable or unwilling to fight them, the battle is nearly won.

Modern guerrilla armies must plan for and conduct operations in the following types of built-up areas:

- urban housing areas, including tenements and apartments
- suburbs, including free-standing houses, condominiums, townhouses, and apartments
- industrial areas

- clusters of various buildings in a variety of settings (associated with roads/highways, railroads, etc.)

The wise guerrilla leader never assumes he'll be operating in only one type of area, for as the tactical and strategic situations change, the more likely it is that guerrillas will find themselves having to change along with them. This means you may have to conduct a demolition raid on a major port oil storage facility in a city of more than half a million inhabitants one night and stage a convoy ambush along a suburban side street the next.

TACTICAL FACTORS

Both the guerrilla and the enemy must take into account several factors involving their respective operations in built-up areas. Each factor can either be a hindrance or an asset to the parties, depending on how they are used. In the built-up arena, innovation plays a special and often incisive role in determining the outcome of a battle.

The Surrounding Terrain

Conventional armies fighting in a guerrilla war tend to think statically and are therefore largely predictable; their field manuals and institutional training dogma make this so. Better yet, if the enemy does not enjoy a decentralized philosophy of command and the guerrillas do, it exposes its troops to a much higher risk of destruction on the built-up area battlefield. There are five key terrain factors the guerrilla must consider when fighting in a built-up area.

Key Terrain

The enemy will be focusing on key terrain features within the built-up area. These include buildings that are capable of withstanding a lot of punishment and overlook likely avenues of approach, sewer and subway systems, bridges, railheads, port facilities, television and radio stations, tall buildings that could support plunging fire, and so on. By booby-trapping these places and registering indirect fire on them before the enemy gets there so that your fires will be immediately accurate, you increase your combat power.

Observation/Fields of Fire

Observation and fields of fire tend to be restricted in builtup areas because of the buildings, smoke, dust, and rubble. The enemy will therefore seek vantage points that are above the fracas in order to direct their fires. The guerrillas should use smoke, dust, and debris to conceal their movements and at the same time direct fire on enemy observation points, which should also be booby-trapped.

Obstacles

These are limited only by the guerrilla's imagination. Creative obstacles slow the enemy's progress and expose them to fire, and once exposed their actions become all the more predictable. Obstacles should channel the enemy into minefields and areas that are heavily booby-trapped, as well as areas where the guerrillas have open fields of fire to the enemy with automatic weapons and mortars. An excellent way to slow and channel the enemy's approach with no fire whatsoever is to make some realistic NATO chemical markers and place them along the enemy's axis of advance so that they have only one logical way to go. That way should be mined and covered by automatic weapons fire and mortars-hold your fire until the main body is in the kill zone, then lay waste to them.



Buildings can provide both cover and concealment if used properly.

Cover and Concealment

Cover provides protection from fire; concealment provides protection from detection. For the guerrilla, cover and/or concealment can, depending on the situation, take the following forms:

- vehicles
- buildings
- dumpsters
- crowds
- signs
- anything else that prevents the enemy from detecting or firing on you

Avenues of Approach

Avenues of approach include the following:

- highways/turnpikes
- railroads and subways
- waterways (no matter how small)
- roads and streets
- alleys
- sewer systems
- jogging/bicycle trails

One must never assume that a certain avenue of approach is unusable. Even the narrowest, most unlikely access route, such as a jogging trail through a park's woodlands or an old sewer system filled with rats, fetid water, and feces, can be used by a shrewd counterguerrilla commander to infiltrate the guerrillas' area of operations and catch them unaware at the worst possible moment. So intent are the U.S. Marines on effectively dealing with urban guerrillas that they have built elaborate MOUT (Military Operations on Urban Terrain) facilities that are realistic to the point of having sewer systems that Marines and aggressor units use to simulate urban guerrilla warfare; the miniature cities even have gas stations, stores, apartment buildings, streets, sidewalks, and parks.

The People

How the populace feels about the guerrillas will play a role often a critical one in the outcome of the guerrilla war. If the people do not feel that their lives are being made untenable by the government and the national or foreign forces supporting the government, the guerrilla movement will never succeed. The people must be shown that the government and its henchmen are the true enemy. The guerrillas must be adept at the following:

- stirring the people into action, such as strikes and antigovernment demonstrations

- arranging for the government to appear responsible for social woes such as racial tension and problems between various other groups

Remember that the people are the guerrillas' greatest asset if handled correctly.

The Enemy

How well the enemy troops are trained in counterguerrilla warfare, the level of their leadership, and how committed they are to destroying the guerrillas all play a role in the outcome of the war. This is where the guerrillas' knowledge of the enemy comes into play, for without a clear and accurate understanding and assessment of the enemy, the guerrillas stand no chance of victory.

The Guerrillas

As with the enemy, the guerrillas must be committed, and they must have superior leadership, excellent training, and a reliable means of logistical support to be victorious. Nowhere in the realm of guerrilla warfare are security and small unit leadership more important than when fighting in built-up areas; it will usually be the NCOs who lead and conduct most urban guerrilla operations because of the smaller size of the individual guerrilla forces (cells). Here the decentralized philosophy of command shines its brightest.



Now for some night ops.

CHAPTER 14



Under Cover of Darkness

The Nocturnal Solution

"I am more afraid of our mistakes than our enemies' designs."

-Pericles to the Athenians, 432 BC

Guerrilla warfare is a game of outthinking the other guy. It is a game of striking at him in a bold, aggressive, and unexpected manner in a place and at a time that you believe give you an advantage from which you can win a decisive victory. To win at this game, the guerrilla must learn the enemy's tactics and in doing so learn how to prevent the enemy from using the tactics and weapons they believe will allow them to gain the upper hand and win. Therefore, guerrilla warfare is a game of preemption and timing, anticipation and guile, courage and knowledge.

The guerrilla force must train to conduct at least 70 percent of its operations under cover of darkness; the guerrillas must own the night to such a degree that the enemy greatly fears having to go after them after the sun sets. (It is interesting to note that one of the world's most respected counter guerrilla forces, the U.S. Marines, still conducts less than half of its training at night, this despite Marine doctrine indicating that at least 70 percent of Marine training should be nocturnal.) If the enemy soldier, when

told he is to go on a night patrol to hunt a guerrilla unit, gets an immediate burning sensation in his guts and breaks out in a cold sweat upon learning of his next mission, then the guerrillas in that area are doing their job.

Darkness gives the following two important tactical advantages to the guerrilla force:

- It conceals the force so that it can remain undetected after setting in for an ambush.
- It allows the force to withdraw quickly once the ambush has been triggered and completed.

It can also allow the guerrillas to do the following:

- Make up for what in the daytime would be a tactical disadvantage due to reduced combat power
- Maintain contact with the enemy from a position of relative safety
- Follow up on daytime successes

TACTICAL CONTROL MEASURES

The enemy is likely to use certain tactical control measures as the troops prepare for their night operations. The guerrilla force's job is to determine what and where those control measures are and strike a decisive gap in those measures before the enemy attack actually commences. By deceiving the enemy into thinking it has found a good target in such and such a location (which in reality is a ploy on the part of the guerrillas to get the enemy to come to a certain place), the guerrillas can often deduce much about how the enemy will get from its base camp to that target.

Assembly Area

Night attacks often call for an assembly area that is closer to the line of departure than one that would be used for a daylight attack. This means that enemy soldiers are going to have to move out of their defensive position at night to get to that assembly area, and they will usually move in columns as

they do so. But before they send out the first column they will deploy reconnaissance teams and scouts to reconnoiter the area they will be traveling through and the route they intend to use. The guerrillas must ensure that they remain undetected by these recon patrols and scouts, observing their movements and actions all the while. Also, the enemy may use aerial reconnaissance manned or unmanned (remotely piloted drones)-to gather tactical information about the assembly area and the route planned to get there. Guerrillas must be extremely wary of aircraft and drones. Any reconnaissance measures used by the enemy can be helpful in determining the enemy's route of march.

Once the enemy recon and scout units have completed their mission, they can either return to the base camp and report their findings, or they may stay hidden near the assembly area and send their report back to the rear via radio. If they stay near the assembly area, the guerrillas must select an ambush site somewhere between the enemy's camp and the assembly area. This site must be far enough away from the reconnaissance teams and scouts to prevent their counterattacking the guerrillas, and it likewise must be situated far enough away from the enemy's main body's reserve force, which could also be deployed as a counterattack force. For additional insurance along these lines, the guerrillas may be able to set up a blocking or delaying force between these potential counterattack forces and the ambush site. Remember that a blocking force seeks to deny the enemy access to a certain area or avenue of approach, and a delaying force seeks to trade space (terrain) for time, with the idea of buying just enough time for the ambush force to withdraw.

Release Points

Release points are potential gaps because they are points where a higher commander relinquishes control of subordinate units to those units' commanders. If a release point is located at an easily recognized terrain feature and the guerrillas anticipate this, confusion can result in the enemy force when the ambush is sprung because of possible misunderstandings in command and control at that point. Unless the commander on the scene takes immediate and bold action to counter the ambush, the guerrillas stand a good chance of getting a decent body count. (But don't be fooled into thinking that

body counts win wars; during the Vietnam War, America learned that this isn't always the case.)

Attack Positions

Attack positions are used only occasionally during night ops, and normally they are only occupied for brief periods of time due to their propensity for suffering spoiling attacks. However, the enemy force may need to pick up some special equipment or weapons along the way or receive additional instructions from higher command that require a quick stop for dissemination to the small unit leaders, and the attack position may be that place. Potential attack positions should be mined rather than ambushed, and the mines should be placed throughout the position.

Routes

If the enemy is lacking in reconnaissance measures, routes of march can be some of the easiest and most effective control measures along which to lay ambushes. These routes are usually chosen by terrain and their proximity to and attitude toward the enemy's objective. Oftentimes, guides are forward-deployed by the enemy maneuvering force to assist the smaller units in finding their lines of deployment. Guerrillas must be cautious to remain hidden from these guides.

If manpower permits, guerrilla scouts must be placed along all potential avenues of approach to watch for signs of enemy movement. Be aware of ruses; the enemy may send in recon and scout teams along routes they have no intention of using in order to draw guerrilla forces away from their true route.

Radios

The enemy will no doubt have radios from the squad level on up. Guerrilla sharpshooters should make it a priority to target those troops with radios on their backs and anyone who is called to speak into the handset by the radio operator-this is almost always a leader.

Markings

Sometimes the unit leader will mark his uniform in some way so that his men can easily tell where he is at all times, such as luminous tape ("cat eyes") in a particular pattern on the leader's helmet or hat. Again, sharpshooters should make anyone who looks different a priority target.

THE PLAN OF ATTACK

The enemy's plan of attack will consist of a scheme of maneuver and a fire support plan (indirect fire weapons that will support the enemy attack, such as mortars and artillery). How the guerrillas anticipate and deal with both of these elements will have a direct impact on the outcome of the ambush.

Scheme of Maneuver

A scheme of maneuver is a plan that details the employment of all enemy units other than fire support. The scheme of maneuver includes all subordinate, attached, and supporting units (the latter of which aren't fire support but rather units used to support the main effort by acting as decoys).

Prior observed engagements and the enemy's own tactical and operational dogma can be invaluable in determining his scheme of maneuver. This is where the battle of wits between the guerrilla leader and the enemy leader begins. It's almost AbbottCostelloian in concept, i.e., you are formulating your ambush plan on how you expect the enemy to maneuver-you know how he thinks. But the enemy knows you know how he thinks, so he might change his plan to counter that. Then again, you know that he knows you know how he thinks, so you go to Plan B in order to fool him. But he knows that you know that he knows that you know how he thinks, so ... well, you see the problem.

The trick is to do something he doesn't expect and do so in such a way that it hurts him badly in a very short period of time-a matter of seconds-and then melt into the shadows so that he can't counterattack or pursue your withdrawing forces. This is the essence of an ambush.

I recall laying an ambush once with my six-man recon team. We had an M-60 machine gun along, and I laid in the ambush the way I thought would produce the best results. My machine gunner, Todd Ohman, said that my plan

was okay but that he had a better one and that I should use his plan. I wanted to do it my way and didn't listen to Todd-when I should have-and the ambush produced only marginal results. Todd had anticipated a problem that did in fact present itself, but because I was in charge and still learning the trade at that point, I didn't listen. In fact, after the ambush was sprung, my team was very nearly ambushed by a counterambush team. Todd's plan would have avoided that team.

The next time, I listened to Todd.

Fire Support Plan

The enemy's fire support plan must be considered and planned against from the start. By utilizing real-time radio communications, where the ambush team has direct communication with the counterfire support team, the ambush commander can inform the counterfire support team that his ambush is in progress and that he should now prevent the enemy fire support unit from doing its job. So we see that this team is in fact the ambush team's fire support unit.

The enemy fire support unit's position must be reconnoitered carefully if it is to be engaged effectively; never assume that you can take it out easily with a single means. For instance, if you expect the enemy company commander to use his organic mortars (mortars that are normally part of the standard unit table of equipment rather than mortars and their crews that are temporarily assigned to a unit from another unit) as his primary means of fire support-because that's what he has done in the past and that's what his manuals say to do-and you intend to take those mortars out with sharpshooters, you would be dismayed to find that he has dug in his mortars and they are now very difficult or impossible to engage with direct-fire weapons like rifles.

If you first recon the mortar position, you can better select a means of engagement. Use the combined arms concept to put the fire support unit in a dilemma, and have Plan B ready to go. (Can you now see why it is so important to always be keeping an eye on the enemy? Gaining and maintaining visual contact is crucial!) Consider that you may be able to simply reduce his fire support unit's ability to deliver effective fire; if he is using mortars, try to knock down his aiming stakes with grenades and your

own indirect fires. Once those stakes are down, his fires become less accurate, and if a mortar crewman attempts to replant them, your sniper can zing him. But the mortars may be following in trace of the maneuver elements rather than being left in the base camp. If this is the case, the ambush might be planned so that it puts the mortars in a poor firing position (beneath thick canopy so that their rounds can't be fired, or in a muddy field that makes seating the base plate very difficult).

Still, a smart company commander will have a fire support plan that intends to utilize more than just his organic mortars; he might have larger, nonorganic mortars, artillery, or even close air support on call. The guerrillas' ambush, if sprung correctly (that is, extremely fast and fatal), will not be vulnerable to these weapons systems. Nevertheless, the guerrilla force must be prepared to receive pursuing fires from these weapons as it withdraws, making maximum dispersion very important.

Reserve Considerations

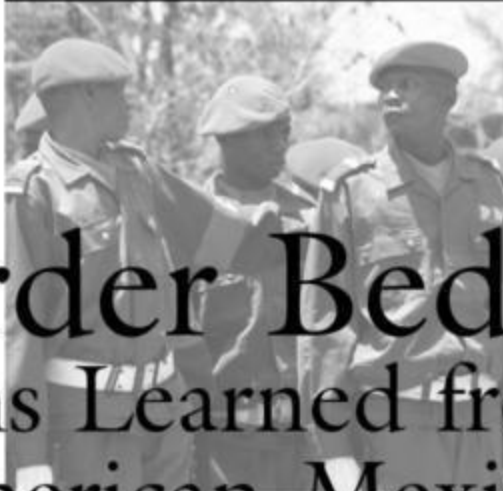
The enemy, when operating at strengths below battalion level (company, platoon, and squad), is somewhat unlikely to have a reserve component at night because of command and control problems inherent in night operations. Therefore, since few if any of your guerrilla operations will be conducted against units larger than a company, and given that most of your operations will be conducted at night, you will not often be forced to consider the enemy's reserve force. However, if the situation puts the enemy in a very narrow or otherwise restricted zone of action that does not lend itself well to using its entire force as maneuver elements, or if the commander's scheme of maneuver necessitates the exposing of one of his flanks or rear, the enemy may choose to keep a platoon in reserve (if the unit is a company). By carefully watching the placement of that reserve element and its security measures, the guerrillas can determine whether the reserve element itself is vulnerable to attack.

In this situation, where the reserve element is used by the enemy commander to provide security along his flank or rear, the guerrillas are looking for a gap. This might be the reserve not remaining sufficiently close to the main body during their maneuver, thus leaving it exposed, or it might become exposed when left at the line of departure to await the command to

come forward.

Training in night operations is always near the front of the guerrilla leader's concerns. No guerrilla unit can ever spend too much time training in everything from individual night movement to intricate night ambushes.

CHAPTER 15



Border Bedlam

Lessons Learned from the American-Mexican Narco-Insurgency

*“I heard Woodrow Wilson’s guns
I heard Maria crying
Late last night I heard the news
That Veracruz was dying
Veracruz was dying.”*

Warren Zcvon, "Veracruz"

One spring evening, I was lurking in the brush just barely on the American side of the U.S.-Mexican border east of the town of Naco, Arizona, a fully tricked-out Remington 870 "Tactical" (always the first choice of tactical shotguns for people in my profession) in my lap just in case one of the nearby "coyotes" got frisky-and I don't mean the scruffy, canine variety. (The weapon was for defensive use, and I was in the desert on a legal job assignment.) I was there alone that night not to capture illegal aliens or assist

the Border Patrol or the Minutemen, but to look and listen and gather information-a basic reconnaissance mission, if you will.,

The sights and sounds of the night were those of an insurgency, with gunfire, angry and confused shouting in two languages, sirens, spotlights, racing engines, crackling radios, the fleeting shapes of running humans, and low-flying choppers decorating the darkness.

They were the sights and sounds of war. I knew this because I had seen and heard them before in other places quite distant from the creosote bush I was kneeling beside. This was a comparably low-intensity conflict at that moment for certain, but a war nonetheless, As I took it all in and considered the huge amounts of money the Mexican drug and human-smuggling cartels were making, I wondered how long it would be before this fight was "pushed to the right along the spectrum of conflict" (increased in intensity) and speculated just how bad it could and would get.² I gave it no more than two years for the ramping-up to begin-likely less-and estimated that within five years it would be a full-blown narco-terrorist insurgency that had made its way far beyond little Naco.

Now flash forward five years. Nearly 40,000 Mexicans have been killed in the insurgency. Decapitations, assassinations, cross-border sniper attacks, military-style assaults, ambushes, cross-border kidnappings, executions, mass graves, torture, and even vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs) have become the hallmarks of the insurgents. The insurgent drug gangs-such as the Sinaloa Cartel, honchoed by Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman, and the La Linea Cartel, whose operations chief, Jesus Acosta Guerrero, was arrested in 2010-know no bounds when it comes to violence.



The author on the range. The Mexican insurgents have sniper rifles, too. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Guzman's Sinaloa Cartel has also spread his tentacles into Honduras, where drug-smuggling violence claimed 1,600 lives in 2009. The Gulf Cartel and others have spread into Nicaragua and El Salvador. Los Zetas are entrenched in Panama. In short, all of Central America is seeing massive expansion of the cartels and corresponding exponential increases in murders.

This insurgency is about big bucks and the desire of those wanting to make those big bucks to control the government through intimidation and fear. When, on 15 July 2010, the La Linea Cartel lured police officers and paramedics to what appeared to be a wounded police officer and then detonated a VBIED that sent shrapnel flying for 300 yards in Ciudad Juarez (just across the Rio Grande from El Paso), seasoned counterinsurgency types first thought about what escalation tactic would follow that VBIED and just

how many people in Mexico would die as a result. Other VBIEDs did follow, of course. From January 2009 to July 2010, more than 4,000 people were killed in Ciudad Juarez alone. And in the four years following the Mexican government's declaration of war against the insurgency, Phoenix, Arizona, became a major battlefield, with insurgency-related murders and kidnappings escalating dramatically. By November 2010, narco-terrorist cells were operating in hundreds of U.S. cities. The insurgency has spread farther south, too, with the Sinaloa Cartel now dug into literally defenseless Costa Rica.



A map showing drug cartel activity along the U.S.-Mexico border.

In August 2010, 200 outraged cops in Ciudad Juarez, fed up with their own government's corruption extending right into police ranks, rioted against dirty cops on the dole. They seized and beat Inspector Salomon "El Chaman" Alarcon Olvera, whom they accused of being directly involved in executions, extortion, and kidnappings conducted by the cartels.



The author awaiting a "hit" on FOX News Channel to discuss the Mexican narco-insurgency. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Ignacio "Nacho" Coronel, the Sinaloa Cartel's methamphetamine honcho, was killed in a gunfight with Mexican troops in July 2010 near Guadalajara. (FBI photo.)

Also in 2010, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) posted signs in Arizona's Vekol Valley warning of narcoterrorists. The signs were prompted by the Sinaloa Cartel sending 15 assassins to kill bandits targeting their drug mules and those of other cartels using the valley. Pinal County Sheriff Paul Babeu, responding to the DHS warning, stated that the narcoterrorists "literally control movement" in the Vekol Valley.

EXPANDING VIOLENCE: WHEN AN INSURGENCY RUNS AMOK

The Mexican government has never had control of the narco-insurgency, which has killed tens of thousands in just a few years. Yet, despite evidence and even testimony to Congress by FBI Director Robert Mueller in March 2006 that Hezbollah terrorists had entered the United States through Mexico,

there is now and never has been any indication the United States is going to secure the border anytime soon.

America's open-borders policy has morphed into one that has turned an arroyo of dissatisfaction into a canyon of potentially pre-revolution fury so dramatically that Pinal County (Arizona) Sheriff Paul Babeu stated in a CNS News interview on 2 August 2010: "Our own government has become our enemy." That's a belief more and more Americans share every day, as evidenced by the Tea Party movement. So here we see how one insurgency can lead to deeds and words that have the potential to create a revolution carried out by those who have had enough of the original catalyst insurgency. Making matters even worse is how we refuse to deal directly and brutally with organizations like the Juarez Cartel, which in July 2010 reportedly placed a \$1 million bounty on Maricopa County (Arizona) Sheriff Joe Arpaio's head. Arpaio not only opposes America's decades-long open-borders policy, but also frequently voices that opinion in public.

Humans are smuggled both by drug cartels using their own people and by cartels that specialize in human smuggling, the latter of which pays a fee per person smuggled to the drug cartel that controls the region the human smugglers wish to use. Standard networks run throughout South and Central America and Mexico. Others start in Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and other Muslim nations that generate "specialinterest aliens," as you will learn later in this chapter in a very revealing Government Accountability Office (GAO) report.

Los Zetas

One of the factors that has contributed to the exponential expansion of violence in the Mexican narco-insurgency is a group called Los Zetas. Los Zetas are former Mexican special operations forces and other military personnel who have formed their own cartel. Many attended elite military training, including in the United States at such institutions as the wrongly maligned School of the Americas, and were allegedly assigned the task of destroying the Gulf Cartel. But the story goes that some of the Los Zetas decided better money was to be made by joining the Gulf Cartel and later broke away to form their own narco-terrorist group, while other Los Zetas remained with the Gulf Cartel.



Captured Los Zetas weapons. (Mexican government photo.)

My old friend and colleague Morgan Loew—a highly regarded, award-winning investigative reporter with CBS affiliate KPHO Channel 5 in Phoenix, whom I have assisted with two investigative reports on homeland security—filed a sobering report in July 2010 about Los Zetas that cited a U.S. Department of Justice bulletin warning that Los Zetas narco-terrorists had already conducted hits in the Texas cities of Dallas, Laredo, and McAllen. The bulletin went on to warn that as the Tijuana Cartel and Gulf Cartel shoot it out, "the violence will spill over the Mexican border into the United States and law enforcement agencies in Texas, Arizona, and Southern California can expect to encounter Los Zetas in the coming months."

In 2009, there were nine attacks on U.S. Border Patrol agents by assailants with firearms. By July 2010, there were already 18.

Los Zetas controls the city of Nuevo Laredo, just across the border from

Laredo. The Gulf Cartel controls Matamoros and Reynosa, just across the border, respectively, from Brownsville and McAllen, Texas. Highway 2 links these cities. In July 2010, intelligence indicated the distinct possibility of the Gulf Cartel escalating its war with the renegade Los Zetas by attacking them in Nuevo Laredo. Los Zetas heard this as well and began bringing in reinforcements. The Gulf Cartel, learning of the Los Zetas reinforcement operation, began blockading Highway 2, where violence immediately broke out.

A U.S. State Department Travel Warning dated 16 July 10 spoke of this violence:

"Travelers on the highways between Monterrey and the United States (notably through Nuevo Laredo and Matamoros) have been targeted for robbery that has resulted in violence and have also been caught in incidents of gunfire between criminals and Mexican law enforcement. Travelers should defer unnecessary travel on Mexican Highway 2 between Reynosa and Nuevo Laredo due to the ongoing violent competition between DTOs [drug-trafficking organizations] in that area. Criminals have followed and harassed U.S. citizens traveling in their vehicles in border areas including Nuevo Laredo, Matamoros, and Tijuana. U.S. citizens traveling by road to and from the U.S. border through Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Durango, and Sinaloa should be especially vigilant. Criminals appear to especially target SUVs and full-size pickup trucks for theft and car-jacking along these routes."

Los Zetas also control regions of Guatemala's Alta Verapaz Department, which shares Mexico's southern border and has become a major smuggling route between Honduras and Mexico. In late December 2010, they assaulted and seized control of three radio stations in the town of Coban, Guatemala, and forced the stations to broadcast threats of war if the Guatemalan government did not terminate its counternarcotics operations.

COUNTERINSURGENCY VS. THE MEXICAN NARCO-INSURGENCY

First, let's look at what won't work in the fight against the Mexican drug cartels.

- Stop or reduce America's demand for cocaine and other drugs smuggled in by the cartels. That is a no-go, as America's demand is indeed insatiable.
- Demand that the Mexican government do more to stop the cartels. The U.S. government cannot end the innate corruption of the Mexican government that results from its links to the cartels.
- Destroy the coca fields in Colombia, Bolivia, and elsewhere in South America. We've been trying that for decades to no avail.
- Send U.S. forces into Mexico to engage the cartels directly. That's a political nonstarter, period.
- Legalize cocaine and other smuggled drugs, which prolegalization organizations claim will lower the price so much that smuggling would become monetarily unfeasible, thus driving the cartels out of business. Did repealing Prohibition drive the Mob out of business?
- Build a high-tech "virtual wall" that pretends to be a wall but really isn't-one that claims to use space-age technology to create some sort of invisible electronic net to prevent intrusions. Boeing sold such a scheme to the Bush administration after coming up with it in 2005. By January 2011 it had been canceled because it not only didn't work, but it had already cost a billion dollars to erect one section along a tiny portion of the Arizona-Mexico border. Many times between 2005 and 2010 I warned that the absurd "virtual wall" would never work and was even summoned to Washington to appear before a Congressional caucus to explain why it was a colossal waste of time, money, and energy, but to no avail.

This leaves only one viable solution: an Israeli-style barrier system along the border. Polls tell us very clearly that most Americans want such a demonstrably effective barrier, but political forces in Washington refuse to build it.

Yet, simply because a solution exists does not mean that the solution will be employed, which means in the case of the Mexican narco-insurgency, America will not even attempt to achieve victory.

The GAO Report from Hell

The Government Accountability Office (GAO) is the outstanding investigative arm of the U.S. Congress. I know several GAO employees, and some even attended my wedding. Back then, Rich Stana was just another GAOer in Europe (working out of the U.S. Consulate Annex on Plattenstrasse in Frankfurt) investigating this and that, and writing reports about his findings. Stana stuck with the GAO, and his skills have moved him up a bit over the past 27 years. He currently is the director of Homeland Security and Justice Issues for the GAO.



Protecting a nation's people and sovereignty in asymmetric warfare means redundant, concentric, and mutually supportive security features, equipment, tools, and weapons. Here, an Israeli Merkava tank patrols the Lebanon border. (Hezbollah photo.)

In July 2010 Stana testified before the House Subcommittee on Border, Maritime, and Global Counterterrorism (a subcommittee of the standing Committee of Homeland Security) and explained better than I ever could just

how bad the Mexican narco-insurgency is and why the United States must do something about it, sooner rather than later. In his testimony, Stana discussed his May 2010 report ("Alien Smuggling: DHS Could Better Address Alien Smuggling along the Southwest Border by Leveraging Investigative Resources and Measuring Program Performance") that evaluated the federal government's efforts to deal with alien smuggling along the southwest border with Mexico. Stana's report documented the links between drug traffickers and alien smugglers, and the increasing danger to law enforcement officers in the United States, as noted in the following excerpt:

"Alien smuggling along the southwest border is an increasing threat to the security of the United States and Mexico as well as to the safety of both law enforcement and smuggled aliens. One reason for this increased threat is the involvement of drug trafficking organizations in alien smuggling. According to the National Drug Intelligence Center's (NDIC) 2008 National Drug Threat Assessment, the southwest border region is the principal entry point for smuggled aliens from Mexico, Central America, and South America. Aliens from countries of special interest to the United States such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan (known as special-interest aliens) also illegally enter the United States through the region. According to the NDIC assessment, Mexican drug trafficking organizations have become increasingly involved in alien smuggling. These organizations collect fees from alien smuggling organizations for the use of specific smuggling routes, and available reporting indicates that some Mexican drug trafficking organizations specialize in smuggling specialinterest aliens into the United States. As a result, these organizations now have alien smuggling as an additional source of funding to counter U.S. and Mexican government law enforcement efforts against them.

"Violence associated with alien smuggling has also increased in recent years, particularly in Arizona. According to the NDIC assessment, expanding border security initiatives and additional U.S. Border Patrol resources are likely obstructing regularly used smuggling routes and fueling this increase in violence, particularly violence directed at law enforcement officers. Alien smugglers and guides are more likely than in past years to use violence against U.S. law enforcement officers in

order to smuggle groups of aliens across the southwest border. In July 2009, a border patrol agent was killed while patrolling the border by aliens illegally crossing the border, the first shooting death of an agent in more than 10 years. Conflicts are also emerging among rival alien smuggling organizations. Assaults, kidnappings, and hostage situations attributed to this conflict are increasing, particularly in Tucson and Phoenix, Arizona. Communities across the country are at risk since among those individuals illegally crossing the border are criminal aliens and gang members who pose public safety concerns for communities throughout the country."

The report detailed the dismal failure of past federal efforts to stem the flow of smuggled aliens into the United States and offered recommendations to the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and the Department of Justice for improving federal efforts to curtail alien smuggling. (You can read the entire text of Stana's report in Appendix A.)



Many believe or assume that guerrillas are always criminals. In reality, they can be the good guys and completely legal. Chapter 16 explains how and why.

NOTES

1. A group of law-abiding private citizens who report the whereabouts of illegal aliens to the Border Patrol and render medical aid to the border jumpers when necessary.
2. According to FM 3-0, Operations, the spectrum of conflict "places levels of violence on an ascending scale marked by graduated steps. The spectrum of conflict spans from stable peace to general war. It includes intermediate levels of unstable peace and insurgency. In practice, violent conflict does not proceed smoothly from unstable peace through insurgency to general war and back again. Rather, general war and insurgencies often spark additional violence within a region, creating broad areas of instability that threaten U.S. vital interests. Additionally, the

level of violence may jump from one point on the spectrum to another. For example, unstable peace may erupt into general war, or general war may end abruptly in unstable peace. Therefore, the four levels are not an exclusive set. Nonetheless, the spectrum of conflict provides a tool to understand and visualize the level of violence and the corresponding role of the military in resolving a conflict."

CHAPTER 16



Guerrillas and the Law

The Legal Guerrilla vs. the Illegal Terrorist

"Legality is a question of power."

-Red Army Faction Manifesto

Once known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, the Red Army Faction terrorist group that operated in West Germany (later the reconstituted German Republic) from 1970 to 1998 was not known for speaking the truth, but the quote above is true.

Just one example of this is how the white insurgents of Western European stock went up against Mzilikazi and Lobengula of the Matabele (Ndebele) of Matebeleland in Rhodesia (current-day Zimbabwe). Blown by the dual winds of time and destiny, those who played leadership roles in this long war—whether Mzilikazi, Lobengula, Cecil Rhodes, Ian Smith, Major Don Price, or

Robert Mugabe-understood that the man truly controlling a situation, event, region, population, or government was the man who decided what was legal thereabouts and what was not. Interestingly, both sides in this war considered the other side to be the insurgents.

Such is the case when it comes to a guerrilla's legality, or lack thereof. So what are the legalities of guerrilla warfare? The primary legal document that governs warfare legalities is the Geneva Conventions, which among other things outlines the protections that must be afforded to civilians in a war zone. Most developed nations have signed the Geneva Conventions (though they may or may not follow them), and this determines to some extent how conventional armies conduct themselves, but guerrilla factions are not parties to the agreement and thus are not restricted by it. Article 4 reads as follows:

A. Prisoners of war, in the sense of the present Convention, are persons belonging to one of the following categories, who have fallen into the power of the enemy:

1. Members of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict as well as members of militias or volunteer corps forming part of such armed forces.

2. Members of other militias and members of other volunteer corps, including those of organized resistance movements, belonging to a Party to the conflict and operating in or outside their own territory, even if this territory is occupied, provided that such militias or volunteer corps, including such organized resistance movements, fulfill the following conditions:

- (a) That of being commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;

- (b) That of having a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance;

- (c) That of carrying arms openly;

- (d) That of conducting their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

MONEY, GUNS, AND LAWYERS

"Listen to the law!"

- "Ironbar" in Mad Max: Beyond Thunderdome

I am not a lawyer, but I have one.

As are predators that roam in prides, packs, or pods (i.e., lions, wolves, or orcas), humans are creatures with a self-imposed rule of law, lest we descend into anarchy and begin conducting ourselves like the Detroit Redwings, Oakland Raiders, or Chicago City Hall. The laws of a particular land are usually imposed by someone or some organization that has the motive, means, will, and opportunity to do so, and this has been the case for eons. And the bloodlines of rulers of certain regions home to extremely adamant guerrillas, such as Afghanistan, Vietnam, and China, can be traced back thousands of years, over which time said guerrillas defeated seemingly innumerable foes.

This is important and a bit tricky legally when it comes to the legal realities because the Geneva Conventions may be in conflict with the national laws of a signatory. For example, let's say that a pansy-ass guerrilla group called the New May Is' at Party in the Federated Socialist Empire of Indonama (a multi-ethnic nation and a Geneva Conventions signatory, for illustrative purposes) commences offensive operations against selected government targets. The group has a chain of command and unit structure, satisfying Article 4.A.2.(a) of the Conventions. They wear a cute little badge or patch somewhere on their black uniforms, usually on their berets, satisfying 4.A.2.(b). They carry their weapons (such as clubs) largely because doing so makes them feel like tough guys openly, at such locales as polling places, satisfying 4.A.2.(c). And they attack only targets as described by the laws and customs of war, meeting 4.A.2.(d), in this case always lightly defended "soft" targets, such as supply depots, truck parks, or indisposed military personnel fresh out of basic training while they are taking a shower or participating in sporting events, because the Kats dare not attack targets that, if equally armed, would go through them like Marines through Fallujah.



Iraqi soldiers have received training for years in how to deal with insurgents who are illegal terrorists rather than legal guerrillas according to the Geneva Conventions. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Under the Geneva Conventions, if one of these mooks were to be captured, the military would be required to treat him as a protected prisoner of war.

But there is more to the equation because national laws may be in conflict with the Conventions. For instance, the country may have laws that proscribe armed groups from attacking unarmed cadets or setting trucks and warehouses on fire. That's a legal complication. And there may be complications that complicate the complications, such as when some parties and factions within the government support the guerrillas. An example of this would be when both the emperor and his cohort, the minister of justice, belong to the very same ethnic group as the Kats and because of this issue edicts that protect them from prosecution. Racism, tribalism, and religious affiliation can oftentimes be factors in legal maneuverings, despite the

progress some countries have made in fighting it.

Also, the government may claim that the guerrillas are not really guerrillas in a genuine war but rather a criminal organization, thus rendering Article 4 inapplicable.

See, this is why we have lawyers.

Article 4 of the Geneva Conventions takes reality and history into account by recognizing that wars frequently involve guerrillas. The article then lays out requirements to which all parties to the conflict must adhere for their forces to receive the protection of the Conventions should they fall under the power of the opposing force. The article's undercurrent reflects the fact that in some cases the goals of the guerrillas may be far more desirable and honorable than those of the current government, such as the goals of the American revolutionaries as compared to those of the onerous regime of tyrannical King George III.

Guerrillas must also expect courthouse wrangling when citing legal justification for their actions. For example, there are some Americans who believe the president should be forcibly removed from office and the Congress dissolved due to repeated and egregious violations of the Constitution. Some cite Paragraph 2 of the Declaration of Independence as providing the legal means to do so.

"That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

But the regime would argue that that paragraph does not provide a legal framework because the Declaration of Independence is not housed within the Constitution and thus it provides only ideological justification. The opposition would argue that the Declaration is more than just a historical document enshrining philosophical beliefs and is in fact a legal document based on moral imperative that guaranteed certain rights 12 years before the Constitution was even fully ratified, and that clearly without the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution wouldn't even exist.

The new revolutionaries would then cite supporting evidence from past presidents, such as Thomas Jefferson ("The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants") and Abraham Lincoln ("Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable-a most sacred right-a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world," and "We the people are the rightful masters of both Congress and the courts, not to overthrow the Constitution but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution").

And would-be guerrillas and revolutionaries must remember that occupying the moral high ground does not automatically grant them a tactical advantage on a battlefield, where very real bullets and shrapnel are flying hither and yon.

CHAPTER 17

Operation Enduring Freedom

Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, 9-11, and the Law of Unintended Consequences

"Unpaid bills in Afghanistan hills."

-The Police, "Bombs Away"

The year is 1272, the place Vochang in Bagan, later known as Burma and now Myanmar, along what would one day be called the Burma Road. Nestardin, a general of Kublai Khan's marauding army, engages the Bagan forces. The fearsome Mongol warriors, astride their stout ponies from the Mongolian steppes, meet first with tactical chaos as their mounts shriek in terror and flee into the forest at their first sight of monstrous beasts the likes of which many Mongols deem unearthly and likely undefeatable. But Nestardin, a steady fellow and therefore not one to panic in the face of the unexpected, determines the gargantuan creatures his enemy are deploying on the battlefield—elephants—are in fact beasts that can be defeated, so he orders his troops to dismount, secure their ponies to trees, and continue with a dismounted attack.

The Mongols fill the air with arrows, which plunk and thud into the elephants until they resemble what must look like giant porcupines. The

elephants then run amok. The enemy's resolve broken, Nestardin secures a major victory.

The Bagan king had assumed his elephants would wreak uncontrollable havoc on the Mongol invaders, but the unintended consequence of relying so heavily on his presumed ace in the hole causes him to lose the day and his empire.

Nestardin, quickly grasping the usefulness of elephants as a combat multiplier, seizes many of them for future deployment far and wide by Kublai Khan's rampaging armies.

No doubt Nestardin was sure to have instructed his compatriots not to rely on them as the sole resource upon which victory was planned.'

THE LAW OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES

Many have written about the law of unintended consequences and its broad applications and myriad implications, but for our purposes perhaps historical novelist Wilbur Smith in *Assegai* best brings it into sharp relief when he writes about British East Africa in the early 20th century. This tale of tribal warfare mixed with graphic revenge, hunting safaris, the "war to end all wars," espionage, and even a Masai seer offers a variety of examples of what can happen when the unexpected arrives at the worst possible moment.

Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Khalid Sheik Mohammed, Mohammed Atta, and their fellow terrorists, while planning and carrying out the attacks of 9-11, not only did not have the benefit of this novel but also failed to accurately assess the oftentimes destructive nature of the law of unintended consequences, as described prior to the publication of Smith's book in 2009. Many strategists made the same mistake long before the coward bin Laden arrived on the scene, of course, but bin Laden failed to heed history and allowed his zeal to override reality. In this case the reality was the reaction of an enraged and very powerful nation that resulted from the mass casualties in New York City; Arlington, Virginia; and a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, on 11 September 2001. This strategic error resulted in the mangling of al-Qaeda, which is thankfully unlikely to ever recover the level of operational capability it enjoyed on 10 September 2001,

unless those who sincerely believe that there are no terrorist acts but rather "man-caused disasters" are allowed to remain in positions of leadership.



Retired Army Ranger "Saint" on the rim of a valley in northern Afghanistan. The natural and cultural terrain revealed in this photo, when added to the dynamics of a nasty insurgency conducted by a fanatical foe, means unintended consequences will await those who make the slightest mistake. (Photo by "Saint.")

Al-Qaeda is not, of course, a legitimate guerrilla organization but rather an international crime syndicate that frequently employs guerrilla tactics to achieve an end. In this case, that end is the establishment of a pan-Islamic caliphate that, depending on whom you ask, would stretch from westernmost Saharan Africa and the Iberian Peninsula to the Philippines, or around the world. (Remember, Article 4, Paragraph A, SubParagraph 2 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions is very clear in detailing what constitutes a protected combatant organization; al-Qaeda does not qualify on three of the four requirements.) However, there are innumerable lessons to be learned from

what has transpired in the deadly battlespaces of Afghanistan since American and British forces began combat operations there on 7 October 2001.

WARLORDS, TRIBALISM, POPPIES, AND THE PAIUSTAN PROBLEM

Cassius Clay, now known as Muhammad Ali, the greatest pugilist to ever mangle an opponent in the ring, was a guerrilla fighter. Even today when I watch old tapes of the "Master of Disaster," I am amazed at how clever, ruthless, and tough he was when at the top of his game.

All made use of every trick, ruse, tactic, stratagem, and weapon on his chosen battlefield, whether related to offense or defense. But if I were forced to select one ability All had that stood out among them all, it would be his endowment for employing an usually impregnable defense, such as his cover-up and rope-a-dope, that would then instantly and without warning be transformed into a diabolical, vicious, and invincible offense that would leave his victim either in a heap on the canvas or a semiconscious, bleeding, and confused state of staggering, prone, or supine regret.



"Double A" (left) warms up on the range before heading out. He delivers unintended consequences to the Taliban for a living. (Photo by "Double A.")

Unintended Consequences for the Coalition, Too

Because no counter guerrilla force ever applied a flawless strategy against a guerrilla force, the Coalition is also experiencing unintended consequences.

In Afghanistan, the Taliban and al-Qaeda seem to have taken a cue from Ali when it comes to suddenly switching from a shrewd defense to a brutal offense and then back again. Both the Taliban and al-Qaeda routinely hide in neighboring western Pakistan (where America's weapons, tactics, and operational art are limited through self-imposition) and then swiftly attack across the border using a variety of weapons and tactics, which is usually followed by a hasty retreat back across the border. This game plan has been in use for millennia and by all rights should have been anticipated and planned for by a great many American colonels and generals, for righteous fury alone is never sufficient in achieving victory in asymmetric warfare.



Afghan soldiers on the move against the Taliban and al-Qaeda. (Photo by "Josh.")

I offer that assessment as someone who was unwilling to study and interpret the war in South Asia only from his personal library in a small town facing a 14,200-foot-plus mountain. In 2009, I accepted a position as a large corporation's chief security officer (the CSO is a corporation's ranking security and antiterrorism advisor) and moved from my scenic battlements in the glorious, trout- and elk-infested Rockies to Islamabad, a malignant, festering, and rancid pustule on the sphincter of Earth. (And there's a downside, too: Pakistan is teeming with Islamic terrorists, as I would soon learn up close and personal, like maggots on a rotting carcass.)

Armed with an AK-74M, a new Kimber Tactical II .45, and a 1976 Colt Python .357 Magnum in Royal Blue with a 6-inch barrel that I received from my brother, demented comic Michael Floorwax, as a stylish hedge against irate jihadis, I determined firsthand in the performance of my duties that the Afghan insurgency-with its taproot in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of the North and South Waziristan Agencies, and the Agencies of Khyber, Mohmand, Orakzai, Kurram, and Bajaur-could never be completely crushed unless that taproot were to be yanked out of the fertile ground that forms the strata of Islamic guerrilla-terrorist bedrock. Burning, bombing, or bulldozing those verdant killing fields will be insufficient without the total removal of the al-Qaeda-Taliban taproot and its resulting hole limed in.

Fine, you say, let's do it.

Well, see, here's the thing. It's called "national will," and we Americans don't have it. The United States does not have the national will required to win in Afghanistan-we suffer from frequent debilitating bouts of national attention deficit disorder (NADD) and an extreme lack of collective discipline-and that is an admission that pains me greatly to write here. Immediately following 9-11 we saw a brief inkling of what appeared to the naive as the mandatory national will to achieve victory in South Asia, but that surreal vision vanished like a wraith on a Welsh moor when it dawned on most Americans that this fight not of our choosing was likely to be the longest in our history. And now the guerrilla-terrorists there, who have Internet access and can read polls, know that whereas most Americans agree with our having gone to war in Afghanistan, a similar majority also agree

with President Obama's plan to begin retreat in July 2011. That said, in early July 2010, President Obama, in the wreckage of the General Stanley McChrystal/Rolling Stone dust-up, said that Americans should not be so fixated on a firm time schedule for retreat. Bluff?



Some of the security forces for whom the author was responsible in Pakistan. This photo was taken in the eastern city of Lahore, which continues to be the scene of brazen and increasingly deadly Taliban attacks. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Given all this, what would be the most strategically brilliant move the Taliban and al-Qaeda could make at this juncture? Immediately cease all offensive operations and movements, and lie low until most NATO forces have withdrawn from Afghanistan, leaving only a skeleton force behind in advisory, logistical, and other support roles. Six months before the retreat is set to begin, they should then openly and unceasingly sue for peace talks while maintaining their self-imposed ceasefire. AlQaeda, the Afghan Taliban,

the Taliban Party of Pakistan, and Lashkar-e-Taiba should also cease and desist from all operations abroad and commence a global information operation (propaganda, in other words) campaign claiming they have abandoned their war against the infidels.

Yes, this strategy should ring a bell, for a version of it was very successfully employed by the government of North Vietnam in 1972 and early 1973. Nearly all U.S. forces were withdrawn, and the 58,000-plus dead Americans shrugged off by most Americans. A bit over two years later, Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and Vietcong (VC), and in the ensuing years some estimates say between one and two million Vietnamese perished as the new government sought retribution.

Once all NATO combat forces have departed, and knowing with absolute certainty that President Obama will never invade, the Taliban could then sweep back into power but not immediately recommence foreign offensive operations. Then, after the dust has settled, it would be back to business as usual.

Asymmetric warfare can sometimes be brought to fruition when the side employing guerrilla tactics takes a paradigm shift to the antithetical strategic.

"CLEAR-HOLD-BUILD"

This is sometimes called "shape-clear-hold-build" or "shapclear-hold-build-sustain." As with any strategy, it cannot be applied template-style from insurgency to insurgency: factors within the area of operations (AO), be they standard operational impediments or what have you, and factors far removed from the AO per se (such as the collective national discipline and tenacity of the counterinsurgency forces' homeland) oftentimes influence the relative effectiveness of this strategy. Therefore, counterinsurgency forces must never assume that because it worked in one place, it will work somewhere else with a mirror-like time line and degree of success, and thus eliminate the need for modifications to the strategy-

For example, let's take the "clear" part of this strategy in Iraq's Al Anbar Province. The Marines were able to clear the province of the vast majority of insurgents because most of those insurgents were Iraqis who could be

identified, located, engaged, and killed or captured. Al Anbar was "wrapped up" years ago to the degree that the Marines simply left because they had largely run out of insurgents. So why is clearing taking so much longer in Afghanistan? Because even when the Marines clear a region and hold it, the building process (improving infrastructure and self-defense capabilities, building and staffing a clinic, establishing a literacy program, etc.) is difficult to complete-or even start-before the Marines must move out. Additionally, clearing tends to take longer because identifying, locating, and therefore engaging the insurgents are much more difficult in Afghanistan due to geography, geopolitics, topography, weather, village/tribal realities, and other factors unique to the AO.



Modern-day Americans do not have the discipline demonstrated by the Russians during the siege of Stalingrad. When reality comes calling in the form of sustained grim death, modern-day Americans quickly decide mission failure is acceptable. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Another factor is that aforementioned, annoying lack of national discipline and homeland tenacity thing. The Marines cannot hold major pieces of real

estate in Afghanistan for years and years while awaiting the building process and expect the American people to still be focused on the original objective. Americans will lose interest in even the most noble and mandatory (for survival) of objectives and essential tasks with deeply troubling speed once they suspect the war will not be won in Gulf War fashion. This deeply disappointing yet inarguable fact can render "clear-hold-build" a crippling blow at the strategic level. And there's not a damn thing we can do to change that.

WHEN THE EXPECTED FAILS TO ARRIVE

In the second quarter of 2010, Coalition forces in Afghanistan captured more than 100 senior Taliban leaders, yet during that same period there was no corresponding decrease in attacks on Coalition forces, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and Afghan government and military targets. In fact, attacks increased in complexity and brazenness.

In July 2010, I received an email from my long-time friend Donna DuVall, the editorial director at Paladin Press, in which she queried me on the long-term success chances of the counterinsurgency programs in Iraq and how the programs would likely fare in the Afghanistan area of operations. My response was succinct:

"Given certain cultural, historical, governmental, sociopolitical, societal, and religious factors, I give Iraq a 50-50 chance of surviving as a whole nation beyond 2020. Afghanistan is far more primitive and tribal, and its proximity to Pakistan and the Taliban's annoying penchant for survival make it a far tougher nut to crack. But neither Iraq nor Afghanistan is the linchpin in this global asymmetric war: it is Pakistan beyond any doubt."

My assessment stands.

In May 2010, Joel Brinkley penned an insightful and very accurate article for the McClatchy-Tribune News Service entitled "U.S. Problem in One Word: Pakistan."² Although this piece received wide distribution and many citations, it was apparently ignored by the American president, as it appears to have been by then Director of Central Intelligence Leon Panetta and

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates. (In June 2011 the U.S. Senate unanimously confirmed Leon Panetta as the new Secretary of Defense, effective upon Secretary Gates' resignation in July 2011. The president nominated General David Petraeus, the head of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, to replace Panetta as head of the CIA. On 30 June 2011, General Petraeus' nomination was also unanimously confirmed by the Senate.)



A Pakistani truck hauls water buffalo ... and what else? The smuggling of arms and ammunition between Pakistan and Afghanistan has been taking place for hundreds of years, and it isn't going to stop any time soon. Western Pakistan's roads, such as the Tal-Parachinar Road near Charkhel just east of the Afghan border, are not only used for smuggling but for ambushes, intelligence collection, and a great deal more. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Indeed, if the Pakistan problem remains unsolved, there is virtually no

chance whatsoever of victory (and thus peace) being achieved in Afghanistan regardless of how many troops the Coalition deploys there, how many Hellfire missiles blow up cars and huts in the FATA, how daring U.S. Special Forces are while operating in the Waziristans, or how many terrorists U.S. Marines puncture, incinerate, or vaporize in Helmand Province. By the middle of July 2010, approximately 600 people had been killed in terrorist actions, including three U.S. Special Forces personnel who died in a VBIED assault while on their way to a girls' school that the Taliban Party of Pakistan had attacked.



A Pakistani villager and his conveyance. Anything nasty under those crops?
(Photo by R.P. Newman.)



The residents of agricultural areas are often farmers by day and guerrillas by night. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Taliban country. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

All of this is inextricably entwined in the thorny vine of treacherous warlords, intransigent tribes, and those pesky poppies. Some in the Bush administration believed that the extrajudicious application of great gobs of money, backed up by threats and naive promises of a better life, would convince the people of an ancient and primitive culture that they had been wrong all these centuries and that the American way of governance, education, economy, gender equity, security, diplomacy, and so on was far superior. And there were those who believed that Afghan poppy farmers would leap at the chance to instead raise and sell zucchini, Swiss chard, and Indian corn. They thought this without speculating what the reaction would be from the local Taliban and al-Qaeda boys when the farmer they had been in business with to sell opium suddenly took the rototiller to his poppy patch and replaced the poppies with okra and eggplant.

Clearly the United States was justified in attacking the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan after 9-11. But every major operation had better be

prepped with a great deal of critical thinking and vigorous debate about unintended consequences, and the politicians ramrodding this war would be well-advised to start focusing on Pakistan and developing a more robust, comprehensive, and clever special operations strategy therein, regardless of what media entities advise, such as the Denver Post, which warned against the idea of special operations forces operating in Pakistan because of the rift it might cause in the U.S.Pakistani relationship.³



Many things in South Asia never change, but for the weapons, equipment, tactics, and combatants' names. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

THE BOLD AND NOT SO BEAUTIFUL

The summer of 2010 saw an impressive escalation of attacks on Coalition and Afghan forces by the Taliban in terms of complexity, boldness, and ingenuity. While IEDs and mortar attacks remained commonplace, the sophistication, frequency, and audacity of enemy attacks revealed some room for improvement among the Coalition and Afghan forces. Pakistan, too, saw

a massive increase in shootings, suicide bombings, and even stunning mosque takeovers by the Taliban.

But there is always an upside to such developments, as they give the Coalition and Afghans the opportunity to learn more about counterterrorism warfare and thus enlarge their repertoire of defensive and offensive skills. Some relevant examples of countermeasures resulting from these attacks are as follows:

- Marine infantry squads with young NCOs leading them who have learned to "read the signs" of where IEDs are located and then quickly find and disable them
- U.S. combat units developing improved levels of trusts between them and local (village and tribal) leaders
- Marine grunts studying Taliban attack methodologies and using specific tactics to deal with those techniques
- Freakishly effective Marine snipers being employed much more frequently and aggressively to stifle Taliban shooters

The old adage of "what does not kill me, makes me stronger" is certainly applicable here.

In July 2010, insurgents attacked a Kandahar Afghan police base, first by breaching the perimeter wall with explosives placed against the outer wall. The insurgents then entered, firing rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), machine guns, and AKs. Some attackers wore suicide vests to boot. Six Afghans (one police officer and five civilian workers) and three U.S. military personnel were killed before the 82nd Airborne's 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment "Red Devils" and others defeated the attackers. Other assaults in Bagram, Jalalabad, and elsewhere saw Taliban conducting similar attacks. Multi-pronged attacks were launched along perimeters, too, with sustained fighting.

There is no indication such improved attacks will end of their own accord in the near future. This means the forces conducting the counterinsurgency

must adapt as quickly as possible to the new reality of life in Afghan and Pakistani battlespaces. Defeating the increasingly daring Taliban will require improved intelligence and counterintelligence, better reconnaissance and surveillance, spruced-up kill zones outside perimeters, quick-reaction forces (QRFs) that can reach a breach more quickly, enhanced use of snipers, and a lot more. One thing is for certain: failure to adapt to the more effective attacks will result in increased casualties among counterinsurgency forces, which will weaken the resolve of the voters back home and improve the morale of the Taliban, the latter of which will motivate them to attempt attacks even more deadly.



What's wrong with this picture? Yes, the pop-up vehicle barrier is deployed to stop a VBIED, but what's to stop a Pakistani suicide bomber wearing an explosive vest or belt from jumping out of a car and running down the sidewalk on the left side of the ellipse, or jumping over the flowers on the right? He could be out of the car and at the office building's front door in about five seconds. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



The view from the street. Note there's no guard or gate along the sidewalk. Also, have those plate-glass windows been treated with a 175micron anti-blast film, or do they have blast curtains inside? Have the walls been treated with BlastGard or a similar material? (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Motorcycles parked directly adjacent to an office building in Pakistan. Could one of them be a VBIED? (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Pakistani kids at work around the village. Will any grow up to become Taliban suicide bombers? (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT BLINKS FIRST: A CAMPAIGN THREAT BECOMES A FACT

During his 2008 White House campaign, the man who would become the 44th president of the United States, Barack Obama, openly and repeatedly expressed his belief that the Taliban, despite the horrors that its members had perpetrated on the innocent and defenseless, and despite its history as a genocidal terrorist group that had killed hundreds of American military personnel, was trustworthy and honorable enough for the U.S. government to negotiate with them. Further, candidate Obama promised that if elected he would pursue that policy.

In June 2010 President Obama forced General Stanley McChrystal to resign his command of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, after the general was quoted in Rolling Stone magazine making what some considered disparaging

comments about U.S. civilian leadership of the war, including the commander in chief. Soon after Obama sent Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to Afghanistan, where she informed Afghan President Hamid Karzai that Obama wanted to begin secret negotiations between the United States and Taliban, using a third party (likely Saudi Arabia or Pakistan) and the office of the Afghan president as culpable deniability buffers to protect Obama should the whole scheme backfire and result in the loss of Afghanistan to the Taliban. Then, on 13 October 2010, a NATO spokesman in Brussels admitted that U.S. and other NATO forces were not only facilitating the no-longer-secret negotiations with the genocidal Taliban terrorists, but were actually providing security for the Taliban's top leaders involved in the negotiations.⁴ This is precisely the type of situation every terrorist group hopes for.

Wait, it gets worse. On 16 October 2010 (two weeks after a massive explosives shipment from the government of Iran was seized coming across the border into Pakistan destined for the Taliban), at a NATO conference on Afghanistan in Rome, Iranian government "diplomats" were seated at the table at the invitation of the United States, despite the fact that the U.S. State Department lists Iran as a terrorist state.⁵ They had been invited there to help in the "peace" process. So, the Department of Defense, CIA, and Department of State all say Iran is killing American military men and women in Afghanistan and Iraq, yet those same Iranian terrorists have been invited to participate in NATO peace talks with the Taliban terrorists. Think about that.

Honorable negotiations are based on good faith and implicit trust—otherwise why would you negotiate?—but in this case they would have no means of establishing legitimate terms. A second issue that forms part of the undertow here is that many Taliban not only truly believe that they are winning the war at the moment, but also that they will be able to simply outlast the United States because the people have no faith in U.S. forces being able to achieve victory.

Americans must ask themselves whether they agree with President Obama's belief that it is moral, ethical, and advantageous to America to negotiate with a terrorist group, in this case one with a history of beating women and then shooting them through the head or placing them in a hole in

the ground, filling the hole up to the neck, and then stoning them to death.

that America has blinked by letting it be known it has no intention of achieving victory in Afghanistan gives the Taliban there a strategic advantage in the long term, which they will absolutely take advantage of on every possible front. And seeing victory in the offing for their ideological cousins, the Taliban Party of Pakistan (TTP), al-Qaeda and its factions, Hezbollah, Hamas, Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), and the rest of the crew will take heart and redouble their efforts.

When considering the endgame, the Americans fighting the Afghan insurgency must, however, consider these critical factors that anchor their fight in reality:

1. The American people don't believe for a second that they can and will win the war in Afghanistan.
2. Americans lack the national will to achieve victory there.
3. Many of our "allies" have already fled the battlefield.
4. Stupidity and ignorance have caused many Americans to sincerely believe that wars can be prosecuted on time tables, this despite no war ever having been fought and won on a schedule. Most Americans and a great many politicians believe the most important objective in a war is not achieving victory, but rather having an exit strategy, and an exit strategy that does not require victory at that.
5. The enemy will sacrifice as many Muslim lives as it believes are necessary to achieve victory; unlike most Americans, the enemy does not believe victory is optional.
6. The enemy knows that the Western governments with troops in Afghanistan are undisciplined, unfocused, and ethically corrupt by their own standards.
7. America has blatantly entered into direct negotiations with the enemy.

As an ideological aside, given those seven facts when linked to what's at stake in the war on terror as a whole, most Americans don't deserve our military. Perhaps the next time we are asked to mount up and ride into battle we should say, "No," and advise the taxpayer if he feels so strongly about it to grab his rabbit rifle, hop on a plane to wherever the enemy is, and deal with the man himself, up close and personal.

Good luck with that.

MITIGATION VIA PERSONAL CONSEQUENCE: CLARITY, PERSPECTIVE, AND THE SHERMAN DOCTRINE

This brings us to what could and should be done by the Coalition since America lacks the national will to achieve total victory and, in my opinion, its leader has no interest in winning. It is a policy called "mitigation via personal consequence." The following true story demonstrates how it works.

You've Got Mail!

On 30 September 1985 in Beirut, terrorists belonging to a faction called the Islamic Liberation Organization made the major mistake of kidnapping four Soviet diplomats and killing one in the process.⁶ After first trying but failing to settle the matter with quiet diplomacy, the KGB kidnapped half a dozen of the faction's people and began delivering less-than-vital body parts to the faction's leaders with notes explaining that unless the diplomats were released immediately, larger packages with far more critical body parts would begin arriving forthwith. The terrorists' families were also apprised of the suddenly grim negotiating tactics of the KGB. The diplomats were released, and no more Russians were kidnapped in Lebanon, although U.S., French, and British citizens were because those countries refused to level the playing field. President Reagan, terribly ill advised by his advisors and still reeling from the 1983 massacre of CIA, State Department, and USMC personnel in Beirut, looked as weak as a kitten to much of the world. This served to embolden and educate Muslim terrorists everywhere, the fruits of which we continue to be fed to this very day.

The war on terror is not a war we will win one day and then have a fine parade. It is the type of war that must be mitigated, which, if done properly,

will reduce our casualties, both civilian and military. The Russians understood in 1985, as they do today, that mitigation via personal consequence, as distasteful as it is, can be effective. They understand that all this "I-wish-to-be-martyred" nonsense spewing from the likes of bin Laden is mere bravado, for if bin Laden truly had wished to be martyred as he claimed, all he had to do was strap an explosive belt on and detonate it near a group of his enemy. Bingo, martyrdom. Terrorist leaders hide for a reason: they are gutless. And their families keep their whereabouts secret for obvious reasons.

But what if those family members-who by refusing to reveal where their killer sibling, son, father, uncle, or other relation is hiding are themselves criminals for aiding and abetting a terrorist were to be "strongly encouraged" to rat out the family rodent?

Ahmed, the 15-year-old son of well-known terrorist Mohammed, is known to have been hanging out of late with some teenage terrorists-in-training with whom he has been stealing money and goods required by his father, which he then forwards on to him via hawala and smugglers.? Ahmed's mother knows both her husband's whereabouts and the details of her son's crimes. Could this situation be exploited via some form of mitigation via personal consequence with the goal being acquiring Mohammed's location?

Sherman's Total War Doctrine

During the American Civil War, Union Army General William Tecumseh Sherman developed and applied his concept of "total war" on the South. His goal was to defeat the enemy psychologically in the Confederate heartland, destroy the economy, and make fighting the Union logistically impossible and a strategic albatross.

Sherman's total war included a "scorched earth" policy of burning selected homes, mills, factories, churches, schoolhouses, bridges, crops, forests, boats, wagons, and many other forms of property, yet the civilian casualties his army caused were intentionally light. He waged this form of warfare with one thing in mind: the surrender of the Confederate Army as quickly as possible, for he correctly believed that the more infrastructure and private property he destroyed in the South, the sooner the war would end and therefore fewer

people would die in the long run.

President Harry Truman used this same concept in the August 1945 bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, which prevented a costly and deadly invasion of the Japanese homeland by U.S. troops. Sherman's and Truman's waging of total war doubtless saved a great many civilian lives, far more than would have been lost had this approach not been adopted.

During World War II, the Allies killed 25,000 in Dresden (February 1945), 50,000 in Hamburg (July 1943), 18,000 in Pforzheim (February 1945), 100,000 in Tokyo (88,000 in one raid alone in late winter 1945), and 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 1945). This was the Sherman Doctrine ramped up almost 80 years later to include the wholesale slaughter of civilians.

Does this mean NATO should lay waste to Afghan infrastructure and private property, such as it is? No, for to do so would violate international laws, the likes of which did not exist during the Civil War and which were fledgling and unenforceable during World War II. And such a strategy was acceptable as a correctly perceived necessity to most in that time. But, as the proverbial "they" say, that was then and this is now.

However, could a modernized version of total war, as practiced by Sherman, Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and Winston Churchill, be brought to bear in South Asia? Is it possible to cause such destruction and havoc on the battlefield as to break the spirit and will of the enemy and those who give him succor, while not rendering our political leaders and military personnel war criminals and pariahs? Even if it is possible, is it desirable? Does the fact that Vladimir Putin gets away with it in Georgia and Chechnya with impunity mean President Obama can as well? Leaders in the Western world must carefully consider which policies are politically tenable before putting them into practice.

President Obama, already under fire for the killing of hundreds of Pakistani children via Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Hellfire missiles from Predator drones and dozens of Yemeni kids with cluster bomb-filled cruise missiles, maintains the strict policy of not commenting in any way about how many children and other innocents have been brutally slain as a

result of his orders. That policy has kept him out of the dock so far, but would that same policy of silence continue to do so if he applied it to a more widespread and aggressive missile campaign that ramped up the innocent body count to thousands annually rather than several hundred?

A wise guerrilla force takes rapid advantage of any embarrassing, outrageous, and possibly criminal act (remember: one man's accidental tragedy or unintended collateral damage is another man's war crime) by the government(s) it is fighting. Although the Vietcong intentionally committed innumerable war crimes and atrocities during the Vietnam War, they were nevertheless handed some moral high ground by the anti-U.S. side when, on 8 June 1972, Associated Press photographer Nick Ut captured his iconic photo of young Phan Thi I im Phuc as she fled screaming, naked, and on fire from her village of Trang Bang, which had just been struck by incendiary weapons from the South Vietnamese Air Force A-1 Skyraiders.

It is surprising that the Taliban parties in Pakistan and Afghanistan have not developed a more dynamic propaganda policy directed at the Western world. Where are the widespread World Wide Web photos of crying parents, brothers, and sisters holding the savaged and bloodied bodies of innocent village children killed by CIA missiles? Or the photos of burning villages and weeping elderly men and women, and mortified children watching their huts being burned to the ground by the CIA?

But the larger political question is: could President Obama get away with an exponential increase in attacks that dramatically increase the already grim body count of kids in Pakistan and Afghanistan? Maybe, especially given what amounts to a pass granted him by such groups as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, which have been largely silent on Obama's Hellfire policy, even though it is far more aggressive and bloody than his predecessor's. This means the Taliban could not expect any assistance from those groups in disseminating photos and accounts of CIA strikes that set kids on fire. (Obama's Hellfire policy killed 708 civilians in 2009 alone.⁸ Having lived in Pakistan in 2009, I can assure the reader that every time a Predator fired a Hellfire missile into Pakistan, the Pakistani press was all over it.) The carnage caused by the Hellfires has become so profound that the United Nations (UN) has retained New York University law professor Philip

Alston as its special rapporteur on extrajudicial executions. Alston believes President Obama's orders amount to war crimes. This is a missed opportunity for the Taliban and al-Qaeda, which could be filing suit in whatever court would hear their complaint charging Obama with crimes against humanity and war crimes, and be calling the U.N.'s own investigator as a material witness.

GOING GUERRILLA

Besides "total war," we must look at a very different but sometimes equally effective method: the guerrilla approach. The Congo is just one region where we can take some lessons from guerrillas.

In 2010, after hastily exiting Pakistan, I moved to the Democratic Republic of Congo to train a Congolese light infantry battalion in infantry skills that could be put to good use in the country's counterinsurgency and counterinsurgency efforts.

The battalion, based 1,300 miles or so up the Congo River deep in equatorial Africa, was extremely motivated (despite the grim conditions of their existence) to receive training from my team. My team arrived on a Stone Age (read: there's no way in hell that thing was airworthy) Congolese 727 from Kinshasa, each of us armed with our get-out-of-jail-free and don't-eventhink-about-screwing-with-these-people letter from a very highranking and feared Congolese government official (the colonel is not a man you want to piss off; if one of our teammates had not been the colonel's close personal friend, we would never have even gotten to the camp).



One of my Congolese troops prepping to "go guerrilla." (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

We quickly learned that the battalion consisted of a great many ex-guerrillas who had joined the Congolese army after the so-called ceasefire in the Second Congo War (1998-2003, with an estimated 5.4 million dead), and the vast majority of the soldiers were combat veterans to some degree. So we had a unit comprising ex-guerrillas and soldiers who had been fighting guerrillas for years. This means we had knowledge from the MaiMai, Movement for the Liberation of Congo, Rassemblement Congolaise pour la Democratie, Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire, and FDLR (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda). Yes, some times an ex-guerrilla would have a disagreement with a nonex-guerrilla and it would be game on (it was a common sight to see soldiers at

morning formation exhibiting certain signs of having been scuffed up the night before), but the advantage of having experienced-on-both-sides troops was clear.



The author training Congolese troops in individual movement techniques at their camp a few miles from the Congo River. The soldier I am instructing is a former guerrilla. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Their experience and that of my team (former and retired Recon Marines, former and retired U.S. Special Forces, retired U.S. Army Rangers and Scouts, former and retired intel and counter-intel guys, and former and retired grunts and snipers), when enhanced by the training we delivered, meant our battalion could "go guerrilla" any time we wished.

What does my Congo crew have to do with Afghanistan or Pakistan? Two of my Congo crew are now training Afghan army snipers and grunts there. Sniping has long been an important skill set for guerrillas and standing armies. But that's just one ability among a great many that a country's

military needs to be able to "go guerrilla." Having the ability for selected U.S. military units to go guerrilla is de rigeur if we wish to locate, close with, and destroy more Taliban and al-Qaeda terrorists. The U.S. Department of Defense's current policy of minimal (bare bones) guerrilla-style operations in the Afghan-Pakistan theater is forcing the desired enemy degradation and attrition scale to be planed out rather than inclined. This is a strategic error.



"Double A" (standing, far right) went from training Congolese reconnaissance scouts to Afghan Army snipers in a matter of days. (Photo by "Double A.")

Mao said that a successful guerrilla army was the school of fish swimming among the people, who are the water. Or as scratch golfer Ty Webb (Chevy Chase) in the 1980 hit movie Caddy Shack puts it to his caddy and understudy, Danny Noonan: "be the ball." To reduce the enemy's combat power in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Pentagon must-I say again, rust--order a substantial portion of its ground combat forces to "be the guerrilla."

U.S. troops could gain serious advantages by living among the people in their villages and hamlets, including increased ease of gaining and maintaining contact with the enemy (a principle of the offense), improved intelligence collection, and demonstration of resolve and willingness. Such an arrangement would also restrict and reduce enemy movements because of proximity to alert U.S. forces.

So, it's easy, eh? We just move into the villages, win the war lickety-split, and the next thing you know you are scarfing the best fish n' chips and ice-cold beer in America, followed by a refreshing nap in your airy, truly Utopian beachfront cottage, right? Wrong.

How would you like to be an Afghan or Pakistani villager whose village is housing a U.S. military unit that intends to stay for some time? Would you mind if the Taliban began mortaring your village and mining your fields to inflict U.S. casualties? Would you be pissed if your donkey or water buffalo was turned into a large mound of hamburger by a Taliban mine that would not have been there if the American unit had not set up shop in your village? Would you be angry if a Taliban sniper picked off your kids and chickens? Of course you would, and your anger may cause you to hate the catalyst for such attacks.

This means that, as the American commander, a very effective defensive scheme is absolutely required, and given the range of mortars, it means that your defensive scheme would have to cover a large area, which brings up questions concerning economy of force and mass, as well as the relative effectiveness of your technology and intelligence-collection plan. You are very unlikely to have 24-hour eye-in-the-sky overwatch capability for your turf with your own dedicated Global Hawk or Predator.

Indeed, guerrilla warfare is never easy. There is no single, simple, or quick solution to problems presented. Get used to it.

01' Poison Potato Ploy

In Kill Bill: Volume 2, assassin Elle Driver insults her kung fu master, Pai Mei, by calling him a "miserable old fool." Pai Mei, not being one to tolerate insolence from an understudy, rips out one of her eyes. Knowing she can't

defeat her master in a fair fight, Elle later poisons his beloved fish heads, a dinner destined to be his last. Among his dying words: "Elle, you treacherous dog!"

Indeed. Elle understood that sometimes, if you are angry enough and cold-blooded enough, and if you want to win badly enough, you can't fight fair.

In 1995, Saudi citizen Ibn al-Khattab founded Arab Mujahideen in Chechnya, after having proven himself stupid, incompetent, and careless in Afghanistan by blowing a large portion of his right hand off while playing with an IED.

Being a coward who clearly preferred not to face the enemy directly, he hid (and hid pretty well) for years from the Russians hunting him in Chechnya, until one day the Russians, tired of chasing the punk around, got smart. They found out who was delivering food to his terrorist group hiding in the woods and poisoned it, killing al-Khattab the Semi-Fingerless. That was 2002.

Fast-forward to 2009-2010. Russian special operations forces decided to try the of poison potato ploy again. By August 2010, at least 17 terrorists in Chechnya were dead from slowacting poison (to give the vendor time to get away before his customers started keeling over), including such key leaders as Abubakar Pashaev and Yasir Amat.

To accomplish the poisonings, the Russians set up a network of intel operatives in villages the terrorists were known to operate in and around. The operatives identified who was feeding the terrorists, and then some Russian goons visited those vendors and explained how happy the Russian military would be if said food vendors would look the other way while the food was poisoned. Those who refused to play along had their food supplies poisoned as well.

Could the United States undertake a poisoning campaign against the Taliban and al-Qaeda? Yes, we could. Would it be legal? Ah, there's the rub.

In December 1977, the United States signed Protocol 1 of the Geneva Conventions. This is a victim-protection amendment that has 102 articles.

Article 35 forbids weapons that cause "superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering." But let's say Obama ordered such an operation anyway. What could go wrong, besides Obama and U.S. special operations forces being put on trial for violating Article 35?

Besides frightened and nervous sheep, what do the Taliban and al-Qaeda frequently surround themselves with to supposedly ward off attacks? Right, children. If poisoned food supplies were delivered to these terrorists and they gave some to the kids, who began dying slow, painful deaths and the word got out, well, you see where I am going with this.

RULES OF ENGAGEMENT: A LESSON NOT LEARNED

Let's be clear: if you have enough rank to write and then implement rules of engagement (ROE) in a theater, and you do so and those ROE are proven to have needlessly cost military men their lives, you are guilty of something, perhaps dereliction of duty and/or incompetence, but certainly negligence resulting in death. If you are of higher rank or position than the person who wrote and implemented the deadly ROE but you were in the chain of command and approved them, you are likewise guilty. It's no different than being a range safety officer who writes and then implements bad safety regulations, and then a Marine is killed on the range because of those unsafe regs you wrote and implemented. You are guilty of negligence resulting in death.

Does this mean every square inch of the Iraq and Afghanistan theaters should be free-fire zones, where any military man with a weapon can shoot at anything he feels might be a threat to him and call in any sort of ordnance that happens to be attached to a bird on station or that the friendly neighborhood artillery battery happens to have lying around the gun line? No. But commanders with such rank must remember that their first priority is not to avoid excess damage, but to accomplish the mission. After all, if a commander's first priority was to avoid excess damage, how could he possibly ever win a punch-up?

Incredibly, despite scenes of mind-bending horror when fools forced stupid ROE on troops in a war zone (e.g., Beirut, Mogadishu), as the war in Afghanistan pressed on, more deadly ROE were ordered into effect there. It

got so bad that if a Marine or soldier was in a firefight and requested fire support from mortars, artillery, or air, he had to explain himself in absurd detail over the radio as to precisely why he needed that fire support. If he couldn't express himself and explain the situation to the satisfaction of an officer far to the rear, his request was denied. Meanwhile, the hot lead and steel continued to fly. There is no way to tell how many good men were wounded or died while begging someone with a mouthful of pecan pie back in the rear if he would please see his way clear to helping him and his brothers not die in some godforsaken hellhole.



Don't annoy "Double A" with moronic rules of engagement. To do so would just make him angry. You wouldn't like him when he's angry. (Photo by "Double A.")

In July 2010, Army General David Petraeus turned over the U.S. Central Command in Tampa to Marine General James Mattis and headed for Afghanistan to replace General McChrystal, where the word is he immediately ordered a review of the ROE. However, by the time this book went to press in 2011, those ROE were still being bitterly complained about by our forces, having, according to them, not been changed at all.



Aboard Forward Operating Base Jackson in Helmand Province, Afghanistan, Marine Lance Corporal Mike Lawyer of Regimental Combat Team 2 engages insurgents. (U.S. Marine Corps photo by Corporal Ned Johnson.)

YEMEN: THE NEXT AFGHANISTAN?

A nasty little country on the southern Arabian Peninsula across the Red Sea from Somalia, Yemen is a fetid and grim terrorist nexus that has been heating up for more than 10 years. It is a prime example of what can happen when U.S. presidents, in this case beginning with Bill Clinton, don't set and enforce an aggressive and comprehensive counterinsurgency and counterterrorism policy in a nation ripe for trouble.



Corporals Ryan Thayer and Jonathan Roblespaul of Regimental Combat Team 2 engage the enemy with their 60mm mortar aboard Combat Outpost Cafferetta, Afghanistan. (U.S. Marine Corps photo by Corporal Daniel Blatter.)



Marines move out with their IED detector dog. (Marine Corps Warfighting Lab photo.)



Combat engineer Lance Corporal Matthew Vincent with Regimental Combat Team 2 sweeps for IEDs and mines near Now Zad, Afghanistan. (U.S. Marine Corps photo by Corporal Ned Johnson.)

The malignancy that is Muslim terrorism was allowed to burrow deep into Yemen, and now it has metastasized and is expanding with alarming speed. If we do not get hold of it quickly, I foresee terrorist attacks coming out of Yemen that will make the attack on the USS Cole look like the work of rank amateurs.

Note: The so-called "Arab spring" uprisings of 2011, including the one currently raging in Yemen, clearly portend something, but what? Originating in part from the liberation of Iraq and the birth of democracy there, these revolutions and attempted revolutions could mean clear freedom for some, but no one, including me, can state with true confidence who is going to

replace whom with what-that is, one type of bad guy could be replaced with another type of bad guy who might be worse than his predecessor, or a genuine good guy could be chosen by the people.

As I learned while attending the Revolutionary Warfare Course, sometimes revolutions work out in freedom's favor and sometimes they don't. The most intriguing example is Egypt, where the Muslim Brotherhood terrorist group (bin Laden's successor, Ayman al-Zawahiri, was a member of the Brotherhood before becoming involved with the more militant Egyptian Islamic jihad organization) might seize power, or a legitimate democracy-oriented reformist might. And multiple factors are at play in all these uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, including socioeconomic conditions, corruption, and the availability of social networking. Al-Qaeda could benefit from some of these events, and in others their effectiveness could be greatly diminished.

Welcome to reality.

SAPS

U.S. military special operations forces and air strikes in Yemen do not require a president to notify Congressional intelligence committees prior to an action, as they fall under what are called Department of Defense Special Access Programs (SAPs). Similar actions conducted by the CIA do require committee notification.

The United States has sent Marine Harrier "jump" jets to bomb suspected al-Qaeda targets in Yemen and has even ordered a Navy Tomahawk BGM-109D cruise missile filled with 166 BLU-97 submunitions (cluster bomblets) to decimate targets and a great many civilians around them, including approximately 44 people (among whom were nearly two dozen children) from two families, according to the Yemeni government. Approximately 11 terrorists were also killed. That's one dead terrorist for every four dead civilians. Collateral damage in the form of dozens upon dozens of civilian deaths enrages the civilian populace, which creates marvelous recruiting opportunities for alQaeda.

In a New York Times article, John Brennan, Obama's "top

counterterrorism adviser," said such strikes are how we now use the "scalpel" approach in attacking targets rather than the "hammer" approach.⁹ (Yes, this is the same Brennan who arranged for Hamas' Sheik Kifah Mustapha, a top fundraiser for the genocidal Islamic terrorist group, to receive a tour of the National Counterterrorism Center in Virginia as part of a community outreach program and then defended his actions.) If a cruise missile filled with 166 cluster bombs that blow apart 44 civilians and kills just 11 or so terrorists is their idea of the "scalpel," I can't wait to see their idea of the "hammer."

OSAMA BIN LADEN: DEAD IN THE NICK OF TIME

This book was just about to be laid out in preparation for printing when Osama bin Laden shoved his wife into a team of visiting Navy SEALs. The SEALs saw bin Laden's act as rude (like Marines, SEALs are big on chivalry), so one of them shot bin Laden. Twice. OK, he also shot Mrs. bin Laden, but only in the calf. I can't think of a more fitting way to finish it than by including this section about the death of the mass murderer the United States has been hunting for almost a decade. Hooyah, SEALs. Job well done.

From October 2001 to January 2010, a large part of my job as a terrorism analyst and counterterrorism advisor for clients around the world was to issue prognostications about the war on terror. In this line of work you are only as good as your last prediction, so you have to be able to show a high degree of accuracy in your predictions, which I was able to do because of my decades of training and experience. So when the news broke about bin Laden having been whacked by SEALs in a villa in Abbottabad (I had driven through that town in 2009 but had not seen bin Laden out and about), 30 minutes northeast of Islamabad rather than in a cave in Waziristan, I was not at all surprised. I had long maintained that Osama was not living in a cave and was not within shooting distance of the Afghanistan border, despite all the self-proclaimed experts in the media. (I also had told folks time and time again that Osama was not on dialysis, that the kidney disease story was just a widespread rumor; sure enough, there was no evidence found in the villa that indicated he was on dialysis.) I was not surprised because Osama was a coward (remember: Osama paid the tribesmen around Tora Bora large sums of money to get him the hell out of there), who delegated his martyrdom duties

right up to his pathetic demise, and he was deathly afraid of Predator and Reaper UAVs armed with Hellfires, which President Bush had ordered for use in Pakistan during his administration.

How will Osama bin Laden's death affect al-Qaeda's operations, and how long will it be before we see demonstrable evidence of such effect?

It took about one day for me to see al-Qaeda's reaction at the local operational level: my forward operational base (FOB) in Iraq was shelled like never before (in my experience there, at least) beginning just before dawn (BMNT, or begin morning nautical twilight) by a local al-Qaeda cell that opened up on us with impressive rage in the form of a sustained-fire mission consisting of 50-plus rockets (including 120s) and mortar rounds (81s) fired in approximately a four-minute time span. This was a clear revenge attack, and obviously we can expect plenty more such attacks in the coming years. No, al-Qaeda is not all washed up because Osama is now a shark turd in the North Arabian Sea. Zawahiri and other Al-Qaeda leaders are already pressing on with their game plan, and al-Qaeda franchises, cells, and "lone wolves" will carry on as before and adapt to any training, logistical, funding, and operational changes that come down the trail.

Intelligence seized by the SEALs in the bin Laden compound was no doubt rapidly exploited whenever and wherever possible, as one of the first things you do with fresh intel is determine what is actionable and highly perishable, and then act on it quickly. You also look for info on longer-term desires, plots, and possible patterns, and you exploit communications, location, logistics, personnel, and financial info as best you can, among other things.

True, this global fracas we find ourselves in is far from being over any time soon, but al-Qaeda will be fighting without their chickenshit leader, who died while hiding in a dark room a long, long way from the battlefield, and that's a good thing (my apologies to Martha Stewart).

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Guerrilla insurgencies usually involve politics in some fashion. Both creating an insurgency and defeating one are tasks made more attainable if

you understand how and why political ideologies and politicians can be exploited.

NOTES

1. My description of this battle is based on that of the great explorer Roy Chapman Andrews in *Camps and Trails in China* (Bibliobazaar, LLC). I thank him for his excellent writing and strongly recommend this remarkable book.
2. Joel Brinkley is the Visiting Hearst Professional at Stanford University.
3. "U.S. Attacks in Pakistan Are a Recipe for Disaster," *Denver Post*, 26 December 2010.
4. Helene Cooper and Thom Shanker, "Push on Talks with Taliban Confirmed by NATO Officials," *The New York Times*, 14 October 2010.
5. Jennifer Griffin, "Iranian Weapon Shipment to Afghan Taliban Raises Alarm," *FOX News website*, 10 October 2010.
6. Consular attache Arkady Katkov.
7. Hawala is an ancient but effective "alternative remittance" system that covertly moves money around the world through a network of brokers and oftentimes leaves no traditional paper trail, hard copy, or virtual trace.
8. According to *Dawn*, a popular English-language Pakistani newspaper.
9. Scott Shane, Mark Mazzetti, and Robert F. Worth, "Secret Assault on Terrorism Widens on Two Continents," *The New York Times*, 14 August 2010.

CHAPTER 18



The Political Guerrilla

Exploiting Politicians and Political Situations

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

-Mao Zedong

What factor makes a guerrilla war successful or a counter guerrilla strategy a winning one?

Why, yes, that is, in fact, a trick question. I am glad you caught it.

There is no single factor that leads a guerrilla army to victory any more than there is a single factor that defeats it. In a guerrilla war, or irregular or unconventional or asymmetric war, it is always a combination of factors that determines which side wins and which side loses. Just some of the factors that may be involved in determining an outcome include those whose natures are:

- Economic
- Social

- Geopolitical
- Cultural
- Sociopolitical
- Racial
- Historical
- Geographical
- Meteorological
- Fiscal/Financial
- Technological
- Logistical
- Tactical
- Operational
- Strategic
- Motivational
- Organizational
- Religious

They may also have to do with the various parties' leadership capabilities or their ability to muster the larger (in terms of manpower) force, or even the terrain and vegetation (or lack thereof) that contribute to success at the tactical and operational levels. Also, a powerful sense of something akin to manifest destiny can be critical to an outcome, which is of course linked to a party's culture, religion, or history.

But this chapter deals with the political, which is a factor by which so many guerrilla wars (or terrorist wars in which the terrorists, and sometimes their opposition, used guerrilla tactics) have been won and lost over the eons. Perhaps at no other time in history has politics played so crucial a role in contributing to an outcome than the present.



Soldiers, such as these Congolese troops whom the author was training, have always been the tools of politicians; they do their government's bidding. This applies to all soldiers and all governments. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

This chapter on guerrilla politics also serves to sanction, validate, and justify the splenetic political witticisms I spray across this book's landscape, which are included to make a caustic point, amplify disturbing facts, entertain, and/or enrage and frustrate my target. (I suspect the real reason FOX News Channel has had me on as a guest so many times is the aforementioned penchants rather than any ground-breaking analytical abilities.)

POLI-GUERRILLA SCIENCE 101: POLITICAL COMBAT MULTIPLIERS

*“There’s colors on the street
Red, white, and blue
People shufflin’ their feet
People sleepin’ in their shoes
But there’s a warnin’ sign
on the road ahead
There’s a lot of people sayin’
we’d be better off dead
Don’t feel like Satan,
but I am to them
So I try to forget it,
any way I can.*

Keep on rockin' in the free world ..."

-Neil Young, "Rockin' in the Free World"

The modern guerrilla leader who fails to exploit political factors that could be used in his favor is unlikely to remain on the battlefield except as a corpse or cloud of pink mist.



Mines have been very useful in counter guerrilla warfare, but today they are politically incorrect. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Special Forces provide critical battlefield services, yet there are American politicians who see them only as potential war criminals. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Private military contractors and Special Forces personnel (shown here with interpreters and two Congolese military officers in a swamp) bring crucial knowledge and skills to those most in need, and in many instances risk their lives to do so, but anti-military Americans smear them at will. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Let's examine four lessons in how politics can affect guerrilla wars.

POLITICAL HISTORY LESSON #1: THE RHODESIA-ZIMBABWE DEBACLE

One of the most brilliant and effective guerrilla insurgencies of the modern era began in 1960 with very limited and largely ineffective raids, and ended in stunning (and soon gruesome and appalling) favor of the guerrillas between 1978 and 1980. It was in 1980 that a morally bankrupt and vicious terrorist named Robert Mugabe, the murderous Marxist who remains in power to this day, ascended what would become one of the most grotesque 20th-century thrones in Southern Africa.¹

When Europeans and other whites of European descent from South Africa migrated en masse to (okay, invaded) Matabeleland and Mashonaland during the 19th century, they believed it was their right to do so. Whether they were correct in this belief depends entirely on whom you ask. That said, at this point the question is obviously moot. Matabeleland and Mashonaland became Rhodesia, which later became Zimbabwe. Firearms, grenades (thrown and rocket-propelled), minefields, anti-aircraft missiles, explosives, and covert-insertion raids replaced commandos, laagers, assegais, knobkerries, and impis as the primary weapons and combat formations and units of the insurgents—the Europeans—and revolutionaries in the form of Marxist terrorists using guerrilla tactics with extensive materiel, operational, training, and philosophical support from the doomed Soviet Union, North Korea, the People's Republic of China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany.

The guerrillas who defeated the Rhodesian government used all the tools available to them to achieve victory, including clever political ploys on a variety of fronts. They knew how to exploit political opportunities that provided them with outstanding operational advantages, such as training in and receiving massive supplies of arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union as mentioned above (the aforementioned support from China and North Korea was less than that provided by the Soviets and their satellite states). They based their operations largely from neighboring countries like Mozambique and Zambia, which gave them the advantage of refuge to a degree (the fabled Selous Scouts did pursue them there via covert insertion by parachute and on the ground). And they exploited the treachery of the British Crown, which once controlled Rhodesia as a British colony and which was instrumental in helping Cecil Rhodes seize the territory from the tribes through the chartered British South Africa Company.

Britain, apparently embarrassed and desirous of making international amends for its unbridled colonization, subjugation, and pillaging of so much of the planet, publicly turned against white Rhodesians, which lent the murderous guerrillas of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) a major political leg up in that it gave them credence among many

on the outside looking in from afar.

The result was the destruction of the "breadbasket of Africa" and the creation of a graphically failed Marxist dictatorship, where starvation, disease, displacement, torture, and horrific murder remain the norm today.

POLITICAL HISTORY LESSON #2: POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND IDEOLOGICAL IDIOCY

During the 2008 campaign season, I lectured and wrote extensively on the dangers of political correctness and what I term "ideological idiocy." In city after city, country after country, and venue after venue, I counseled on the perils of downplaying the enemy's danger by softening descriptions and diluting facts. Doing so strengthens the enemy's resolve because it demonstrates a willing weakness to ignore and deny reality. Unfortunately, despite my blunt admonitions, the enemy was handed another weapon to wield against us.

In her first testimony to Congress as Secretary of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano refused to use the word terrorist. Not long afterward, in an interview for Spiegel Online, Secretary Napolitano explained her reasoning: "I referred to 'man-caused disasters.' That is perhaps only a nuance, but it demonstrates that we want to move away from the politics of fear toward a policy of being prepared for all risks that can occur." Ergo, jetliners being flown into the World Trade Center and their subsequent collapse were not acts of terror committed by terrorists, but rather "man-caused disasters" brought about by exploited and oppressed . . . what? And are we to accept her assertion that politicians and political activists who use the term terrorism or terrorist are fear-mongering miscreants and anti-Islamic bigots?

Then, on 26 May 2010, the other shoe dropped when John Brennan (yes, him again) issued orders to the government that such terms as Islamic terrorism and Muslim terrorism were not to be used. His rationale? "Describing our enemy in religious terms would lend credence to the lie propagated by al-Qaeda and its affiliates to justify terrorism, that the United States is somehow at war against Islam. The reality, of course, is that we have never been and will never be at war with Islam. After all, Islam, like so many faiths, is part of America." This would have been akin to President Franklin

Delano Roosevelt ordering the government to cease using the term "Nazi Germany" because not all Germans were Nazis and to do otherwise would have been insulting to Germans. Or to Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, demanding that no one in the government use the term "Communist China" for fear of offending Chinese who weren't members of the Communist Party.

This placed America's official policy in direct conflict with General Petraeus, who personally oversaw and had extensive input in writing the military's new counterinsurgency manual (Counterinsurgency, FM 3-24, available from Paladin Press), which cites time and again "Islamic subversives," "Islamic extremists," and "Islamic insurgents," and directly links "Islamic fundamentalism" with "terrorism" (even in the same sentence).

This sort of political correctness is manna from heaven for terrorists who use guerrilla tactics and understand the value of their enemy's lack of conviction.

Protected guerrillas-i.e., those who abide by the Geneva Conventions-can also use the moral turpitude of enemy leaders to great end under the right conditions and with the proper methodology. A great historical example is how the French Resistance used its operations, including what we now call "information operations" (IO), against the Vichy government during World War II. On many occasions the Resistance was able to convince French citizens who had initially tried to remain neutral to assist it in small ways, perhaps by reporting German troop movements and overheard conversations between German military personnel in which some tactical information was discussed. During the American Revolution, colonists were able to do the same thing by convincing those who were initially loyal to the Crown to provide them with useful information and material, thanks to soft prodding and encouragement after each act of British treachery.

POLITICAL HISTORY LESSON #3: THE RECANT-RENOUNCE-REHABILITATE ("TRIPLE R") GAMBIT

Legion are the career criminals who, knowing they are (or will be) coming up for parole, suddenly find Jesus. They walk the straight and narrow while in prison, earn college degrees during their incarceration, and become

"counselors" to their fellow inmates. It's an old ruse with roots in U.S. and U.N. politics.

Terrorists have taken a cue from these reprobates and are using the "triple R" to be released from prison and taken off sanctions lists. This is guerrilla politics on the legal level.

United Nations

One of the most corrupt organizations on the planet, the United Nations makes al-Qaeda and the Mexican drug cartels look like the Amish or Quakers. After 9-11, this foul clique of rogues, ruffians, and racketeers placed hundreds of al-Qaeda and Taliban terrorists, and organizations linked to them, on sanctions lists that allegedly prevented them from traveling internationally on commercial airlines. They also froze assets and applied other forms of pressure. Then they announced that to free oneself from these sanctions, all a terrorist or terrorist organization must do is renounce terrorism, promise to be good, and swear to support the Afghan constitution.

Naturally, many did so. By August 2010, numerous Taliban and al-Qaeda terrorists, and 21 of their support organizations, had been removed from the list. The best part is that all 15 members (five permanent and 10 rotating) of the U.N. Security Council must agree for persons and organizations to be removed from the list, and the United States is a permanent member of the Council.

Those who have been removed from the list of recognized terrorists realized that they had better learn to play the political game if they wanted their freedom of movement and money back. There is no way to accurately determine how many terrorists and terrorist organizations went straight back to the fight, but rest assured we will be hearing from them soon.

"Gitmo"

Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and other terrorist groups, as well as their political enablers, have gotten good mileage out of the political hot potato known as "Gitmo," short for Guantanamo Bay, where the United States maintains a naval station in Cuba that is home to a pretty posh prison for terrorists.

Terrorists and their various supporters (e.g., the American Civil Liberties Union, Center for Constitutional Rights, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the United Nations) paint Gitmo as a reincarnation of Papillon's Devil's Island, which was part of the infamous penal colony in French Guiana. This needn't have been the case.

When places like Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, and terms like "CIA 'black site' secret prison" and "extraordinary rendition" careened into the global lexicon at warp speed and with no one at the helm, the idea of the United States abandoning such land-based, there-it-is-right-there interrogation facilities in favor of "ghost ship" prisons was debated in some circles after I proposed the idea shortly after 9-11 (it is also quite possible such ships already existed prior to 9-11). Such a program, the theory goes, would see vessels owned by the U.S. Navy and crewed by "cleared" Department of Defense contractors (to take advantage of the aforementioned SAP rule) and flying foreign flags of convenience. They would seldom if ever make port, being refueled and replenished at sea. Interrogators, intelligence analysts, and other required personnel would live for extended periods aboard each ship. All U.S. personnel would be required to sign an ironclad and explicit nondisclosure agreement. Scheduled and "pop" polygraphs would be mandatory for all aboard (less the prisoners), as would a top-secret clearance with SCI (Sensitive Compartmented Information) and a "fiill-scope" polygraph just to step foot on the ship. Everyone would have a document in the form of an executive order, pardon, or other mechanism signed by the president granting full amnesty. Even refueling and resupply vessels would be owned and operated by the U.S. Navy.

This might very well solve the problem of bad press because the press would have no idea the ships even existed. Rumors would be laughed at and those who brought them up mocked. Interrogation approaches and techniques could then be more dynamic, and the interrogators would have more options available because there would be no interference from the media, politicians, terrorist groups, and terrorist support groups.

Now imagine what would happen if somehow the program were proven to be real despite all the aforementioned precautions, and we have recently seen just how easy secret operations and units are leaked. It could be the biggest

political scandal in American history. The propaganda value to terrorists and their minions of a highly classified imprisonment and interrogation program being leaked would be almost unfathomable, but equally secret programs have been successfully conducted before.

POLITICAL HISTORY LESSON #4: "YOU SAY YOU WANT A REVOLUTION"

Insurgencies armed with Molotov cocktails, rocks, and clubs can pop up with remarkable speed, too, especially through irate revolutionaries with no guerrilla warfare experience at all, who for whatever reasons decide they are going to force their dictator out of office. And when an ill-advised outside party with a truly terrible plan elects to join such a hasty fray in order to get their man into position to fill the expected power vacuum, even more damage can be done.

In late January 2011, Egypt erupted in gunfire, flames, and camel charges as President Obama lobbied to replace 30-year veteran President Hosni Mubarak with Obama's chosen champion, Mohamed ElBaradei, the former head of the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency and the U.N.'s foremost apologist for the Iranian regime and its nuclear weapons program. It was a classic case of an American president thinking he could easily remove a tyrannical and spectacularly greedy dictator yet staunch U.S. ally from power and replace him with a handpicked puppet more in tune with the American's politics, but failing because of terrible intelligence, bad judgment, inept leadership, inexperienced and unqualified coup "experts," and sudden, unexpected events that caused a tidal wave of change, right then and there, rather than September 2011.

President Obama, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and the intelligence services failed to comprehend and plan for those pesky unanticipated events and bogus intelligence analyses that so often manifest themselves when trying to slip a political mickey to a military-backed dictator with a very powerful and wealthy friend right next door. These amateur mistakes were made all the more crippling when the administration rushed in ElBaradei, who had not been fully prepared and trained for the revolution by the Obama administration, not to mention his being by nature a less-than-dynamic-and-forceful individual who at the end of the day didn't even qualify as a

proverbial "useful idiot."

After three weeks, Hosni Mubarak was still on his throne. Then, on 10 February 2011, then Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) Leon Panetta (an attorney and career politician with no intelligence experience whatsoever before being appointed DCI by Obama) stated there was a "high likelihood" Mubarak would announce his resignation and step down that day. Instead, Mubarak announced he was staying on the throne but passing his powers to his chosen mouthpiece, the newly appointed vice president Omar Suleiman, through whom he would continue his rule as the true power in Egypt. The next day, The New York Times reported that government officials had told them that Panetta had based his claim not on CIA-generated intelligence but "media broadcasts." Incredible.

Also on 10 February 2011, James Clapper, the director of national intelligence (the nation's highest-ranking intelligence officer) and a career intelligence officer, made an incredible statement in a Congressional hearing: "The term Muslim Brotherhood is an umbrella term for a variety of movements. In the case of Egypt, a very heterogeneous group, largely secular, which has eschewed violence and has decried al-Qaeda as a perversion of Islam." Jaws fell open as people instantly realized the Obama administration was openly trying to appease a massive Islamic terrorist group with cells in 70 countries. The Muslim Brotherhood, most people seem to know, spawned the terrorist group Hamas, which remains a branch of the Brotherhood, and assassinated Anwar Sadat in the name of Allah with a cell embedded in the Egyptian army. Osama bin Laden's successor, Ayman al-Zawahiri, is a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood. The group openly declares that its primary goal is to overthrow every non-Muslim government between Spain and Indonesia and create a Muslim caliphate in their place. Another of its goals is the total destruction of Israel and the death of all Jews on the planet.

Clapper's ridiculous assertion went viral, of course, and created a firestorm that required Jamie Smith, the director of public affairs for the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, to make this statement to ABC News: "To clarify Director Clapper's point: in Egypt the Muslim Brotherhood makes efforts to work through a political system that has been, under Mubarak's

rule, one that is largely secular in its orientation-he is well aware that the Muslim Brotherhood is not a secular organization."

One possible explanation for Clapper's statement is that he was trying to make the Brotherhood seem less dangerous and something other than what it really is in order to make it more acceptable to the American public should it come to power in Egypt. Whatever the case, the attempt failed, as the statement was verifiably untrue.

Some might be skeptical about my account of U.S. involvement in the Egyptian uprising, but trust me on this. I learned how to recognize foreign government involvement in revolutions in the Revolutionary Warfare Course. This is a textbook example.

Shockingly, Panetta and Clapper still had their jobs on 11 February 2011. Finally, that evening, a military coup led by the Armed Forces Supreme Council, which became enraged when Mubarak pulled that fast one by transferring power to his vice president, removed Mubarak from power. This was exactly the ending Obama and his team had planned for, and the White House was forced to admit that Obama learned of the coup by watching television. (Yes, the commander in chief and director of national intelligence both relied on cable news for their intelligence gathering on the Egyptian revolt.) The clueless Obama administration failed to understand how difficult it is to bring about regime change in a place as socioeconomically and geopolitically labyrinthine as Egypt.



President Mubarak, President Obama, and other administration officials (including Vice President Joe Biden and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton) during happier times. Once a good friend of Obama, Mubarak was thrown under the bus when it became politically expedient to do so. Such is the nature of revolutionary warfare politics. (White House photo.)

The real question that remains to be answered is how deeply entrenched the Muslim Brotherhood is in the Egyptian armed forces and whether it will eventually seize power.

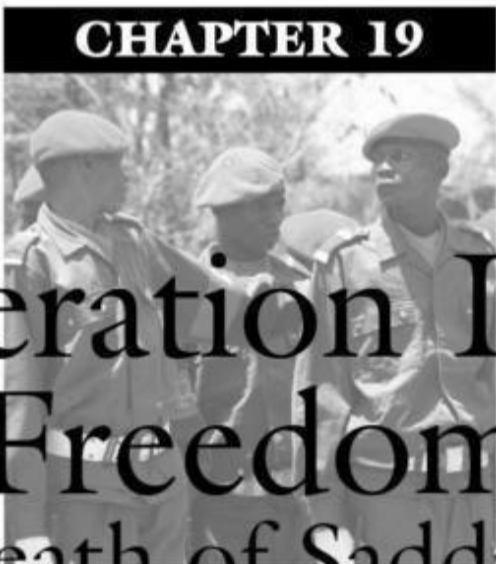
Middle Eastern politics are a minefield into which many an outsider has wandered without a scheme for getting out when their best-laid plans go south. In this case, the whole world watched how inept the U.S. machinations appeared during the crisis in Egypt.

Guerrilla and counter guerrilla leaders who become politically astute increase their combat power. Those who don't, well ...

NOTE

1. An Associated Press article ("Emotional, Angry Zimbabwean President Mugabe Attacks West at Sister's Burial") dated 1 August 2010 incredibly described the bloodthirsty dictator as "ascetic." In reality, he has plundered tens if not hundreds of millions of dollars from his country, lives in a mansion outside Harare, and has a wife (Grace) who spends millions annually in such places as Paris, London, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Malaysia, the latter of which is believed to be where he has squirreled away vast sums of loot. No one can accurately estimate the value of the "blood" diamonds alone he has plundered from the Marange diamond fields and others.

CHAPTER 19



Operation Iraqi Freedom

The Death of Saddam and Birth of the Great Experiment

"Got white skin, got assassin's eyes."

-Bob Dylan, "Things Have Changed"

Free Muslim Arabs.

If only freedom were a painless thing to acquire, and if only all Muslims wanted freedom for their fellow Muslims. Obviously, that is not the case now, nor is it likely to ever be. What kind of fanaticism drives a man to blow himself and many others up just to prevent them from being free and to make a statement regarding how he felt about them for wanting freedom?

Many are the insurgents who are passionate about their cause, a fact that Coalition forces would learn at great cost in Iraq.

GULF WAR, PART II

When the ceasefire was called in late February 1991, I was the weapons platoon sergeant for Fox Company, 2nd Battalion, 4th Marines, in Al Jahrah, just to the west of Kuwait City along 6 Ring Road. The night before we had

driven an Iraqi armored brigade out of the United Agricultural Research Facility. I When we learned that Saddam had not been captured or killed and in fact remained in power but in hiding, I knew we would be back in this neighborhood to finish the job. The only question was when.

By the winter of 2002-2003 I suspected the answer, and in March that answer was confirmed as a massive armed force consisting of military units from a host of countries roared once again into Iraq.

The Gulf War, Part II, with the new moniker of Operation Iraqi Freedom, was under way.

Third Country National Terrorists from Day One

It didn't take long at all for American forces to encounter enemies who were clearly not Iraqi military personnel (thirdcountry nationals, or TCNs). One combat unit, 3rd Battalion, 4th Marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bryan P. McCoy (call sign "Darkside"), began killing combatant TCNs dressed in civilian clothing and not operating as part of an Iraqi army unit, and carrying the IDs to prove it (along with bags of suspected heroin), not long after crossing the line of departure (LOD) into Iraq from Kuwait.

By July 2003, it was clear to many that Iraq was rife with TCN terrorists, many of whom were there when we got there, and there was no shortage of Iraqi terrorists, either. In April, former general director of the Palestine Liberation Front, Abu Abbas, was captured by an American special operations unit near Baghdad.²

About the middle of July Newsweek's Adam Piore interviewed me about the guerrilla-style war that had just begun in Iraq. In that interview, I cited the importance of counter guerrilla warfare basics, which include standard individual and small unit security measures, and the use of special-operations forces Navy SEALs, Marines-who are trained to fight like guerrillas and are perfectly willing and capable of fighting on a guerrilla's level. I told Piore, "You have to hunt the enemy and make him so afraid of you that he dares not raise his head because you will put a bullet right between his eyes."

When asked by Piore whether the Iraqi guerrillas could actually win, I replied, "Any guerrilla force has the potential to win. Will this one win? No. Because we will use overwhelming forces over a period of time. We can't walk away."³



A member of the personal security detail (PSD) for a U.S. Army brigadier general in Iraq at the ready to stop an attack on his "principle." (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Clearly marked medical facilities are targets for terrorists in Iraq, not objects to avoid hitting due to international law. Such beliefs require the opposing forces to fight on their level while steadfastly observing the principles they swore to uphold. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Little did I suspect how long it would take for me to be proven correct.

Offensive Principles of Mass and Gaining and Maintaining Contact with the Enemy Ignored

Certain powerful people in Washington and the Pentagon believed that no major repercussions would be felt if they forbade our forces in Iraq to manifest the offensive principles of mass and gaining and maintaining contact with the enemy on the asymmetric battlefield. They were gravely mistaken.

All the principles of offense apply to asymmetric warfare just as they apply to conventional warfare. When the proper level of mass was left out of the equation, the principles of combat power and security could not be fully realized at the operational level or even the tactical level.⁴ In short, the lack of sufficient mass led to an inability to gain and maintain contact with the enemy on our terms. This in turn led to a failure to fully realize our combat power, which resulted in continuous and massive security shortfalls. There is

no way to accurately state how many U.S. troops died as a result, but I feel it is quite safe to estimate at least 35 percent of the total fatalities.

"THE SURGE"

In 2007, leaders in Washington and Arlington finally woke up, and the surge in Iraq commenced. It was remarkably and predictably successful, but that statement first needs qualification with some important details preceded by four pertinent questions:

1. Why was the surge postponed for so long?
2. Who were the high-ranking military officers and their governmental civilian counterparts who opposed or delayed the surge, and what was their rationale for doing so?
3. Were any of those officers promoted after being so spectacularly wrong?
4. How could such officers and senior Department of Defense civilians fail to grasp warfare fundamentals and yet rise to the ranks they achieved?

Now the details:

- The surge severely damaged al-Qaeda in Iraq and other terrorist groups by finally forcing them into a defensive posture, which soon had them withering on the vine.
- Outstanding intelligence operations, in part made possible by the additional troop numbers, further added to the insurgents' many woes.
- Logistics chains they had relied on to conduct their operations dried up.
- At this same time major developments in the field of counter-IED technology emerged, followed by rapid fielding of the systems.
- Upon experiencing the surge, the enemy finally believed that the United States was in the fight to win at all costs, which demoralized them.
- Excellent programs designed to encourage the Iraqi people to turn against

the insurgents began to bear a great deal of fruit.

- The Iraqi people, after experiencing voting in free and open elections for the first time, openly sought the additional benefits of democracy.

These details would never have been possible without the positive effects of mass, which allowed us to better gain and maintain contact with the enemy. These two factors acted as combat multipliers, with the end product being an exponential increase in combat power and thus security.

Now it is 2011, and some in the Iraqi government are sufficiently confident that almost all U.S. forces can depart by the end of the year. We indeed did use the "overwhelming forces over a period of time" (as I foretold), redeveloped the requisite skills for "counterguerrilla warfare basics" to be employed, and dramatically increased the number of special-operations forces who proved themselves "perfectly willing and capable of fighting on a guerrilla's level."

Al-Qaeda is just waiting for America to leave. In 2010 the Sons of Iraq, former terrorists who were enticed by a steady paycheck and a sense of national pride (as detailed in General Petraeus' counterinsurgency plan) to switch sides and support the new Iraqi government began returning to al-Qaeda as a result of the U.S. departure and their paychecks being late. Now they make more money from al-Qaeda. Money buys loyalty only until someone with more money comes along, and national pride won't outweigh the realities of a politically unstable Iraq that does not have the muscle needed to keep it alive and a terrorist network that is very patient. Far more patient than America.

I've been to war against and with Iraq and have many Iraqi friends and compatriots there, so I have a vested interest in Iraq's freedom-freedom they deserve. But the \$64,000 question now is whether the Iraqi people have the national and political will to hold this composite country together, as well as whether the Iraqi military and law enforcement agencies have the skills necessary to provide a level of security acceptable to the majority of the populace. To the latter's end, I have spent a great deal of time in Iraq training that country's military officers and NCOs and federal police in the tactical and operational skill sets necessary to conduct a successful counterterrorism

program. Now it is up to them to manifest those skill sets on the streets of Baghdad, Fallujah, Ramadi, Mosul, and Basra; in the villages and surrounding farms of the rural provinces; and along Iraq's borders with Iran and Syria, which are very problematic.



A medevac Blackhawk lifts off from a clinic in the Sunni Triangle with wounded troops from a sustained indirect-fire attack conducted by an alQaeda cell immediately after the death of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

NOTES

1. A sprawling area of pine trees, fields, and large plots of crops surrounded by a tall cement wall and given the moniker "Kuwaiti National Forest" by the U.S. Marines.



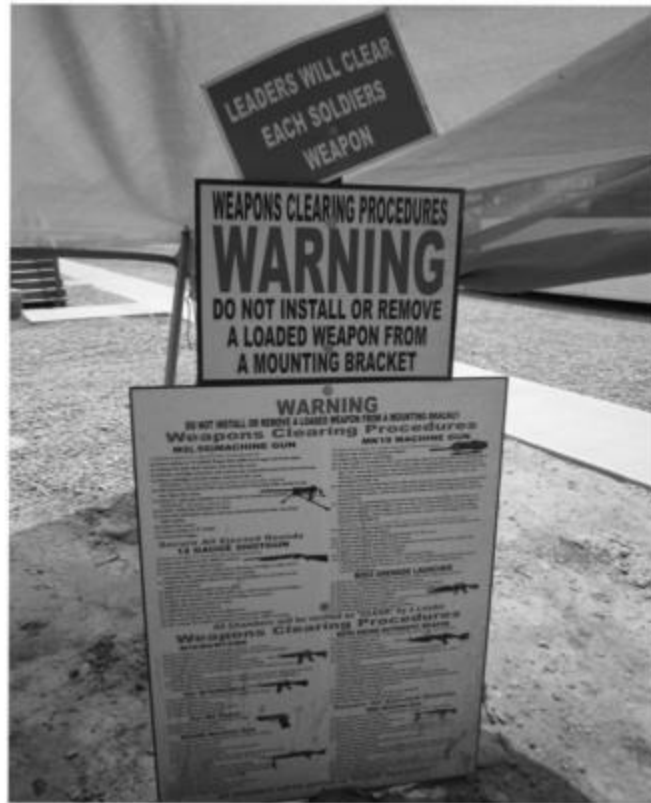
Iraqi Army up-armored HMMWVs (high-mobility multipurpose wheeled vehicle, or "humvees") heading out on patrol in a typical sandstorm. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



An Iraqi soldier dressed for the weather. Sandstorms obviously reduce visibility, making IED deployment less risky. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Iraqi insurgents have attacked, and are expected to continue to attack, municipal infrastructures, such as the power grid. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



An indicator of a unit or units with a leadership problem? This sign, ordered erected by a highranking officer, indicates certain leaders don't believe their soldiers are professional enough to clear their own weapons. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

2. Abbas was the mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking off the coast of Egypt in October 1985.
3. Adam Piore, "They Hide in Plain Sight," Newsweek online edition, July 2003.
4. Combat power is the sum of every asset a force can bring to bear in a battlespace. This includes the intangibles.

CHAPTER 20



In the Clear

The Guerrilla's Intelligence Collection Program Through the Global Media

"The writing on the wall, come read it, come see what it say."

-Bob Dylan, "Thunder on the Mountain"

In May 2010, Anwar al-Awlaki-the American-born alQaeda imam hiding out in Yemen who ordered the botched 2010 Times Square VBIED attack, the attempted Christmas 2009 airliner bombing, and the successful 2009 Fort Hood massacre-appeared on a video to thank the Washington Post for its timely assistance in keeping him safe from U.S. air strikes.

Sudarsan Raghavan and Spencer S. Hsu had written an article for the Post in which they revealed the fact that U.S. intelligence assets were monitoring the terrorist's communications, which told al-Awlaki that his location had been compromised. He immediately stopped using those communications channels and quickly moved to a new rat hole.¹ Shortly thereafter, when al-Awlaki's former hideout was decimated by American ordnance, the terrorist imam was many miles away and totally unscathed. The Department of justice apparently did not bother to look into how the reporters acquired this classified intelligence or from whom they acquired it. No charges were brought against the duo or newspaper, or the government official(s) who

provided the information.

Not to be outdone in the category of making it easier for terrorists to attack high-value intelligence targets inside the United States, the Washington Post's Dana Priest and William M. Arkin, on 19 July 2010, published a lengthy article that, among other things, gave highly specific directions to top-secret intelligence unit locations, including what floor one is on in a certain office building with other tenants in a named city, as well as detailed descriptions and locations of other top-secret units with nearby landmark references.² These "journalists" did this knowing that al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, the Taliban Party of Pakistan, and other groups would be able to benefit greatly from the information in compiling target folders, conducting target reconnaissance, and developing attack plans. The article immediately appeared on Hezbollah's official website.

Now what terrorist wouldn't appreciate that sort of extremely valuable assistance?

Had reporters for the Washington Post written an article in 1944 that gave explicit directions to and descriptions of buildings housing top-secret U.S. intelligence units, they would have been tried and convicted of treason. Today they will likely be nominated for Pulitzers. In 2011, some U.S. journalists sincerely believe that selling newspapers and winning awards are far more important than the lives of their fellow Americans. Raghavan, Hsu, Priest, and Arkin are heroes to al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Hezbollah, the New Black Panther Party, and their ilk.

WIIULEAK-S

When a foreign national, intelligence collector, and infamous computer hacker with no security clearance whatsoever acquires and disseminates 72,000 classified or sensitive documents on the U.S. military, intelligence, and counterterrorism operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan through its website, The New York Times, Der Spiegel, and The Guardian, it would suggest that there is a bit of a leak somewhere in the government's national security apparatus.

On 25 July 2010, Julian Assange, an Australian citizen who admits to

being a computer hacker, and his mainstream media partners published the trove of U.S. documents with much fanfare. The pending release was publicized for weeks, and highly visible stories about government agents searching for Assange began circulating. Assange, who peddles himself as a global paladin rather than the terrorist enabler he is, was scheduled to be the keynote speaker at a hackers convention called Hackers on Planet Earth (HOPE) in New York City just over a week before the felonious document drop, but he cancelled when a team of federal agents made a very splashy appearance the day before the convention asking about Assange. (Pentagon spokesman Colonel Dave Lapan USMC called the publication of these documents a "criminal act.") This farcical stunt was meant to scare Assange off, of course, so that the agents couldn't arrest him for illegally acquiring and publishing defense secrets. Had he been arrested, a very sticky and uncomfortable dilemma would have ensued for the Obama administration. Days prior, Assange was in the open at the annual TED (Technology Entertainment and Design) Conference in Oxford, England. Who ordered these agents to scare off Assange and why? Why did we release disinformation that led some people to believe the government wanted to interface with Assange?

Then, on 27 July 2010 during an appearance at the Frontline Club in London, Assange admitted to British journalists gathered there that he had received a warning from "inside sources in the White House" not to enter the United States because if he did so his arrest would be required.

A few days after the document dump, President Obama stated at a press conference:

"While I am concerned about the disclosure of sensitive information from the battlefield that could potentially jeopardize individuals or operations, the fact is these documents do not reveal any issues that have not already informed our public debate on Afghanistan. Indeed they point to the same challenges that led me to conduct an extensive review of our policy last fall. For seven years, we failed to implement a strategy adequate to the challenge in this region."

Could potentially jeopardize individuals or operations? There are dozens upon dozens of Afghan intelligence informants named in these documents, in

many cases along with their villages and fathers' names. By the time you read this, many of those informants will be dead, with the remainder being as good as dead as al-Qaeda and Taliban track down and execute them. Now what Afghan citizen in his right mind will provide intel to the United States, knowing he could be ratted out by someone in the U.S. government and one sick bastard from Australia?

Interestingly, WikiLeaks claims on its website that all these documents were leaked to them by a single source and admits it acquired and published this "secret" intelligence on the war in order to "change its course." WikiLeaks even published operational classified intelligence on a now-no-longer clandestine special operations unit operating in the black. The dedicated webpage containing an explanation of the intelligence archive is also filled with typographical errors and appears to have been written by a sixth-grade computer geek who flunked writing class.

How is it that the Department of Justice has arrested just a single soldier (Private First Class Bradley Manning, for whom military prosecutors are not seeking the death penalty even though Manning has been charged with "aiding the enemy") for leaking intelligence? If Assange is being truthful in his claim that he had a single source of all this classified intelligence, what level position and security clearance would such a source need to have? Extraordinarily high on both counts is the answer. Also, when a classified document is accessed by someone with the proper level clearance and need to know, that access is automatically logged and monitored, and important details of that access retained to facilitate investigations into leaks and other improprieties. A moderately talented investigator would be able to determine suspected leak sources in fairly short order.

Days after Assange posted the documents, the Taliban released a statement saying they would use the documents to kill Afghan informants. Assange said he would regret those murders but added, "that is what happens in war, that spies or traitors are investigated." How quickly he writes off the deaths of so many while claiming he is a hero of the oppressed.

This was followed by five self-styled "human rights" groups (including Amnesty International) urging Assange to redact the names of informants or take down documents with such names. He retaliated by saying that it wasn't

his responsibility alone and he was too busy to do so, and threatening to attack via press release one of the main groups if it didn't offer assistance. He also complained in a "tweet" that the "media won't take responsibility."

But the biggest question of all: what other classified intelligence has been stolen and leaked to the media or could be leaked in the future?

Senator John Kerry, who as a U.S. Navy Reserve officer secretly met with the enemy in Paris during the Vietnam War to advise them about the peace talks, praised the release of the classified intelligence:

"However illegally these documents came to light, they raise serious questions about the reality of America's policy toward Pakistan and Afghanistan. Those policies are at a critical stage, and these documents may very well underscore the stakes and make the calibrations needed to get the policy right more urgent."³

CNN jumped in to support Manning, too. On 5 August 2010, CNN's Ashley Fantz posted a lengthy article on the network's website that used classic propaganda techniques to make the unaware reader feel sorry for and want to support the traitor. Strewn like mines across the article's terrain were phrases like "Bradley Manning is alone," "in solitary confinement," "he could go to prison until he's a very old man," "from a young age, [he] couldn't help but get involved when he perceived an injustice," "his father, Brian Manning, is reportedly a military veteran," "got straight As," "quite energetic, always full of ideas and had a high moral compass," "would always speak up if he thought that something was wrong without actually thinking of the consequences," "had a great sense of justice," and "was homeless ... drove across the country, living out of a beat-up red truck, working odd jobs."

As someone who is certified by the Department of Defense to teach defense against propaganda, I found this open and farcically inept attempt by CNN to influence its audience laughably easy to recognize.

Regardless of who leaked the intel and why, the Taliban and al-Qaeda are benefiting from it. Assange's reputation has now been elevated within al-Qaeda and the Taliban to the level of hero. The propaganda value alone that al-Qaeda and the Taliban will reap from this scandal is inestimable, not to

mention how they will now be able to refine their operations so that they can kill more Coalition forces.

GOOGLE EARTH

A valuable and very practical tool for insurgents is Google Earth, brought to you by the company that has been data-mining for the White House by secretly inserting code in their software that allowed Google to illegally acquire payload data from private residential and business WI-FI nets. (Consumer Watchdog's John M. Simpson wrote a letter to the Energy and Commerce Committee warning about the unhealthy union between Google and the government: "It appears that Google holds classified U.S. government contracts to supply search and geospatial information to the U.S. government. In addition, White House records show that Google executives have been holding meetings with U.S. national security officials for undisclosed reasons. Finally, it also appears that Google's widely criticized efforts to collect wireless network data on American citizens were not inadvertent, contrary to the company's claims."⁴ Andrew McLaughlin, Obama's deputy chief technology officer, was formerly director of global public policy and government affairs at Google.

You can read more about this at the following sites:

google-wi-fi-data-collection-discussed-by-30-attorneys-general.html

Google Earth, which most users have access to at no charge, uses satellite imagery, aerial photography, and the Geographic Information System (GIS) 3D to capture images.

For insurgents, the primary use of Google Earth would be to acquire target reconnaissance data with minimal risk to the cell doing the collecting. Depending on the target in regard to exact target location, camera angle, resolution, and when the image was captured, Google Earth can eliminate the need for a recon team to physically visit the target (or potential target), thus reducing the likelihood of compromising the recon team. However, Google Earth is not a live feed, which means real-time activity at the target cannot be ascertained by the recon team just by using the system. Also, it would not be at all surprising if the U.S. National Security Agency and the United

Kingdom's Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) were tracking suspicious Google Earth searches by tracing internet protocol (IP) addresses. And, no, "hiding" an IP address by using one of the services available to do so would not be enough to stop the NSA or GCHQ from ferreting out who did a particular search.

In 2009, Pakistan's leading daily English language newspaper, The News, published a Google Earth photo of the CIA's once topsecret Predator base at Shamsi airfield in Pakistan's Baluchistan Province. The Times of London then acquired the same photo, which was taken in 2006. The photo showed three drones parked on the tarmac. The moment it was published, the Taliban and alQaeda had confirmation that, despite U.S. and Pakistani government denials, the United States had been operating the deadly unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) from within Pakistan. This also demonstrated an operational security (OPSEC) cock-up in that the CIA was exposing Predators at a top-secret base in the bright light of day; not a smooth move. This, of course, does not mean the Predators were still at Shamsi when the photos were published. However, a more recent image published by The Times showed the same facilities with a new hangar and support building construction, and a new blast wall, but with no Predators in sight.

Google Maps "Street View" uses photos taken around the world by specially equipped vehicles that show street addresses and property specifics from ground level. Adding to that controversy was a story in Wirtschaftswoche (a German business magazine) in August 2010 about Google purchasing a downsized UAV that could be used for airborne surveillance from a company called Microdrones in Siegen. Microdrones said it expected to sell more to Google, too.

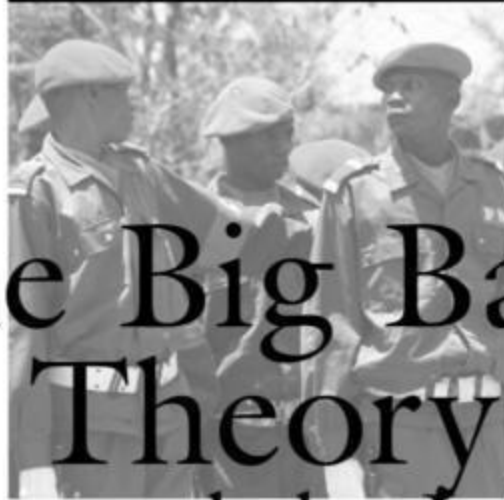
Now join Google Earth and Google "Street View" capabilities with the intel published by the Washington Post's Priest and Arkin. You get the picture. Literally.

NOTES

1. William Chedsey, "Jihadist al-Awlaki: Washington Post Saved Me from Airstrike," Newsmax, 25 May 2010.

2. Dana Priest and William M. Arkin, "Top Secret America," Washington Post, 19 July 2010.
3. Ashish Kumar Sen, "Leaks Raise U.S. Policy Doubts," Washington Times, 26 July 2010.

CHAPTER 21



The Big Bang Theory

Evolution and the Improvised Explosive Device

"My idea of a fair fight is clubbing baby harp seals."

-Colonel Bryan P. McCoy USMC

25 May 2010. The hapless donkey, its stoic face a reflection of its soon-to-be-ended life as a beast of burden, wandered toward the security barrier that divides Israel from Gaza. The driverless cart the creature pulled was filled with more than 400 pounds of explosives and detonated 60 yards short of the concrete wall. The thunderous explosion shook the earth for miles around.

A new tactic? Hardly. In very recent times the use of living animals to deliver IEDs has been seen from Colombia to Afghanistan, Iraq to Gaza.

It did not take insurgents long after the fall of Baghdad and Saddam's flight to his hidey-hole near Tikrit to begin building and deploying with horrific effect what would quickly become known as IEDs: improvised explosive devices. These command-, pressure-, and pressure-release-detonated booby

traps are responsible for the deaths and wounding of thousands of soldiers and Marines in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as untold civilians. Methods of employment evolved just as quickly as IED design. Soon IEDs went from comparably small weapons to devices that were shockingly powerful. Weapon- and site-specific detonation mechanisms, and the especially deadly explosively formed penetrator (EFP; also called a projectile) escalated the carnage.



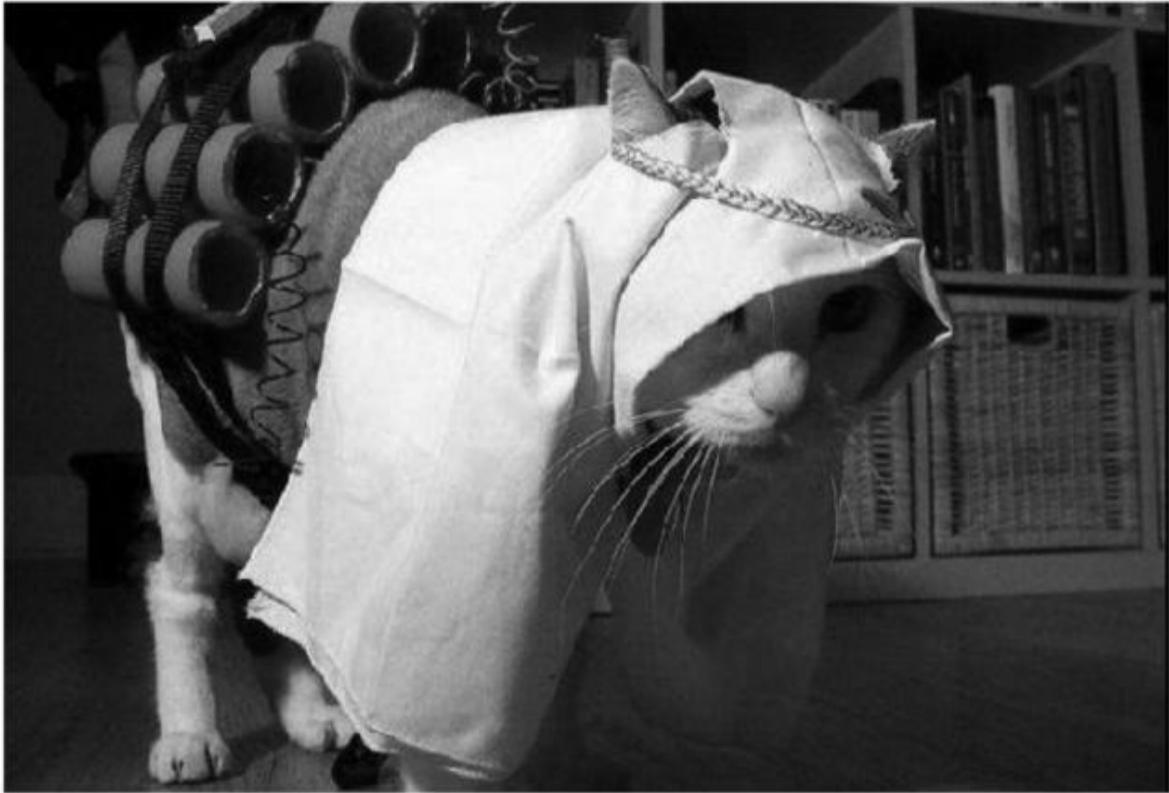
Will these Palestinian children grow up to be IED builders? (Hezbollah photo.)



One day a street protestor, the next a VBIED driver. (Hezbollah photo.)



Specialists Erin Hammer and Ronald Gardner of the 1st Cavalry Regiment with EFPs (the can-shaped items on the left) captured in Jurf Nadaf, Iraq. (1st Cavalry Regiment photo.)



Rig cats with IEDs? No, because cats will not go where you tell them to go, unless the destination is their food bowl or a bag of catnip. But more trainable animals? Definitely. (Photo by "Sergeant Chuck.")

EXPLOSIVELY FORMED PENETRATORS: FROM IRAN'S REVOLUTIONARY GUARD TO IRAQ ...

EFPs are a form of shaped charge (a directional explosive) that use a core of molten copper or steel, called a slug, to penetrate even the most heavily armored vehicles. Twelve inches of armor plating can be dynamically compromised by an EFP traveling at 2,000 meters per second fired at an optimal angle toward the armored vehicle. They can even penetrate the hull of an Abrams main battle tank. When the slug enters the crew compartment, the molten metal maims and kills in ways that need not be described in detail here. Suffice to say that it is not something you ever want to see, much less experience.

Detonated most often by an infrared beam, these EFPs arrive in Iraq mostly from Iranian Revolutionary Guard (al Quds) factories in Tehran,

specifically in that city's Shiroodi, Sayad Shirazi, and Sattari sectors. They are then moved by truck to border crossings, such as Shalamcheh (Basra Province), where they are smuggled into Iraq in Iraqi trucks driven by Iranians. EFPs are also smuggled into Iraq by supposed religious pilgrims in cars, some of whom are Revolutionary Guard operatives, and smuggling rings (paid by the Revolutionary Guard) using vehicles and even donkeys. Some donkeys have been trained to move across the border unaccompanied by humans; the local inhabitants know not to interfere with donkeys carrying loads and moving from place to place by themselves. Every Iraqi province along the Iranian border (Basra, Diyala, Wasit, Misan, Erbil, and Sulamaniyah) is used to smuggle EFPs. Incredibly, the United States remains unwilling to target the Tehran EFP factories, costing many scores of Americans serving in Iraq their lives.

... AND AFGHANISTAN

In 2007, Secretary of Defense Gates stated that the Iranian government was also shipping EFPs into Afghanistan, destined for the Taliban.¹ In 2009, he publicly admitted those shipments were increasing in size.² Coalition casualties immediately began to rise correspondingly. The Pashtun-dominated, sparsely populated province of Farah in southwestern Afghanistan has become a major smuggling region for the EFPs coming in from Sistan and Baluchistan Province in Iran, the country's poorest and most desolate province. In 2007 (and not coincidentally), Iranian dictator Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, himself a former member of the Revolutionary Guard, promoted the Chabahar FreeTrade Industrial Zone to advisory body status, thus possibly expanding EFP smuggling options and opportunities.

EFPs with unique Afghan signatures are also appearing on the battlefield, as are EFPs with a combination of Iranian and third-party components. How much explosive material is the Iranian government shipping into Afghanistan for the terrorist cells they are controlling? Just one 40-foot shipping container intercepted by Afghan security personnel along the border in October 2010 was packed with 22 tons of explosives disguised as toys, kitchenware, and food items.



EFPs and under-the-overpass IEDs that direct the force of the weapon's blast downward into the up-armored Humvee's turret demonstrate clever adaptations by the insurgents. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Iran's domestically produced Bavar-2 flying boats could easily be rigged as flying boat improvised explosive devices (FBIEDs). The terrorist state claims

to have three squadrons. (Iranian Defense Ministry photo.)



Rapid IED evolution led to the nearly-as-rapid evolution of the now-ubiquitous MRAP (mine resistant ambush protected) and its many variants. Note the jamming gear. (Photo by R.P. Newman.).



Today all in-theater MRAPs are equipped with IED-jamming technology, which is constantly evolving and has saved untold lives. The people who invented and continue to quickly improve these systems are unsung heroes. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



The "Buffalo" MRAP has a reticulating arm for manipulating suspected IEDs. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

IED/VBIED DEPLOYMENT TECHNIQUES

How IEDs are deployed and detonated has become a pseudoscience and reveals insurgents who are as clever as they are ruthless and remorseless.

On today's asymmetric battlefields in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Philippines, Chechnya, Thailand, Mexico, and elsewhere, IEDs are placed alongside, on, under, and above roads; inside buildings; in agricultural fields; along trails; and inside or under vehicles, the latter of which are called vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs). A "sticky bomb" is an IED usually attached to a vehicle's undercarriage, inside the engine compartment, or in the wheel well. They can also be attached to bicycles and motorcycles, hidden inside the tubular frame of a bike, or placed on a live animal, such as a donkey or camel. IEDs can be stashed under crops being carried on a cart or carried in a pack, basket, or bag. And they can be worn as bomb belts or bomb vests.



Insurgents hide IEDs under or in dead animals. This one had three 81mm mortar rounds under it. The author found it while conducting covert surveillance on a Pakistani village. The Taliban had placed it on the village's

perimeter. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



An IED detonates and Marines from "I" Company, 3rd Battalion, 6th Marines take cover near Marjah in Afghanistan's Helmand Province. (U.S. Marine Corps photo by Lance Corporal Tommy Bellegarde.)

IEDs can be hidden inside or under dead animals, in garbage bags and cans, inside a culvert or other pipe running beneath a road or trail, and even on the underside of an overpass so that the blast is directed downward into the open turret of a combat vehicle.



MRAPs with mine rollers, Baghdad Province. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Places of worship belonging to U.S. forces are a natural VBIED target. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Decoys are oftentimes used, too, as are channeling techniques that guide victims along a certain avenue of approach where the IED awaits. And daisy-chaining (attaching multiple IEDs along a single wire) is commonplace.



Rigging a portable toilet with an IED would be a psychological as well as a physical weapon. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



U.S. Army Strykers are readied for a patrol through IED country. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

IEDs can be detonated in a variety of ways, including victimdetonated (pressure and pressure release, for example, as in with a pressure plate or trip wire), command-detonated via hard wire, passive infrared (PIR), and radio-controlled.



Terrorists can attempt to rig septic waste trucks as VBIEDs. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Full fuel trucks rigged as IEDs are combat multipliers. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

DEFEATING THE IED/VBIED

The tactical answer to IEDs?

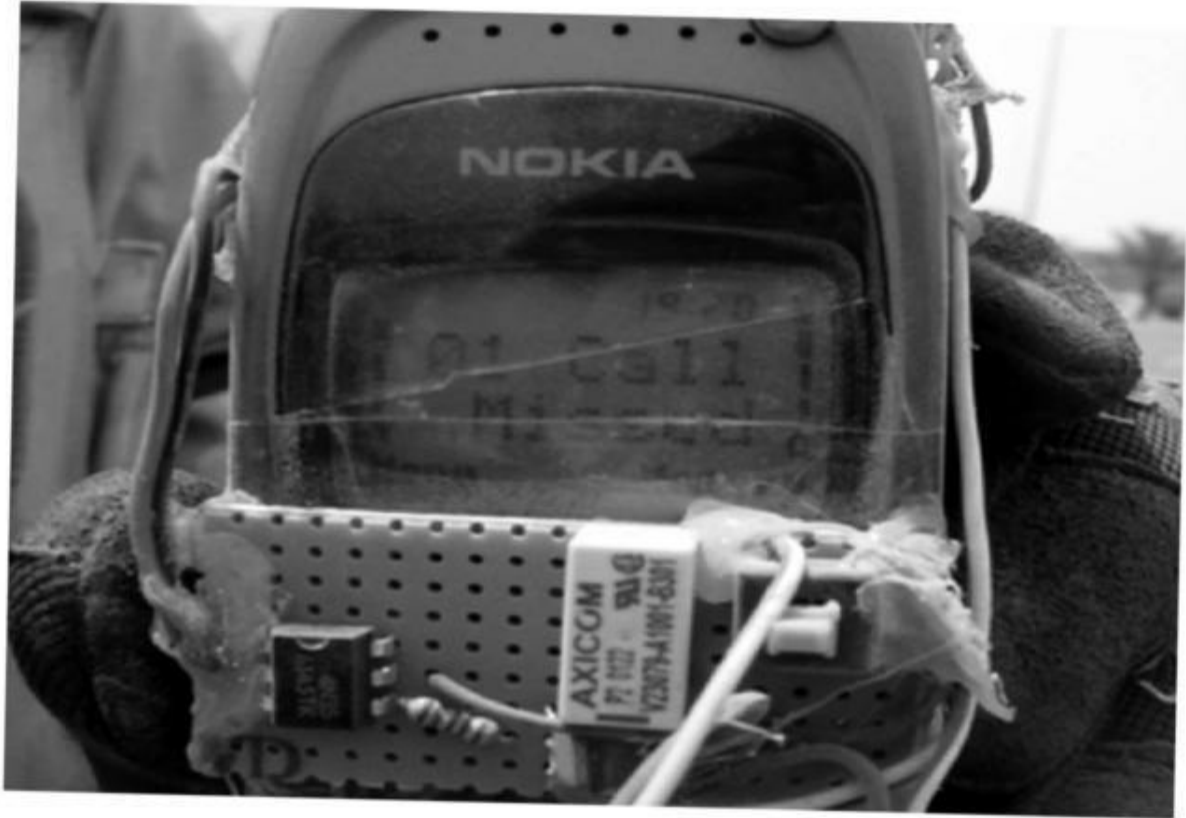
Excellent training and proven leaders who teach troops to recognize the signs that an IED may be nearby, the best possible MRAPs, outstanding intelligence collection and exploitation, a system of alternating and effectively clearing routes, proven counterinsurgency methodologies and programs, and continued improvement of jammer technology, which has come a very long way in a short time. But while all these are very important, they will be of limited value without an adaptable, proven, clever, and fearsome fighting force, such as the Marine Corps, to see them to fruition.

NOTES

1. During a Pentagon news conference, 2 February 2007.
2. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, 27 January 2010.



The real world lies just beyond these signs. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Not your average cell phone. (U.S. Army photo.)

CHAPTER 22



Bungle in the Jungle

War in the Weeds

"Lions and tigers who wait in the shadows."

-Jethro Tull, "Bungle in the Jungle"

When many people think about the term guerrilla warfare, they picture a dirty, crafty, and dangerous rural ruffian holding an AK-47 while lurking in some steamin' 'n' screamin' jungle a long way from civilization as we know it. And he's probably a Commie. In a lot of cases that picture would still be quite accurate. But in some cases, he's an anti-Commie, like the legendary Vang Pao, the Hmong guerrilla leader who fought the Japanese and North Vietnamese in Laos and became one of the CIA's most effective insurgent assets ever. They don't make 'em like Vang Pao anymore.

There are plenty of guerrilla wars of varying intensity being waged in jungles around the world at this very moment, but we can't get into them all. I have selected five to brief you on that deserve our attention because of the elevated chances of one or more of them involving the United States in some way: the Congo, India, Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia.

We'll start with the Congo, where I was recently able to be found if you

knew just where to look and precisely when to look there.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Standing in the shadows of the Congolese jungle 20 feet from the near bank of the Tshopo, some noisy but amusing and pretty gray parrots squawking above me, I watched dugout canoe after dugout canoe, ranging from 6 feet to more than 50 feet, make their way toward town as the late afternoon light waned and the night creatures began their choruses and hunting forays.¹ Loaded with all manner of agricultural commodities, the boats were making the daily trek to the sprawling and aromatic market that would have the goods on offer bright and early the following morning. The men and the women, the boys and the girls, the old and the young, all paddled and poled as their ancestors had done since ... since when?

How easy it would be, I thought, to smuggle weapons under all that stuff. And, indeed, Congolese guerrillas have been smuggling weapons in canoes for God knows how long. Dugout canoes are to the rivers of the Congo what sampans are to the Mekong, bonka boats are to the Philippines, Grand Lakers are to Down East, and mokoros are to the Okavango: prime movers.



A cargo dugout moves along the Tshopo River in the Congo. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Having seen enough canoes for the day, I was about to leave when I heard the distinct sound of two women speaking Lingala coming toward my position from downriver. When they were directly in front of me and about 40 feet away, I stepped out of the jungle into the small clearing beside me.

The sudden appearance of a bald white man on the banks of the Tshopo in the middle of the Congo had the expected effect on the ladies—they stopped talking (and paddling) mid-sentence, their mouths actually agape and their eyebrows and foreheads contorted to reflect their genuine surprise. They had the same look on their faces as did the patrons of the Dexter Lake Club when the Animal House guys walked in with their dates.

Recognizing my one and only chance to go down in Congolese jungle lore, I spread my arms wide, tipped my face to the sky, and bellowed "Mzunguuuuuuuu!"² My booming Marine Corps voice echoed up and down the river.

The ladies' eyes widened to the point of no return and their mouths fell even further agape. Absolute silence descended on the river and jungle (even the parrots shut up for the first time ever).

I slowly lowered my arms and face, looked at them, and grinned and winked. This sent them, as I had hoped it would, into fits of raucous hysteria, their brilliant smiles now replacing the stunned expressions of total surprise. One of them was flailing about so wildly that she nearly capsized the little canoe, which had only about 4 inches of freeboard in the first place. They then asked me for some beer, knowing that no mzungus could possibly wander about the jungle without beer, so I passed them each a bottle of Primus, thus securing my rightful place in Congolese history as the bald white man who suddenly appears from the jungle to scare Congolese ladies paddling canoes and then gives them cold beer. So I've got that going for me.

After chatting them up in French (given the dilapidated state of my Lingala and Swahili) for about 10 minutes, I told them I had to go home, a pronouncement that was met with instant disappointment and repeated pleas

for me to get into the canoe, supposedly to go fishing with them. Being an angler of considerable renown (I have caught 187 species of fish on the fly and light tackle, and am the author of several fly-fishing and angling books as well as many hundreds of fishing articles in dozens of magazines, from Field & Stream on down), I was inclined to acquiesce to their requests, but then noticed they had no fishing rods, not even a hand line, in fact. Realizing they intended to paddle upriver a ways and then hustle me into the bush so that I might avail myself of their feminine wares—a not altogether unpleasant prospect, given their admirable aesthetic qualities—I snapped out of it. I said that my beautiful wife of 26 years would not see her way clear to accepting my story of such an encounter as being solely in the interest of improved international diplomacy and interracial harmony, although both are laudable goals. With long faces they then paddled off into the dusk, but only after they pried two more beers out of me.



The lovely and humorous Congolese ladies startled by the author's sudden appearance. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



A canoe moves down the Congo River below old Stanleyville, now called
(Photo by R.P. Newman.)



The author with some of the Congo's future. What guerrilla wars will they see during their lives? (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Members of the Congolese reconnaissance platoon (the "Black Mambas") of a light infantry battalion, which the author helped train, put some fresh infantry recruits through physical training. Few dare volunteer for the life of extreme hardship the Mambas must endure, and fewer still survive the

entrance examination. Any member of the platoon can be relieved and sent back to the rifle companies at any time for the slightest sign of weakness or any disciplinary infraction whatsoever. The platoon was made especially dangerous thanks to American trainers "Saint" and "Double A," both retired Army Rangers. The middle soldier in the pushup position in the bottom photo (wearing a darker T-shirt) facing the recruits is the battalion commander. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Land of Perpetual Guerrilla War

The current horrors the Congo is experiencing are the progeny of various factors, but one major one is King Leopold II of Belgium, who plundered the Congo Free State (which he personally owned) between 1877 and 1908, and whose murderous thugs, the Force Publique, brutalized the indigenous inhabitants to force them to produce more rubber for that rapidly expanding industry. Historians believe around half of the Congo Free State's population perished during this period from smallpox, sleeping sickness, and abuse (Force Publique enforcers, when they felt a native was not working hard enough to produce rubber, tended to lop off a limb or two as a lesson to the victim and all those nearby).

That period set the tone for what was to follow from 1960 to the present: moral and ethical misconduct on a scale unimaginable to most Westerners: genocide, disease (including Ebola virus), malnutrition, tribal warfare, terrorism, guerrilla armies, political assassination (sanctioned and financed by the United States in at least one case), environmental destruction, cannibalism, geopolitical subterfuge, racial and fiscal exploitation, tyranny. Pick a pejorative and you can probably apply it to the hapless Congo. When your government is corrupt to the core ("le Heal Zairois"), your people are desperately poor, and your country is rich in gold, timber, tantalum, diamonds, tin, cobalt, copper, tungsten, and other resources, you can expect a rough go of it, especially when you throw personal agendas and greed into the equation. You can research the details of these endless travesties and crimes against humanity in other texts and mediums if you choose. They are well documented.

Relevant to this book are the two guerrilla fights going on in the Congo right now. These are the continued incursions from Uganda into the Congo

by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a terrorist group led by Joseph Kony, and the savagery that is taking place in the lawless Kivus (North and South Kivu Provinces) in eastern Congo.

LRA

Mysticism and Ugandan spirit mediums. American private military companies. The Ten Commandants. George W. Bush. Russian helicopter gunships. A United Nations hit team made up of Guatemalan special-operations troops. Barack Obama. Cannibalism. The International Criminal Court. Sex slaves. Child guerrillas as young as five. The CIA. An Anglican archbishop. Hillary Clinton. The LRA involves all these and more.

The most enduring guerrilla group in Africa has a story that even the most imaginative Hollywood action-thriller producer would never believe. And had you told me in 1987, when the group was formed, that 23 years later I would be in the Congo training a military unit that might very well find itself hunting a cannibalistic, self-styled mystic Ugandan terrorist that a U.N. assassination team had failed (and all of them died trying) to kill, I would have asked you for some of whatever you had been drinking.



"John," a U.S. Special Forces operator, works a personal security detail (PSD) for a diplo-military function in the Congo involving the DRC government, U.S. Department of State, U.S. Africa Command, Special Operations Command Africa, and civilian defense contractors. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Will this Congolese infantry officer find himself fighting a Ugandan madman? (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Congolese infantrymen prepare their afternoon meal, which consists of bread, rice or manioc, a piece of whatever meat is available, and some beans. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



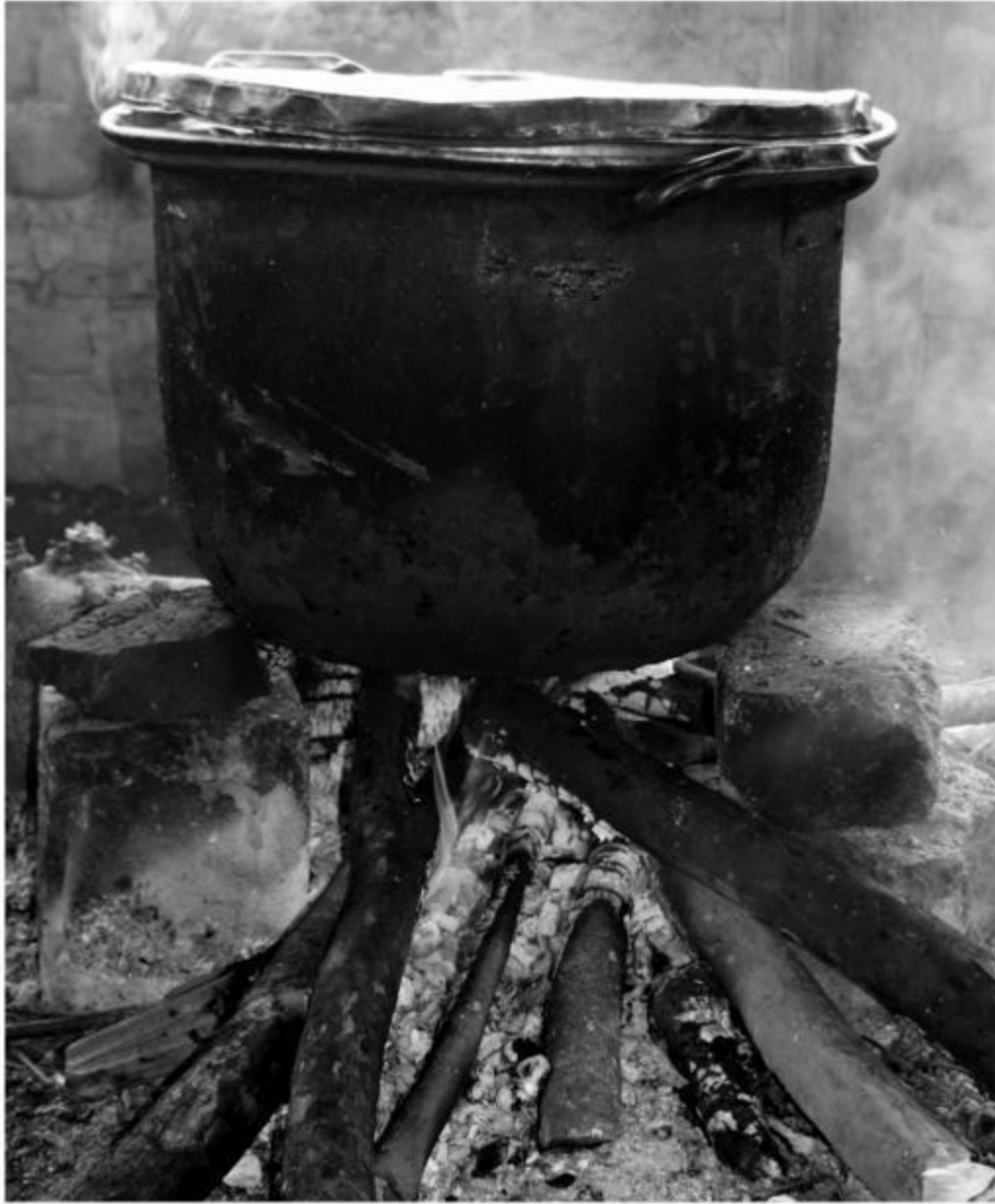
"James," a private military contractor, in the Congolese town of Kisangani, which saw tremendous bloodshed after the Ugandan military sacked it. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

For about a quarter of a century, Joseph Kony, ably aided by his band of savages, has been on a killing, raping, and cannibalizing rampage in Uganda and neighboring Congo and Sudan. Nevertheless, very few Americans have ever heard of Kony or his crimes against humanity. Were this animal on the loose in Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, or Asia, world governments and the media would be all over him. But he operates in central Africa, where his crimes are of concern to few in the West.

In 1986, Kony proclaimed himself to be in contact with the spirit world, gathered some followers who liked his idea of overthrowing Uganda President Yoweri Museveni and the support of Sudanese tyrant Omar al-Bashir, and commenced a guerrilla war in some ways like none other. He founded the Lord's Resistance Army in 1987, which he says is ruled by the Ten Commandments, and set about killing literally tens of thousands

(approximately 65,000) of Ugandans, Sudanese, and Congolese and displacing somewhere around 2 million who scattered at the mere rumor of his being somewhere in the vicinity. Kony increased his terror group's size by forcibly recruiting many children (one estimate is 40,000 kids over the years) to do his bidding. Rape and the taking of women as sex slaves are just two of his terror weapons and he and his pack eat some of their victims. Arms and ammunition came from the Sudanese dictator, along with guerrilla training. Kony fled into the Congo and established a series of camps and many caches in Garamba National Park.

In 2005 the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued arrest warrants for Kony, his deputy Vincent Otti, and three of his military commanders. In 2006, Interpol, acting on behalf of the ICC, sent notices to 184 countries about the ICC warrants. Two of the five have since been killed. In 2006, the United Nations, on orders from its Secretary General Kofi Annan (who is from Ghana), sent a team of about 40 Guatemalan specialoperations forces, who had been trained by U.S. troops in jungle warfare, into Garamba to assassinate Kony and as many of his followers as was humanly possible. They found the LRA and attacked but were themselves massacred (it is reported that none survived), and only five LRA terrorists were killed. LRA soldiers took the weapons from the UN soldiers but left their bodies in the jungle. Annan later learned that Kony wasn't even in Garamba at the time of the strike. In fact, he wasn't even in the Congo, but rather the Sudan.



A cauldron boils in the Congolese jungle. What's inside may not look, smell, or taste good to Westerners, but when you are fighting in the jungle, you eat what you get and are glad to have it. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Village ladies help the troops prepare a meal. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Fish from the Congo River are on the menu today. This one has been "butterfly" filleted. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

In 2008, Anglican Archbishop John Odama met with Kony several times to try to convince him to stop the slaughter but to no avail.



"Saint" uses a primitive paper flip chart and stick to teach tactics to a Congolese counter guerrilla force. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



He'll kill you with the same look of classic African stoicism that his people have been wearing for as long as they can remember. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



The author with some of his students. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Base camp for the author's light infantry battalion in the Congolese jungle.
(Photo by R.P. Newman.)

In December 2008, a joint U.S.-Ugandan attack termed Operation Lightning Thunder struck at Kony in Garamba using Ugandan Mi-24 helicopter gunships aided by a small U.S. special operations team on the ground. Kony escaped unharmed again and then butchered thousands of Congolese villagers as revenge.



The author instructing Congolese light infantry troops how to rush. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



A Congolese infantryman yells to a teammate to cover him while he moves forward toward the objective. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



The venerable AK-47: the choice of all good African troops and a great many African guerrillas. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

The United States wisely continues to support African stability programs. These important programs train African armed forces in dozens of countries how to be more professional and not commit war crimes while conducting military operations. They are staffed with former and retired U.S. military personnel working for defense industry corporations.

Meanwhile, the LRA's bloodbath continues and has spread into the Central African Republic.



The author's Congolese troops' morale was remarkably high despite a very deprived existence. Here they are singing about their life and experiences. I miss them every day of my life. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



"Josh," a private military contractor, with his charges in the Congo. (Photo by "Josh.")



Congolese infantry weapons (MI(48 light machine guns, AI(s, RPGs, and 60mm mortars) laid out for a light technical inspection by private military contractors. (Photo by "Josh.")



Machine gun maintenance class in the Congo. (Photo by "Josh.")



Why are the orange trees covered with vines and the ground with weeds and grass? Because Ugandan troops mined the orange grove, and no one has bothered to clear it since, so all the Congolese stay out of it. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Kivus

Autumn 2010 saw a great deal more media coverage of the catastrophe that is North and South Kivu Provinces. Tens of thousands of Congolese women and children have been raped by marauding tribal gunmen in this remote region of Eastern Congo along the Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi borders. United Nations and some rebel Congolese troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Mayele of the Mai Mai Cheka have also been implicated, with the latter providing strong evidence for the continuation of the aforementioned training programs sponsored by the United States. Congolese forces arrested Mayele in North Kivu near Walikale in October 2010.

INDIA

Mighty India.

Stepping off the plane and out of the terminal into the raucous cacophony of Mumbai (formerly Bombay) is always a treat of sorts for the senses. While being driven through the squalor and streets, I was reminded of the remarkably violent history of India that includes so many guerrillas, insurgents, and invaders, from the British to the Mongols to the Pakistanis and myriad others. Little did I know that not long after that trip many people from all over would be asking me for analysis and advice following Lashkar-e-Taiba's horrific amphibious terrorist raid on that very city.

India is a land of remarkable contrasts. There is stunning beauty and great ugliness, widespread genius and depressing ignorance, tremendous passion and terrible malaise, massive wealth and criminal poverty, commonplace kindness and shocking cruelty. Perhaps Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, who won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913, summed up life and death in India best when he wrote:

"The night is black and the forest has no end; a million people thread it in a million ways. We have trysts to keep in the darkness, but where or with whom-of that we are unaware. But we have this faith-that a lifetime's bliss will appear any minute, with a smile upon its lips."

Diverse Insurgent Saturation to the Nth Degree

According to the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs, there are nearly 175 terrorist groups currently operating in India.

You read that right.

Of course, those groups vary widely in number of personnel, operational capability, range, attack scope, strength of commitment, and so on. Many are highly localized, poorly trained, ineptly organized, and border on inactivity, but others are as deadly and aggressive as they come.

India's tumultuous history, many divergent ethnic groups, caste system, contentious neighbors, territorial claims, poverty, corruption, religions, geopolitical juxtapositions, size (the world's seventh largest country in land

mass but second in population at 1.2 billion), and many other factors have all come together to make this ancient land perfect for insurgencies and terrorists. But of all the terrorist threats there, one overrides all others, and that is the terrorist threat from Pakistan.

Kashmir: Britain, Bad Blood, and a Beautiful Land

As can be accurately said about so many wars, this one can be traced back to and directly pinned on Great Britain, which pains me to say because I have so much British blood in me. But that doesn't change the facts. Britain's ugly conquest of the region, brutal rule over it, and subsequent flight from it in 1947 brought on the horrific war that continues to this day.

Kashmir is disputed by India and Pakistan primarily, but China also claims that Aksai Chin and Shaksam Valley belong to it, and certain Kashmir separatist groups are fighting for selfdetermination and the right to be free from all these nations. India and Pakistan have fought three traditional wars (1947, 1965, and 1999) over Kashmir. The fourth war is ongoing and asymmetric, and perhaps best illustrated by the live global broadcast of the Pakistani Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) attack on Mumbai from 26-29 November 2010, during which I was FOX News Channel's primary on-air hotel security and counterterrorism analyst.³

What happens in Kashmir matters to the United States and the Western powers for a couple of reasons. One is that both India and Pakistan are nuclear powers, and a full-blown war between the two could destabilize the entire region. Another reason is that militant Islamic extremists, including elements of al-Qaeda and the Taliban, have gotten involved in the conflict, with the intent of forcing India to leave the Kashmir region. Their stated goal is to make Kashmir an Islamist state, which would provide a secure platform from which to launch a jihad against non-Muslim countries in the region. Part of its larger goals, according to its website, is to destroy India, and wipe out Hinduism and Judaism.

India Counterinsurgency

In late September 2010, pretty solid intelligence indicated that al-Qaeda wanted to conduct attacks in Europe based upon LeT's attack in Mumbai (i.e.,

small teams inserting covertly and attacking multiple targets in a single major city with no intention of egressing). The United States ramped up Predator strikes in Pakistan as a hopeful means of breaking up plans for these attacks.

LeT is the most serious threat to Indian security. It is backed by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI, the national intelligence agency in Pakistan) and was a major financial source for the 2008 Mumbai attacks. And it is reported that LeT operates several militant training camps in the areas of Kashmir controlled by Pakistan. Still, even if the ISI and LeT were wiped out to a man, another criminal Pakistani government organization would take ISI's place and another terrorist group would replace the LeT.

With 175 terrorist groups, a gargantuan population, the Kashmir problem (which is Islam-based), a wide array of religious sects, and extreme poverty, India must develop an especially unique counterinsurgency model if it hopes to ever attain some semblance of peace. But such a program would still be for naught unless the Indian people decide they have had enough.

India is continually improving its ability to prevent terror attacks, but I am not at liberty to discuss them here. I was just one of a group of people assisting India in this endeavor. As always, challenges include a massive and diverse population, intelligence failures, corruption, dedicated terrorist groups and cells, and a very target-rich environment. What will eventually become of Kashmir remains to be seen.

PHILIPPINES

One doesn't really expect an armored personnel carrier to come bounding up the entrance and into the lobby of the opulent Peninsula Manila hotel and open up with its .50 cal. Usually one expects to have to pay extra for such an experience! But it happened. It is the Philippines, after all.

Fifteen months after that incident (some army officers had just attempted a coup, failed, and fled into the "Pen" pursued by Filipino marines), I was back in the Philippines again teaching maritime antiterrorism. Things had certainly gotten worse since my first time in the Philippines (1978).

The Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago consisting of more than

7,000 islands between the South China Sea and the Philippine Sea. Its population is multi-ethnic, and more than 70 languages are spoken on the islands. As a result of years of government corruption, a simmering communist insurgency, and the presence of Islamic separatists in the southern islands, the government faces threats from several groups, the most prominent of which are the following:

- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which broke away from the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in 1987 after the latter signed a quasi-peace deal with the government)
- Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), which is linked with al-Qaeda
- Jemaah Islamiya (JI), which is also linked with al-Qaeda
- New People's Army (NPA), the terrorist arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines⁴

ASG and NPA are on the U.S. government's foreign terrorist organization list.

Although most of the fighting goes on in the southern islands, Manila has been the scene of numerous attacks, especially by the ASG. Both ASG and JI are particularly brutal and like nothing more than to kidnap innocent people and lop their heads off.

Philippines Counterinsurgency

A serious counterinsurgency program is well under way in the Philippines, with U.S. specialoperations forces and Philippines marines leading the effort. While the battle continues and enemy successes can and will occur in the future for some time, some pretty good progress has been made to date. Examples of successes include an improved ability to locate ASG camps and a ramped-up willingness to attack them and attack them more effectively. Better intelligence collection has also helped, and the training provided by U.S. forces and private U.S. military contractors is reaping clear benefits. Also, the counterinsurgency effort has been successful at inhibiting funds transfers and, to a more limited degree, reducing training availability for ASG

in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

This program has developed an intelligence capability that has led to major losses for ASG and JI. The hope is that it will become even more robust in the coming years.

(Additional information on the Philippines is found in Chapter 24.)

THAILAND

Old Siam. I have a pretty good scar from a sharp piece of metal on my right shin that I got in Thailand in 1980. I got it while my Marine Recon team and I were moving across a beach one dark night. OK, I got it when I walked into a stake that had been pounded into the sand, to which the Thais tied their boats at night. This beach was home to an entertainment venue we were heading for, after having just left another. Not that acquiring my wound had anything to do with Thai guerrillas or, in fact, this book. I just thought you'd like to know.

Muslim Insurgency in Southern Thailand

We Marines weren't the only people wandering around Thai beaches that night, let me tell you. Even way back then in the Stone Age, Thailand was attracting huge numbers of tourists. Three decades later, Thailand brings in around 14 million tourists annually. Pattaya, Phuket, and Chiang Mai are very popular, and the last few years have seen more tourists visiting vibrant Bangkok, with one reason being the insurgency in Thailand's far south, where provinces along or near the Malaysia border are experiencing great violence from Muslim terrorists.

The most dangerous provinces are Yala, Narathiwat, and Pattani, where every year several hundred people are murdered and thousands wounded in bombings and shootings that are becoming more and more brazen and widespread regarding targeting scope. The insurgents attack trains, schools, hotels, mosques, restaurants, and police and military patrols. They conduct deadly home invasions and ambushes, and mine roads. They rig fire extinguishers as IEDs; turn bicycles, motorcycles, and vehicles into VBIEDs; and hide IEDs in trash cans, flower pots, bags, and metal boxes. Another

favorite trick of these terrorists is to plant a fake bomb that is easily spotted by passers-by, who then call the police or military, who are then hit with a real IED hidden near the fake.

Around 4,000 have died in this region since the insurgents began ramping up their attacks in earnest in 2001. The insurgency is one of the most deadly multi-national ethno-sectarian separatist movements currently under way.⁵ The total body count, beginning with the MILF insurgency decades ago on Mindanao, Philippines, is around 120,000.

In 2008, while speaking with two colleagues who help manage the finest hotel on the planet, the Peninsula Hong Kong (only a fool or a heathen stays anywhere but "The Pen" while in Hong Kong), I performed an intelligence "parlor trick" for them as we lunched in The Lobby. I advised Jason and Donald that I had become aware of intelligence that indicated an attack on a hotel in southern Thailand was imminent. Less than 24 hours later, a VBIED detonated in front of the C.S. Pattani, one of the city of Pattani's top tourist hotels, killing two and wounding 15 or so. Jason and Donald may still be trying to figure out how I was able to issue such an accurate warning.

(I was doing a study of the area for a client and developed an attack-pattern model that indicated a hotel in southern Thailand was a near-term likely target and that an IED of some sort was the most likely weapon to be used. I just happened to nail it. Lucky timing was part of this, I must admit. Once you have been doing this sort of work for a while-like using intel to develop enemy patterns-you develop a sixth sense for this sort of thing. After 32 years, at that time, in the defense, intelligence, and anti- and counterterrorism industries, I should have been able to predict that attack. Frankly, I can't claim all that much credit because I am merely the product of Marine Corps training and experience. If there is one principle I learned in the USMC that helped here, it was that the more you study their habits and preferences, the more predictable all enemies become.)

Bangkok Imperiled?

A military coup in September 2006 ousted then Prime Minister Thaksin Chinnawat. Since then a power struggle has emerged among several groups. December 2007 elections seated a coalition government, headed by the pro-

Thaksin People's Power Party (PPP), which took power in February 2008. The anti-Thaksin People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD, or "Yellow Shirts") began demonstrating against the new government in May 2008, eventually taking over the prime minister's office in August and the two international airports in Bangkok in November.

Thaksin fled Thailand in October 2010 amid rumors of impending abuse-of-power charges. In December 2010 a Thai court dissolved the PPP and two other political parties over election infractions, and a new coalition government was formed, headed by Prime Minister Abhisit Wetchachiwa. Thaksin supporters formed the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD, or "Red Shirts"). The Red Shirts rioted in April 2009, shutting down an ASEAN meeting in Pattaya, and in the spring of 2010 they staged large protests and occupied several blocks of downtown Bangkok, causing mass chaos and tremendous violence in the capital city. Ninety-two people died and 1,800 were wounded before the rebellion was put down.

In July 2010, a bomb detonated at a Bangkok bus stop, killing one and wounding 10 in a popular shopping district. Five days later, a grenade with the pin removed and the spoon barely depressed with a rubber band was placed in a garbage can near Bangkok's Victory Monument. It exploded, wounding one.

Does this mean that the capital city of Bangkok is imperiled by a near-future massive expansion of mayhem that causes a collapse of the tourism industry? No. The vast majority of the Red Shirts are in no way linked to the southern insurgency, and there is no solid intelligence that indicates the troubles down south are about to expand in a widespread urban insurgency in Bangkok.

Could that change? Certainly, and I would not be surprised if Muslim terrorists from the country's south, and likely the Red Shirts as well (watch for increased assassinations via firearms and grenades in Bangkok by the Red Shirts), attempted the occasional large-scale attack in the form of a good-sized VBIED or IED in Bangkok. But as of this writing, my sources and analysis do not point toward any immediate, long-term major escalation of the insurgency in Bangkok or any of Thailand's other popular tourist destinations.

Thailand Counterinsurgency

A very aggressive counterinsurgency program has been under way for several years in southern Thailand. Unfortunately, it has not been particularly successful, nor do I ever expect it to be. The first step one must take in counterinsurgency is to identify the causes of the insurgency and try to eliminate them. Remember that the insurgents are not the cause of an insurgency but rather an interactive and dynamic manifestation of the causes. In this case, the cause of the insurgency is multifaceted and primarily based on ethnicity (Malays and Thais) and religion (Buddhism and Islam), neither of which generally respects national borders. The Muslim insurgents want the southernmost Thai provinces to break away from Thailand and be self-governing but aligned more with Malaysia, with the eventual goal to become part of a greater Muslim caliphate.

Is a counterinsurgency program likely to ever remove that catalyst? Certainly not. Therefore, Plan B is required. Plan B would do the following:

- Expand and improve the collection of information via SIGINT (signals intelligence) and ELINT (electronic signals intelligence) that can lead to actionable intelligence
- Physically secure the border with Malaysia
- Place informants inside terrorist cells (HUMINT, or human intelligence)
- Positively encourage, with tangible rewards, the civilian populace to provide any intel that might be of use to counterinsurgency forces
- Lure insurgent forces into vulnerable positions by the use of ruses and trickery
- Employ mantrackers to follow spoor and locate insurgents
- Bring in U.S. Special Forces and special-operations forces to conduct covert counterinsurgency operations and training programs that include "be the guerrilla" approachcs6

- Exert increased diplomatic and economic pressure on the government of Malaysia to apprehend the Muslim insurgents on its side of the border
- Attack insurgent supply mechanisms and systems
- Use a public education program (beginning in grade school) to educate the populace on the evils of terrorists
- Develop a dynamic counterintelligence program
- Harden likely targets

INDONESIA

One of the most beautiful countries on earth, with a fascinating culture, interesting history, amazing wildlife, and many other attractive attributes, Indonesia is also the planet's most populous Muslim nation, a place of unspeakable savagery, and home to government corruption and criminal stupidity at the world-class level. This island paradise is also home to an Islamic terrorist movement directly linked to al-Qaeda that takes special glee in slaughtering the innocent.

Bali Bombings

One year, one month, and one day after the 9-11 attacks (i.e., 12 October 2002), al-Qaeda struck again, this time in fabled Bali, leaving 202 dead and 280 wounded.

Jemaah Islamiya (JI), with approval from its head "cleric," Abu Bakar Bashir, used a suicide bomber with a backpack IED to strike Paddy's Pub and a sophisticated thermobaric VBIED (a Mitsubishi van) outside the Sari Club to cause the worst terrorist attack in Indonesia's bloody history. The explosives weighed nearly a ton and a quarter.?



Australian military personnel tend to wounded Australians after the Bali bombings, prepping them for the flight to Darwin. The bombings killed 88 Aussies. (Australian Ministry of Defence photo.)



Abu Bakar Bashir (center) was found guilty of indirect involvement in the Bali attacks and served a mere 18 months in prison. Other conspirators were executed or remain in prison. (Council on Foreign Relations photo.)

Targeting Hotels

As a professional courtesy, I issued a gratis warning to a U.S.- flagged hotel in Jakarta shortly after it opened, advising that the design of the building's front entrance area and driveway would be perfect for a VBIED attack by Jemaah Islamiya. I received no response. Not long afterward, a JI suicide bomber used a VBIED to decimate the hotel. The attack was masterminded by Riduan "Hambali" Isamuddin (now in U.S. custody), who was greatly assisted by Noordin Mohammad Top (killed by Densus 88, Indonesia's counterterrorist team, on Java in September 2009). Indonesian Muslim "cleric" Abu Bakar Bashir sanctioned the hotel attack, which killed 12 people and wounded 150.

One would think after the 2002 and 2003 attacks that the travel and tourism industry in Indonesia would start to take security seriously. That is

not the case. On 17 July 2009, a suicide bomb detonated in the lobby of the JW Marriott in Jakarta. The casualty count would have been substantially larger had a second bomb, placed in room 1808 and timed to go off five minutes before the one in the lobby, exploded. The bomb in room 1808 (whose timer malfunctioned) was meant to force guests en masse into the lobby at the time the lobby bomb would go off. The attack was planned by Noordin Top. Both bombs were smuggled into the Marriott by a florist shop employee delivering flowers to his company's shop in the lobby, who got them in via the hotel's loading dock in a truck. The lobby bomb was carried by Dani Dwi Permana, who was killed in the blast.

Minutes later, the Jakarta Ritz-Carlton was hit by Nana Ikhwan Maulana, who walked in the front door with the IED in a wheeled suitcase. He detonated the bomb in a restaurant. The two blasts killed seven people and wounded 50, not including the bomber.

Both of these bombs would have been detected had the hotels been using bomb-sniffing dogs, such as those used by the Peninsula Manila.

Indonesia Counterinsurgency

Indonesia has made some gains in its fight against JI, but units like Densus 88 are oftentimes hampered by pro-terrorism courts and rampant corruption. Additionally, hotels, restaurants, and clubs in Indonesia still, despite the carnage, refuse to take terrorism seriously.


Aceh, located on the northern tip of Sumatra, is reported to be the place where Islam first took hold in Southeast Asia (also it is the area hardest hit by the earthquake and tsunami of 26 December 2004, which resulted in the deaths of approximately 250,000 residents). Aceh remains a major focus of counterinsurgency efforts and is the region where so much terrorist training goes on. Bashir was arrested there again in August 2010 on charges of training terrorists in Aceh.

NOTES

1. The Tshopo River, in the province of the same name (formerly Orientale), is a tributary of the Congo River.

2. Swahili (also spoken by many Congolese in this region) for a white man of European descent.
3. A more deadly Muslim terrorist attack in Mumbai on 12 March 1993 killed more than 250 and wounded approximately 700 when 13 bombs detonated across the city.
4. The New People's Army (NPA), while still a threat, is down from around 25,000-28,000 members at its zenith in the 1980s to approximately 5,000 and, regardless of the Associated Press' farcical and unsubstantiated claims, pose nowhere near the threat that the ASG and JI do. Whereas it is true that the NPA could pull off an especially spectacular attack and I would never put such an event past them, such an attack is far more likely to come from a Muslim terrorist group operating in the Philippines than the NPA.
5. Thais, Malays, and Thai-Malays are all in the mix. Terrorist insurgent groups include (with widely varying degrees of activity) the Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO), Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Pattani (BRN), BRN-Coordinate (Barisan Revolusi Nasional MelayuKoordinasi), Negara Pattani Raya (NPR), Ronda Kumpulan Kecil (the RKK is part of the BRN-Coordinate), Gabungan Melayu Pattani Raya (GEMPAR), Jemaah Islamiyah (JI and therefore al-Qaeda), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (based in the Philippines), and Free Aceh Movement (Indonesian), among others.
6. Under the 1954 Manila Pact and 1962 Thanat-Rusk communique, which, according to the U.S. Department of State, are still in force.
7. For example, one type of thermobaric ("heat and pressure") bomb consists of ammonium nitrate fertilizer or urea nitrate and fuel oil or nitroglycerine enhanced with blast multipliers like hydrogen tanks, powdered magnesium, powdered aluminum, or smokeless gunpowder. This type of bomb has been used in Beirut, New York City, Oklahoma City, Khobar, and Peshawar, among other places.

CHAPTER 23



Islamic Terrorism's Fifth Column

Hezbollah and the American Homeland Insurgency

*“New York, Los Angeles, oh, how I yearned for you
Detroit, Chicago, Chattanooga, Baton Rouge
Let alone just to be at my home back in ol’ St. Lou.”*

-Chuck Berry, "Back in the USA"

The faces looking up at me were expectant, attentive, and serious.

Standing behind the podium in a packed room inside the Longworth House Office Building adjacent to the Capitol, about to address the House Immigration Reform Caucus on U.S. border security and the flow of Hezbollah personnel from Venezuela to America via Central America and Mexico, I could see Congressmen and their staffers settling down for a briefing that would stun many of them. Before I began my hour-long intelligence briefing, I recall thinking how I wished I didn't have to be there, doing what I was doing, and wishing I were instead in Botswana chasing Cape buffalo and leopard and kudu, for delivering troubling news is not a favorite pastime of mine (and being on safari most certainly is). It is, however, a duty.

And my briefing that day had a personal side, as the terrorist group I was about to discuss had carried out an attack on Americans nearly a quarter of a century earlier that would demonstrate beyond any doubt that a corner had been turned and that the road that now lay ahead would prove to be among the most calamitous of byways. The results of that attack would involve me personally.

THE PIPELINE

It didn't take long after its creation by the terrorist governments of Iran and Syria in 1979 for Hezbollah to begin arriving in the United States; they have been here ever since and the FBI has been arresting them for decades.

As discussed in Chapter 15, on 28 March 2006, FBI Director Robert Mueller testified under oath before a House Appropriations sub-committee that the FBI had recently busted a Hezbollah smuggling operation. No, the smuggling ring was not in Lebanon trying to smuggle operatives into Israel. It was in Mexico successfully smuggling operatives into the United States.

Hezbollah, al-Qaeda, al-Shabab, the Taliban, and a host of other Islamic terrorist groups quite possibly including Lashkare-Taiba are here to act as a fifth column that will attack a plethora of targets from coast to coast, border to border, when given the order from their respective controllers in Lebanon, Iran, Syria, Somalia, and Pakistan.'

Intelligence estimates indicate that Hezbollah, a militant Shia group based in Lebanon, is generally believed to be somewhere between 7,000 and 25,000 strong. Some are full-time paid employees, while others are part-time volunteers. They own between 40,000 and 80,000 rockets (short- and long-range), as well as antitank missiles, artillery, antiship missiles (such as the Chinese-made C-802 cruise missile), mortars, and surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), plus RPGs, AKs, and assorted machine guns. There is evidence that indicates that Syria has provided Hezbollah with Scud-B ballistic missiles. Of course, despite this weaponry and Hezbollah's decades-long terrorist rampages, including the destruction of the Marine barracks in Beirut and 10-lobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, the Minneapolis Star Tribune says Hezbollah is a "political and paramilitary organization based in Lebanon" rather than an international terrorist group.²

Hezbollah is directly supported and controlled by the Islamic terrorist governments of Syria and Iran, the latter of which provides the group with between \$100 million and \$200 million annually, according to U.S. government sources. Hezbollah operates schools, clinics, and hospitals, and its members are regularly elected to the Lebanese Parliament; the group has been involved in Lebanese politics since 1992.

No, Hezbollah is not exactly your run-of-the-mill Muslim terrorist faction that must rob banks and gold souks to fund its IED program.

Bienvenida, Mi Amigos, a Guajira y Isla Margarita

So why does this section have a heading in Spanish? Well, therein lies a tale.

For about 30 years there has been a considerable Muslim community in the Guajira region of Venezuela (they control about 70 percent of the economy thereabouts), and for a while now Venezuela's Isla Margarita has played host to a rather large number of Lebanese and other Muslims, many of whom show up for a while and then leave. Intelligence sources say with certainty that Guajira and Margarita are transshipment, training, equipping, and documentation sites for Hezbollah operatives heading for El Norte. Since 1999, when Hugo Chavez seized power, Isla Margarita has become more and more an armed fortress bristling with heavily armed guards and packed with young Middle Eastern men. Hezbollah operates front companies in Venezuela that funnel money to operatives there, and even ran a brace of travel agencies (Hilal Travel and Biblos Travel) in the capital of Caracas until word got out that the CIA and other U.S. government agencies were onto them. From the Middle East, huge money transfers come into Lebanese-Venezuelan bank accounts belonging to Hezbollah. And Iran's government brings Muslim Venezuelan citizens to Iran for training in the terrorist arts and subsequent deployment.

The U.S. Department of justice in 2008 accused two Venezuelan citizens of Lebanese descent with supporting Hezbollah terrorists. Venezuela's Marxist dictator is of course in the loop on all this and is being compensated nicely for his assistance, and his association with Iran as a major Hezbollah facilitator for getting Hezbollah operatives into the United States also serves

his insatiable desire to poke a sharp stick into America's eye.

In 2010, Hezbollah operative Jameel Nasr, a naturalized Mexican citizen, was arrested by Mexican authorities for helping Hezbollah operate and enhance its terrorist network there, in the United States, and in Central and South America. Nasr's mission was to form cells in those places, but he made too many trips to Lebanon and while there met regularly with his Hezbollah masters, activity that was detected by Western intelligence assets. And in 2008 he visited Venezuela for two months. He was living in Tijuana, Mexico, just south of San Diego, at the time of his arrest.

Admiral James Stavridis stated that Hezbollah and the Iranian government had increased their activities south of the U.S. border and that one of Hezbollah's funding mechanisms is its cocaine operations in Colombia.³

This does not bode at all well for America, which now has a latent fifth column insurgency that is well beyond the incipient phase inside the American homeland.

BUSHEHR, NATANZ, AND THE STUXNET STRATEGY

In 2010, the cyber-warfare world lit up with reports of a new, shockingly devastating, extraordinarily complex virus apparently designed to attack power plant and factory computer networks that operate critical command and control systems. It is said that the Stuxnet worm is the world's most sophisticated and destructive virus, and could only have been created by a whole team of extremely well-funded malware developers who operate at the Zen level of cyber warfare and are controlled by a government with a beyond-formidable cyber warfare program. Some say that such a team, which released the first version in 2009, would be needed to cripple Iran's nuclear weapons program and its 30,000-plus computers, and thus prevent the Iranian government from placing a fatty in the hands of Hezbollah or the Revolutionary Guard.

By autumn 2010, reports were circulating that the 3,000 uranium-enrichment centrifuges at Iran's Natanz site and cyber systems at Iran's nuclear plant at Bushehr had been dynamically shut down by Stuxnet. Many have speculated that a joint team of American and Israeli cyber insurgents

used Stuxnet to infect the Iranian computers. (An article in The New York Times on 16 January 11 explored the U.S.-Israel connections to Stuxnet, but it did not break the story; a great many people in the intelligence industry had already discussed the likelihood that this was a joint U.S.-Israeli effort on multiple websites.) Stuxnet developers acquired (God knows how) the encryption keys for the JMicron and Realtek chips that are part of Siemens AG's management systems, which allowed them to develop a masking feature in Stuxnet that hides the worm from detection on thumb drives or elsewhere. Microsoft has released a partial fix for Stuxnet, but sources say the Stuxnet support team may have arranged for a doorway in that patch so the worm can still get in if remotely commanded to do so. Moreover, Stuxnet is believed to have the capability to extract data, including highly classified data, and whisk it away to its controllers.

One source informed me that someone arranged for thumb drives with the Stuxnet worm to be readily available to Iranian technicians around Bushehr and Natanz to help facilitate the spread of the Stuxnet worm.

If this cyber cloak-and-dagger story is true, and it appears it is, it is pure genius. And if President Obama did in fact approve of this program, he deserves credit for doing so.

Another theory is that Stuxnet was delivered to Iran's nuclear weapons program by the Russian government. The theory goes that the Russians made loads of money by helping build Bushehr and other facilities and then had second thoughts, namely about the risk that the Iranian government might, in exchange for a large check, hand off a nuclear bomb to the Chechens, who would dearly love to place a nuke in Moscow.

More Fifth Column Members

As we have seen with the Times Square VBIED plot and so many other terrorist schemes since 9-11 (in 2009-2010, America was the target of more terrorist attack plans than at any other time in its history), once comparatively smallish, highly geographically and politically localized terrorist groups now have global reach. In America's case, this is because in large part the United States has no comprehensive counterinsurgency plan that melds all its homeland security assets into a single system that synthesizes all-source

intelligence and renders that intel actionable along a dynamic and interactive homeland-defense mechanism. To be most effective, that mechanism must be apolitical, physical, concentric from the local to the intercontinental level, assumptive, and redundant. Anything less will present frontpage-news opportunities to the enemy.

Al-Qaeda

Until 9-11, Hezbollah was the terrorist group responsible for the most costly attack on Americans (the destruction of the Marine barracks in Beirut on 23 October 1983).

Al-Qaeda, founded in Pakistan in the late 1980s, is both an organized international Sunni terrorist group and an ideological movement whose members and devotees may or may not undergo formal training by official members, may or may not receive funding from the group, and may or may not be directly or even indirectly controlled by the group. A wannabe terrorist can even claim to be al-Qaeda but not swear an oath of allegiance to the group or its leader. The group has what might be described as franchises with widely varying end strengths around the world, including Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States, and other countries. There is no legitimate means of estimating its actual total end strength in numbers.

Al-Qaeda's command element has a definite predilection toward big and splashy attacks, but the group sanctions and otherwise approves of any attack that can get it some press, right down to a hand grenade being tossed or even a single shot being fired. The group's leaders will take what they can get but are continually seeking attacks against major Western targets, such as the World Trade Center, commercial airliners, subways, buses, ships, and skyscrapers. It remains to be seen what the death of Osama bin Laden will have on al-Qaeda's future actions.

Al-Shabab

Al-Shabab ("the Youth") grew out of the Islamic Courts Union in Somalia in the mid-1990s and is now thousands strong. In 2007, the Islamic terrorist

group, which is deeply involved in piracy in the Indian Ocean near Somalia and is therefore well funded by ransom payments from shipping companies, proclaimed it was part of al-Qaeda. Al-Shabab terrorists have received training in Afghanistan and likely Pakistan, as well as Somalia and possibly Yemen. They are believed to number between 3,000 and 5,000.

The group's current leader is Moktar Abu Zubeyr, who is hell-bent on taking al-Shabab far beyond the borders of Somalia. During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, al-Shabab conducted two highly effective suicide bombings in Uganda's capital of Kampala. An al-Shabab spokesman claimed the attacks, which killed 76 people, were reprisals for Ugandan troops being sent to Somalia as part of an international peace-keeping force.

After Somalia began feeding off itself in the 1990s, the United States ramped up a program to bring Somalis to America. They came in droves-it is estimated that approximately 150,000 Somali refugees now live in the United States, and the vast majority are law-abiding residents. But among the Somali arrivals were dozens, possibly hundreds, who would soon seek to become part of Islamic terrorism's fifth column. Some Somali immigrants were already trained members of al-Shabab upon arrival in the States, whereas others became radicalized at mosques in this country and soon left their new homes, mostly in and around Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota (neighboring Bloomington is home to the massive Mall of America), and in seemingly even less likely locales as Lewiston, Maine, to return for training in Somalia. Their intent was to then head back to America and elsewhere Americans are found to practice their craft. They had formed their own multidirectional pipeline.

Taliban Party of Pakistan (Tehrik-e-Taliban)

Having recently lived and worked in Pakistan, and having consulted for and advised major Pakistani corporate and government entities on matters pertaining to the insurgency and terrorism, I can say with absolute certainty that the Taliban Party of Pakistan (TTP) represents not only the most severe threat to security in Pakistan but one of the primary (and growing quite rapidly) threats here in America, as well as the United Kingdom and Canada.

Times Square wannabe car-bomber Faisal Shahzad, a member of the TTP,

was not the lone TTP terrorist operating in the United States. With 100 percent certainty, I can say that there are others here (including U.S. citizens) who have been trained in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and are quietly working toward mission fruition. As illustrated by Shahzad's weapon of choice for his thwarted Times Square bombing on May 1, 2010, VBIEDs rigged as fuel-air explosives (FAEs) and detonated in crowded locations are the top-tier choice of the TTP.

Fuel-air explosives are extremely popular within the TTP (Hezbollah and Lashkar-e-Taiba, too) because they can be constructed from easily acquired materials and produce devastating results (as evidenced by the bombings of the Alfred P. Murrah office building in Oklahoma City and the Marines headquarters in Beirut). FAEs are frequently used inside Pakistan as well, rendering the TTP quite adept at rigging them and also modifying them into thermobaric weapons. One such thermobaric weapon was used on the hotel in Pakistan that failed to take my specific advice on how to avoid the attack (the hotel was destroyed by the specific group, the TTP, using the exact type of explosive delivered in the exact way and at exactly the point along the hotel's perimeter that I had warned hotel security about).⁴

Lashkar-e-Taiba

Founded by Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) likely has operatives of some sort (certainly reconnaissance personnel and fundraisers) inside the United States. LeT has three primary reasons for wanting to attack America: (1) they are Muslim terrorists, and that's what they do; (2) they are angry about America's support of India; and (3) they are equally angry about U.S. attacks in Pakistan.

The following report from the Anti-Defamation League documents American involvement in LeT:

"American citizen David Coleman Headley was charged in December 2009 with helping LeT plan a series of coordinated attacks in Mumbai in November 2008 that killed more than 170 people. Headley allegedly conducted reconnaissance of a number of the targeted locations, including the Chhatrapati Shivaji railway station, the Taj Mahal and Oberoi-Trident hotels, the Leopold Cafe and the Nariman House, the

Mumbai headquarters of the Chabad Lubavitch movement. Headley has also been implicated in a plot to attack Jewish locations in India, including Chabad houses and other Jewish centers in Delhi, Mumbai, Goa, Pun, and Pushkar.

"Headley and Tahawwur Hussain Rana, a Pakistani-born Canadian citizen residing in Chicago who was also implicated in the Mumbai attacks, were charged in October 2009 for a foiled plot to attack the offices and employees of a Danish newspaper that had previously printed controversial cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad. Headley allegedly discussed the plot with at least three people in Pakistan, including an unnamed member of LeT.

"Both men have also been implicated in foiled attacks against the U.S. and Indian embassies in Dhaka, Bangladesh, that were reportedly planned for November 26, 2009, the one-year anniversary of the Mumbai attacks.

"The involvement of American citizen Headley in recent LeT terror plots in India and Europe demonstrates the terrorist group's attempt to extend its reach in the West. In addition to Headley, several other American citizens have been arrested or convicted on terrorism charges relating to LeT."

The following incidents further document American participation in LeT activities:

- Ahmad Abousamra, a U.S. citizen who currently remains at large, was charged in November 2009 with, among other things, providing material support to terrorists. He allegedly made two trips to Pakistan in 2002 to join the Taliban and LeT, but failed in his attempt. Abousamra was charged in the same indictment as Tarek Mehanna, a dual citizen of the U.S. and Egypt who was arrested in Massachusetts in September 2009.
- Two Atlanta men, Syed Haris Ahmed, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Pakistan, and Ehsanul Islam Sadequee, an American-born citizen, were convicted in 2009 for attempting to join the terrorist group LeT and taking casing videos of targets in Washington, D.C., for potential terrorist attacks.

- Mahmud Faruq Brent, a U.S. citizen who was born in Akron, Ohio, and later moved to Gwynn Oak, Maryland, was sentenced to 15 years in 2007 for conspiring to send aid to LeT and attending a terrorist training camp in Pakistan in 2002. Tariq Shah, an American-born Muslim convert who was sentenced in 2007 to 15 years in prison for conspiracy to provide material support to al-Qaeda, trained Brent in martial arts and urban warfare "as part of the conspiracy to provide material support to Lashkar-e-Taiba," according to court documents.
- Ten men, dubbed the "Virginia Jihad Network" by prosecutors, were convicted on terrorism charges related to LeT in Alexandria, Virginia, between 2003 and 2005. The leader of the group, Ali al-Timimi, an American-born Muslim cleric, urged the men to train at LeT terrorist camps in preparation to "go abroad to join the mujahideen engaged in violent jihad in Afghanistan," according to court documents. The men trained with weapons in Virginia, and seven of the defendants traveled to Pakistan to train with LeT. One member of the Virginia Jihad Network, Randall Todd Royer, set up an Internet-based newsletter for LeT while he was at the camp, which included several anti-Semitic sections, including a section about U.S. Jews titled "Who is ruling the USA today?"

"Several family members of LeT leader Hafiz Mohammed Saeed moved to the U.S. in the past couple of decades and have been arrested for various charges. Saeed's brother, Muhammad Masood, and his brother-in-law, Abdul Hannan, reportedly moved to the U.S. in the late 1980s and late 1990s, respectively, and worked as imams in Rhode Island and Boston before they were arrested on visa fraud charges in November 2006. "Another one of Saeed's brothers, Hafiz Muhammad Hamid, an imam at the Islamic Centre of Greater Worcester, Massachusetts, was deported to Pakistan in June 2007 on visa irregularity. One of the reasons he was deported was because of his alleged former involvement in running an LeT safe house in Moon Chowk, Lahore.";



These are just some of the terrorist world's fifth column programs in the United States, of course. Undoubtedly, there are more.

NOTES

1. During the Spanish Civil War, Nationalist General Emilio Mola, leading four columns toward Madrid, stated in a radio address that he had a "fifth column" of behind-enemy-lines troops already in Madrid to support his main attack.
2. Randy Furst and Abby Simons, "FBI Cites Terror Link in Raids of Local Activists," Minneapolis Star Tribune, 24 September 2010.
3. In 2009 testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee.
4. A magical prediction? An act of sheer genius? A cheap parlor trick? Freaky luck? Please. It was no such thing. It was no more than information gathering and data mining followed by insightful analysis, enhanced by 34 years in the field. And I know guys who make me look like a beginner at this sort of thing; your tax dollars at work.

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CHAPTER 24

Guerrilla-Terrorists at Sea

Maritime Terrorism and the Rise of the Modern-Day Pirate

*"I gotta keep a-rockin', get my hat off the rack
I gotta boogie-woogie like a knife's in my back
So be my guest, you've got nothin' to lose
Won't you let me take you on a sea cruise?"*

-Frankie Ford, "Sea Cruise"

A MARITIME INSURGENCY

Not long after 9-11, I was asked by the Maritime Security Council to deliver a presentation on critical developments and trends in maritime security. I addressed vulnerability assessment team selection and retention guidance; port and vessel security training programs; and likely future attack scenarios, targets, and locations, at the International Maritime Security Summit outside Washington. This was followed by a panel discussion with a few of my colleagues and a question-and-answer period. These were the same topics other organizations, from London to Shanghai, Singapore to Sao Paolo, Mumbai to Belfast, wanted to hear about as it became graphically

clear to them that terrorists at sea weren't kidding, and the maritime industry wanted me to frame the problem for them in a workable context, including becoming compliant with the new, complex, and comprehensive International Ship and Port Security (ISPS) Code, and provide them with potential solutions.

The maritime industry and its myriad and diverse customers whose goods and products travel the high seas on their way to markets everywhere, remain understandably very concerned about its crews, vessels, and cargoes, which in the case of the latter can have a major impact on the global economy if attacked. Oil comes to mind, of course, which prompted an at least partially successful attack in October 2002 on the French-flagged Limburg, a VLCC (very large crude carrier) carrying 397,000 barrels of crude oil off Yemen. The Limburg was struck by a boat loaded with explosives and piloted by suicidal al-Qaeda terrorists as she approached the Ash Shihr Terminal off Mukalla. The vessel was severely damaged, a crewmember was killed, and 17 crewmembers wounded, but the vessel stayed afloat in part due to its double-hull design and proper crew reaction. Oil prices shot up, insurance rates were raised, and thousands of people in Yemen lost their jobs. And that attack wasn't even a complete success.

In April 2003, Coalition naval forces intercepted two terrorist dhows loaded with explosives as the terrorists commenced their attack on the Kwahr al Amaya and al Basra oil terminals. Among the dead were three American sailors, with another four wounded.

In July 2010, Mitsui O.S.K. Lines' VLCC M. Star was attacked by a suicidal terrorist named Ayyub al-Taishan of the al-Qaeda-linked, Lebanon- and Yemen-based Brigades of Abdullah Azzam, just off the United Arab Emirates near the Strait of Hormuz. Brigades of Abdullah Azzam initially denied that the incident was an attack but later came clean. M. Star suffered hull damage, and one crewmember was injured. (Approximately 40 percent of the world's oil is shipped through the Strait of Hormuz. Keep that figure in mind, as we will be coming back to it in a moment.) The Marshal Island-flagged M. Star, bound for Chiba, was carrying 2 million barrels of crude oil picked up at Das Island Terminal, an island in the Persian Gulf near Qatar.



Damage to the hull of the M. Star. (Emirati News Agency photo.)

But tankers and supertankers aren't the only type of target that terrorists seek. Before they were apparently crushed by the Sri Lankan military, the Sea Tigers of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) were highly successful in their maritime terrorism campaign. Their attacks sank freighters and dozens of Sri Lankan Navy coastal gunboats. They even trained and deployed divers using SCUBA in attacks on Navy bases, such as that at Kankasanturai.

Of course, terrorists didn't begin attacking ships only after 9-11. The Sanya, carrying 250 American tourists, was sunk in Beirut Harbor in March 1973 after al-Fatale's Black September attached a sea mine to her. In September 1985, Force 17 terrorists from the Palestine Liberation Organization boarded an Israeli yacht in Larnaca Harbor on the island of Cyprus and murdered all aboard. The Achille Lauro was hijacked off the

coast of Alexandria, Egypt, in 1985 by the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), you will recall. The al-Fatale's Palestine National Liberation Movement bombed the Israeli ship Jrush Shalom, moored at Eilat, Israel, on Christmas Day 1993, wounding 11. An al-Qaeda attack nearly sank the USS Cole in Aden Harbor, Yemen, in October 2000; she was saved by the skill and courage of her crew despite the loss of 17 sailors and the wounding of nearly 40. (In August 2010, U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder indefinitely suspended prosecution of Guantanamo Bay resident Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, the al-Qaeda operations chief for the Cole And there have been too many maritime attacks on Israeli targets from terrorists based in Lebanon to mention.

Beginning in the 1970s, the U.S. Marine Corps Recon/ Force Recon community, Israeli Defense Force, and British armed forces in the form of 45 Commando of the Royal Marines, the SBS (Special Boat Service), and other military agencies predicted an inevitable and major increase in maritime terrorism.² Other organizations disagreed and were proven spectacularly wrong, including the RAND Corporation's Brian Jenkins, who wrote in September 1983: "Port facilities, offshore platforms, and ships at sea may be theoretically vulnerable, but the ease with which moving ships can be boarded, platforms taken over, or refineries set on fire should not be exaggerated. Terrorists are not, for the most part, highly trained commandos." Feeling quite sure of himself, Jenkins went on to say: "In short, increased terrorist attacks on maritime targets are not inevitable."³



The USS Cole heads home. (U.S. Navy photo.)

Jenkins' first mistake was to believe that only in theory, and therefore not in reality, were ports, GOPLATs (gas-oil platforms), and ships vulnerable to terrorist attacks. His second mistake was to believe commercial vessels under way are difficult to board (reality: crude Somali pirates board such vessels all the time), platforms are hard to take over (reality: most platforms are undefended), and refineries are tough to set alight (reality: oil refinery fires happen in the United States on a weekly basis, according to the Department of Energy, so you can imagine how many fires take place at refineries in developing countries). His third mistake was to believe that such targets, to be successfully attacked, would have to be attacked by highly trained commandos. Just a bit of genuine research and some time in real-world maritime anti- and counterterrorism, rather than academic and think-tank billets, would have prevented these mistakes, which led to his erroneous

conclusion.

If you are presumably well paid to accurately analyze and prognosticate about terrorism trends and future attacks patterns, and your employer touts itself as the know-all/end-all on matters pertaining to terrorism, you had better not blow a big one.

Potential Perfect Storm in the Persian Gulf

If you think these attacks are bad, imagine what could be in the offing should the terrorist state of Iran get cranked up against commercial and military vessels in the Persian Gulf.

The Persian Gulf experiences very heavy shipping traffic 365 days a year, as 40 percent of the world's oil and many other commodities-e.g., food, electronics, vehicles, appliances, liquor, building materials, textiles, construction equipment, arms, ammunition, troops-move around and through it.

Enter Iran, a terrorist state since 1979 that is heavily armed with Silkworm-type shore-to-ship missiles; mini subs (including four Ghadirs launched at Bandar Abbas in August 2010) capable of deploying sea mines, torpedoes, and frogmen; vast numbers of high-speed ("fast") boats rigged as suicide vessels or armed with torpedoes (including the super-cavitating 200-knot VA-111 Shkval with its 460-pound warhead courtesy of Vladimir Putin) and anti-ship missiles; surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and rocketpropelled grenades (RPGs); long-range ballistic missiles fitted with new guidance systems capable of striking Europe; planes rigged with explosives for suicide bombers; thousands of sea mines easily deployed by small craft, subs, and coastal ships; and brigades of fanatics all sworn to go kamikaze on order.⁴ Then there's Hezbollah, Iran's official international terrorist group with global-strike capability including inside the United States. Finally, there is Iran's nuclear-weapons program, which the United States and Israel have publicly declared unacceptable.

This is an equation that when factored out presents a potential perfect storm (apologies to Sebastian Junger) in the Persian Gulf, which is one of the most condensed and target-rich maritime environments on the planet.



An Iranian version of the C-802 Silkworm. (FARS News Agency photo.)

If the United States goes to war with Iran for any reason, we will likely see many of the Iranian maritime attack assets deployed. Their targets could range from naval vessels to ports, supertankers to GOPLATs, freighters to offshore oil terminals. Iran will try to sink as many ships as it can in the Strait of Hormuz. It could be one of the largest maritime guerrilla-style wars in history and likely would be accompanied by modern conventional missile attacks on land targets far and wide, and ground, missile, and air attacks on the 50,000 or fewer U.S. troops left in Iraq who are badly exposed and seriously underarmed because of the drawdown. Now imagine if Iran acquires China's massive new Dong Feng 21D shore-to-ship missile, which has a range of nearly 1,000 miles, advanced sensor arrays, and over-the-horizon radar, and which can take out an aircraft carrier.

Assassination of Reza Baruni

On 1 August 2010, an Iranian by the name of Reza Baruni was in his high-

security home in Ahwaz when three large bombs New the building to bits, and Reza Baruni, too.

Someone wanted Baruni dead, real bad. Baruni was the father of Iran's unmanned aerial vehicle program, which under his direction had achieved troubling objectives, including drones with anti-radar "stealth" technology. Someone knew that if he were to die, Iran's drone program would be dealt a substantial setback.

Baruni's home was in a government enclave teeming with security. Whoever got to him was good and quite daring. But who issued the order to have Baruni assassinated?

Those with clear motives include the United States, the Saudi royal family, Israel, the government of the United Arab Emirates, and non-Persian ethnic groups in Iran that had long suffered under the terrorist state's boot heel. But whoever did it deserves a lot of credit, for it put the brakes-at least for a while-on Iran's drone program, which is a definite threat to U.S. military assets in and around the Persian Gulf.

PHANTOM FLEET

Shortly after 9-11, the details of al-Qaeda's phantom fleet were revealed for the first time, by me, might I add.

Osama bin Laden began to build his terror fleet in 1993 with the cash purchase of the 224-foot Jennifer, then renamed the Seastar on Cyprus, a classic "tramp" steamer (a freighter with diesel engines, actually) launched in 1966.5 In 1995, the Seastar dropped anchor in the Saudi port city of Jeddah on the Red Sea and delivered the explosives used in a Riyadh VBIED attack that killed seven people, including five Americans. The truck bomb detonated in the parking lot of a building leased by the U.S. government where U.S. military and defense contractors worked with the Saudi National Guard. Not wanting to be famous at the moment, bin Laden ordered the Islamic Movement for Change to claim responsibility rather than al-Qaeda, for which he had much bigger plans.

In 2000, the vessel, renamed Sky 1 and now owned by Somalis through a

Norwegian front company, set sail from Dubai bound for Mogadishu. After clearing the Strait of Hormuz, she sank under mysterious circumstances off the coast of Oman. I am told her sinking was no accident.

But the Jennifer/Seastar/Sky 1 was just one of Osama bin Laden's fleet of some 12-50 vessels that ply the world's seas. Naturally, certain organizations track these vessels as best they can using satellites, submarines, drones (such as the Global Hawk), and surveillance aircraft (such as the S-3B Viking and P-3 Orion). The maritime industry helps out by collecting and disseminating intelligence on ships' whereabouts and known cargoes.

Al-Qaeda (and Hezbollah, according to some sources) frequently changes flags of convenience on these ships, repaints and renames them, transfers ownership to different front companies, and even changes the outline of the superstructure in an attempt to throw off trackers.⁶

The phantom fleet has so far (as best we know) only been used to transport explosives for attacks ashore, funds, and terrorists with such bogus documents as passports. One of the greatest fears is that one of the vessels will be used as a floating thermobaric bomb to attack a port, cruise ship, VLCC, LNG tanker, or naval vessel. Professionally rigged, a small freighter like the Seastar could cause massive damage. Were such a weapon to come alongside a cruise ship, supertanker, LNG carrier, or a port's oil or chemical storage tanks and detonate, the result would be catastrophic.

The former head of al-Qaeda's maritime program, Saudi citizen Abdul-Rahim Hussein Muhammed Abdu, is in U.S. custody following his capture in the United Arab Emirates in 2002.

SUPERFERRY 14:

THE TELEVISION NEAR BUNK 51B

The most deadly act of maritime terrorism to date was the sinking of SuperFerry 14 in Manila Bay in February 2004. A total of 116 people died in the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG; discussed earlier in Chapter 22) attack.

The bomb, made up of 8 pounds of TNT that set the huge ferry afire and

sank it, was carried onto the vessel hidden inside a television. One of the two members of the terrorist team who brought it aboard was assigned to bunk 51B for the trip from Manila down to Cagayan de Oro on Mindanao. After depositing the bomb, the team went ashore.

The man assigned to bunk 51B was Redondo Cain Dellosa of the Rajah Sulaiman Movement, a branch of the ASG founded in 1991 by Ahmed Santos. Dellosa was arrested in Metro Manila a month after the SuperFerry 14 operation while planning other attacks. The Rajah Sulaiman Movement is known to have received arms and training from Jemaah Islamiya, the aforementioned Indonesia-based al-Qaeda-linked terror group. Four years later, the mastermind of the SuperFerry 14 attack, Ruben Omar Pestano Lavilla, was arrested in Bahrain and extradited to the Philippines.

The sinking of SuperFerry 14, and the Philippines' desire to avoid a repeat catastrophe, is one of the primary reasons I travel there to teach port, cargo, and ship security to the large and diverse maritime industry of the Philippines. Even years after the SuperFerry 14 disaster, when I complete my maritime antiterrorism class, the Philippines media in attendance are eager for any additional analysis and guidance I can provide on maritime security. They are clearly aware of the potential for another massmurder attack involving a commercial vessel.

BUCCANEERS, PRIVATEERS, AND PICAROONS: PIRACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Call them seagoing guerrillas. Call them oceanic terrorists. Call them scurvy dogs. Call them sitting ducks for nearby SEAL snipers (Marine snipers never shoot at targets that close, as they consider such shots to be unsporting).

Just don't call them until you have the ransom ready for delivery. And we're not talking five figures here, or even six.⁷

The Facts on Scallywags

It's one thing to shoot a pirate at close range with a sniper rifle and scatter parts of various organs all over an otherwise perfectly good lifeboat. It's

another thing entirely for a tactical counterpiracy force to interface with far more heavily armed and numerous pirates in such a way that every one of them surrenders (thus preserving possibly valuable intelligence sources) and one of the pirates actually defecates all over himself in fear, thus adding a whole new meaning to the term "poop deck." Only Marines could cause such a wonderful event.

In early September 2010, a motley band of Somali pirates took it upon themselves to seize the Magellan Star, a Germanowned freighter, off the coast of Yemen, with the USS Dubuque and her Maritime Raid Force of Force Recon Marines nearby (arguably the most dangerous special operations force in existence). That was their first mistake.

Their second mistake was to point their weapons at the Dubuque and state on the radio that they had no intention of surrendering. As a general rule to which innumerable dead men over the centuries would attest if they were able, it is a really awful idea to ever point a gun at Marines.

The Magellan Star had been rigged to frustrate pirates and give a rescue force time to get to her, board her, and interface with the maritime malcontents. She was fitted with a safe room in which crew members barricaded themselves. With gunship air cover and snipers on the Dubuque, the raid force boarded their rigid-hulled inflatable boats (RHIBs) midmorning and assaulted the vessel. Upon seeing the annoyed Force Recon Marines in full battle, the pirates promptly surrendered without a shot being fired, except for the one fecal burst from the aforementioned now former pirate.

Most pirates are in the business strictly for the money, but some Somali pirates are, of course, al-Qaeda pirates of the alShabab variety. Intel says good portions of the ransom proceeds of al-Shabab acts of piracy are used to fund al-Qaeda ops.



A Maritime Raid Force of Force Recon Marines heading for the Magellan Star. (U.S. Navy photo by Mass Communication Officer 1 David McKee.)



A Marine sniper and his spotter cover the raid force as a photographer documents the assault. (U.S. Navy photo by Petty Officer 1 Gregory Tate.)



The author's Limber Tactical II, an excellent primary sidearm choice for counterpiracy ops. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Somalia is far from the only pirate area of operations, with the Moluccas, Strait of Malacca, Philippines, Nigeria, Burma, Thailand, Yemen, Kenya, Tanzania, Seychelles, Brazil, Iraq, Vietnam, and Malaysia all having well-documented piracy problems.

Expect counterpiracy operations conducted by various maritime forces to continue for years to come.

NOTES

1. Peter Finn, "Administration Halts Prosecution of Alleged USS Cole Bomber," Washington Post, 26 August 2010.
2. For example, in 1976 the British government was concerned enough that it had the British Royal Marines conduct a major counterterrorism exercise

on a rig in the Argyll oil field that pitted those forces against "terrorists" who had taken over the North Sea rig.

3. Brian Michael Jenkins, "A Chronology of Terrorist Attacks and Other Criminal Actions Against Maritime Targets," The RAND Corporation.
4. On 14 April 1988, the USS Samuel B. Roberts struck an M-08 sea mine in the Gulf that had been laid seven months earlier by the Despite tremendous damage, her crew saved her. Ten sailors were wounded in the attack. The U.S. counterattack sent an Iranian frigate to the bottom of the sea along with a few go-fast boats, damaged another frigate, and destroyed two Iranian GOPLATs that had been reconfigured as naval command-and-control platforms.
5. Osama bin Laden used al-Qaeda operative Wadih el-Hage as the lead buyer. He is currently serving a life sentence at the Florence, Colorado, "Supermax" federal penitentiary following his arrest and conviction in the United States for his role in the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.
6. The Pacific island nation of Tonga is home to a fleet used by al-Qaeda to move terrorists. Nova, the shipping company registered in Romania and Delaware, owns such vessels as the Tivillinger, which was carrying eight alQacda terrorists from Pakistan when she dropped anchor in Trieste in February 2002.
7. The average ransom that Somali pirates get runs somewhere in the low millions.



I sincerely hope I am not asked to update this book again 14 years from now, because that would mean we are still fighting this global asymmetric war by killing enemy using guerrilla tactics and supporting guerrilla forces that are on our side. But given the nature of such a war, I would not be at all surprised if I was updating *Guerrillas* again in 2025, provided some terrorist or guerrilla hasn't finally whacked me, which in my line of work is a distinct possibility (but I like to think it is not a probability). I would be fast approaching 70 years old then and would much rather be a long-since-retired gun hand playing with my grandkids, strolling hand in hand with my splendid wife through Central Park or perhaps sharing a pizza with her at Trattoria Dell'Arte on Broadway, fly-fishing in the Amazon or along the reef at Kure Atoll, or on safari chasing a murderous Cape buffalo than still mixing it up with mooks. (Some would say I am a bit long in the tooth for this sort of stuff now, especially considering my injuries, but that's why they make surgeons, cardiac implants, chiropractors, Guinness, titanium gadgets for parts of one's body that don't work anymore, canes, '87 Chateau Margaux Grand Cru, Dalwhinnie's 1966 "cask strength," and Bruichladdich "40.")



An Israeli Defense Force soldier encounters a Palestinian youth. Is this teenager tomorrow's Osama bin Laden? (Hezbollah photo.)



This Iraqi soldier will most likely be fighting guerrillas long after the Coalition has gone home. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

In the late 1970s, Jack Muth, then a captain and my Recon company commander, began training the company to conduct counterterrorism missions around the world under all manner of conditions and situations. He knew back then that guerrilla warfare was going to take a major turn toward international terrorism and he wanted us to be ready for it, whenever it arrived in full force. Jack then passed the company to John Bass, who stayed the course.

But not all Marines agreed that fighting terrorists would be in the Corps' future. Somewhere between 1988 and 1990, I queried the editor (a retired colonel) of the Marine Corps Gazette and proposed an article on how to prepare the Corps for a future that consisted of a great deal of fighting terrorists. I had already been published in the Gazette so he knew the quality

of my work, but he wrote back stating quite adamantly that the Corps would never find itself heavily engaged in fighting terrorists, this despite myriad clear indicators to the contrary, and thus declined my piece. This attitude was shared by many other senior Marine Corps officers, which was a contributing factor in the Corps not being fully prepared to most effectively engage al-Qaeda (in Afghanistan and Iraq, among other locales), the Taliban, and so on.



Insurgencies will be naturally reduced when we attack poverty in the Third World. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



If you lived like this and had no real hope of ever improving your lot in life, and you believed the government was to blame, what would you do? (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Effectively fighting guerrillas, whether they are your standard type or terrorists, requires insight into the battlefields of tomorrow. Fortunately, the Corps now enjoys the visionary leadership of such Marines as General James N. Mattis and Colonel Bryan P. McCoy. This bodes well for us. But will such men be sufficient, considering the wealth of morally bankrupt politicians in Washington, our nation's lack of discipline, widespread treachery and weakness among our "allies," and in one case an enemy perfectly willing to expend millions of Muslim lives whatever it takes-in battle to achieve victory?

The proverbial good of days when we had relatively respectable (compared to what we have now) enemies to engage-e.g., the Soviets, Red Chinese, Sandinistas, Cubans, NVA-appear to be over for the foreseeable future.



Pakistani kids go to play with their water buffalo. Pakistan will remain a nexus of insurgents for as long as the government there is allowed to get away with whatever it can. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Insurgencies will be reduced when the governments of underdeveloped nations stop plundering their countries' assets and begin providing more than the rudimentary needs of their long-suffering people. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



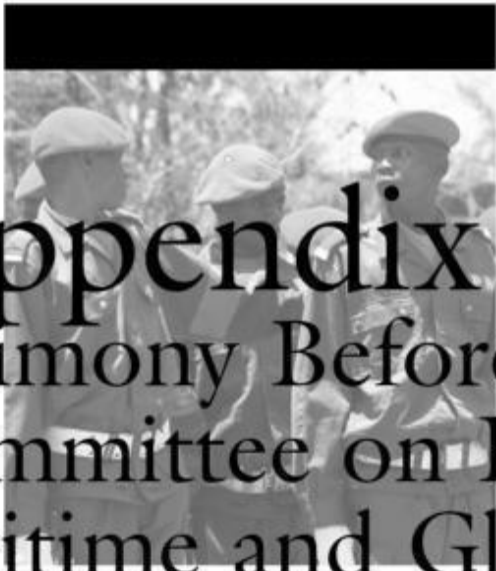
Given Saddam Hussein's obscene excesses (shown here is just one of the estimated 70 to 80 palaces he had constructed for himself), use of chemical weapons against civilians, and across-the-board savagery, a guerrilla war was bound to erupt in Iraq at some point, in some fashion. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



A hideout in the Rockies the author is known to haunt, where he will occasionally hole up among other heavily armed men while awaiting the next email from his editor. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

Insofar as favorable guerrilla goals, desires, and movements go, as you read this, Americans are serving alongside pro-freedom irregulars far and wide, from the Philippines to Iraq, Afghanistan to Colombia.

As our forefathers warned, among them men like Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and James Madison, the day may come (although we pray it never does) when the people will be required to rise up and do their duty to defend the Constitution and our way of life from politicians and other nefarious scoundrels who would destroy them. If and when that happens, we will again see in our own country the fleeting shadows of guerrillas in the mist.



Appendix A

Testimony Before the Subcommittee on Border, Maritime and Global Counterterrorism, Committee on Homeland Security, House of Representatives, July 2010

United States Government Accountability Office

ALIEN SMUGGLING DHS Could Better Address Alien Smuggling Along
the Southwest Border by Leveraging Investigative Resources and Measuring
Program Performance

Statement of Richard M. Stana, Director Homeland Security and Justice
Issues

Chairman Cuellar, Ranking Member Miller, and Members of the
Subcommittee:

I am pleased to be here today to discuss federal efforts to address alien smuggling along the southwest border. Alien smuggling along the southwest border is an increasing threat to the security of the United States and Mexico as well as to the safety of both law enforcement and smuggled aliens. One

reason for this increased threat is the involvement of drug trafficking organizations in alien smuggling. According to the National Drug Intelligence Center's (NDIC) 2008 National Drug Threat Assessment, the southwest border region is the principal entry point for smuggled aliens from Mexico, Central America, and South America. Aliens from countries of special interest to the United States such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan (known as special-interest aliens) also illegally enter the United States through the region. According to the NDIC assessment, Mexican drug trafficking organizations have become increasingly involved in alien smuggling. These organizations collect fees from alien smuggling organizations for the use of specific smuggling routes, and available reporting indicates that some Mexican drug trafficking organizations specialize in smuggling special-interest aliens into the United States. As a result, these organizations now have alien smuggling as an additional source of funding to counter U.S. and Mexican government law enforcement efforts against them.

Violence associated with alien smuggling has also increased in recent years, particularly in Arizona. According to the NDIC assessment, expanding border security initiatives and additional U.S. Border Patrol resources are likely obstructing regularly used smuggling routes and fueling this increase in violence, particularly violence directed at law enforcement officers. Alien smugglers and guides are more likely than in past years to use violence against U.S. law enforcement officers in order to smuggle groups of aliens across the southwest border. In July 2009, a border patrol agent was killed while patrolling the border by aliens illegally crossing the border, the first shooting death of an agent in more than 10 years. Conflicts are also emerging among rival alien smuggling organizations. Assaults, kidnappings, and hostage situations attributed to this conflict are increasing, particularly in Tucson and Phoenix, Arizona. Communities across the country are at risk since among those individuals illegally crossing the border are criminal aliens and gang members who pose public safety concerns for communities throughout the country.

Within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Office (ICE) of Investigations (OI) is responsible for investigating alien smuggling. In addition, DHS's Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and ICE's Office of Detention and Removal Operations

(DRO) have alien smuggling-related programs.

My testimony is based on a May 2010 report we are releasing publicly today on alien smuggling along the southwest border. As requested, like the report, my testimony will discuss the following key issues: (1) the amount of investigative effort OI has devoted to alien smuggling along the southwest border since fiscal year 2005 and an opportunity for ICE to use its investigative resources more effectively; (2) DHS progress in seizing assets related to alien smuggling since fiscal year 2005 and financial investigative techniques that could be applied along the southwest border to target and seize the monetary assets of smuggling organizations; and (3) the extent to which ICE/OI and CBP measure progress toward achieving alien smuggling-related program objectives. Our May 2010 report also provides a discussion of the extent to which ICE/OI and CBP have program objectives related to alien smuggling.

For our report, we conducted site visits and interviews with officials in all four of the OI special agent-in-charge (SAC) offices along the southwest border. We also interviewed officials with six of the nine Border Patrol sectors along the southwest border and interviewed officials in all five U.S. Attorney's districts along the southwest border. The six Border Patrol sectors were selected based on their proximity to OI SAC offices we visited and their varying volumes of removable alien apprehensions. In addition, we interviewed the Arizona Attorney General and officials with the Arizona Attorney General's Financial Crimes Task Force and analyzed relevant court affidavits to obtain information on the results of their efforts to address alien smuggling in Arizona. We supplemented our interviews with analyses of OI case management data (fiscal years 2005 through 2009), justice Department data on the outcome of alien smuggling cases presented for prosecution to U.S. Attorneys along the southwest border (fiscal years 2005 through 2009), OI and Border Patrol asset seizure data (fiscal years 2005 through 2009), and reviews of CBP and ICE alien smuggling program documentation. We determined that despite limitations in certain data collection and oversight processes that are discussed more fully in our May 2010 report, case management, asset seizure, and alien smuggling case outcome data were sufficiently reliable for the purposes of our report. More detailed information on our scope and methodology appears in our May 2010 report. Our work

was performed in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

01 work years devoted to investigating alien smuggling along the southwest border increased from about 190 work years in fiscal year 2005 to about 197 work years in fiscal year 2009, an overall increase of 4 percent, with hundreds of arrests, indictments, and convictions resulting. The overall number of work years decreased from about 190 work years in fiscal year 2005 to 174 in fiscal year 2008, but increased 23 work years from fiscal years 2008 to 2009 primarily due to an increase in one office. The percentage of time 01 investigators spend on alien smuggling investigations, versus other investigative areas, such as drugs, has remained steady during this time period at 16-17 percent.

DHS's Human Capital Accountability Plan states that DHS is committed to ensuring that human capital resources are aligned with mission accomplishments and are deployed efficiently and effectively. However, in some cases 01 investigators are conducting immigration-related activities that are not consistent with 01's primary mission of conducting criminal investigations. Officials from two of the four SAC offices we visited told us that 01 has been tasked to respond to calls from state and local law enforcement agencies to transport and process apprehended aliens who may be subject to removal, which diverts 01 resources from conducting alien smuggling and other investigations. For example, according to officials in one SAC office, the equivalent of two full-time investigators each week spent their time responding to non-investigation-related calls during fiscal year 2009. In 2006, in the Phoenix metropolitan area, ICE's DRO developed the Law Enforcement Agency Response (LEAR) program, in which DRO took over responsibility from 01 for transporting and processing apprehended aliens. DRO processed 3,776 aliens from October 1, 2008, to May 24, 2009, who otherwise 01 would have had to process, thus enabling 01 agents to spend more time on investigations. DRO headquarters officials stated that they have discussed expanding the LEAR program beyond Phoenix but have yet to conduct an evaluation to identify the best locations for expanding the program. By studying the feasibility of expanding the LEAK program, and expanding the program if feasible, ICE would be in a better position to help ensure that its resources are more efficiently directed toward alien smuggling

and other priority investigations. Therefore, in our May 2010 report, we recommended ICE take such action. ICE concurred with our recommendation and stated that as a first step in potentially expanding the program nationwide, DRO's Criminal Alien Division prepared and submitted a resource allocation plan proposal for its fiscal year 2012 budget.

The value of 01 alien smuggling asset seizures has decreased since fiscal year 2005, and two promising opportunities exist that could be applied to target and seize the monetary assets of smuggling organizations. According to 01 data, the value of alien smuggling seizures nationwide increased from about \$11.2 million in fiscal year 2005 to about \$17.4 million in fiscal year 2007, but declined to \$12.1 million in fiscal year 2008 and to about \$7.6 million in fiscal year 2009.

One opportunity to leverage additional seizure techniques involves civil asset forfeiture authority, which allows federal authorities to seize property used to facilitate a crime without first having to convict the property owner of a crime. 01 investigators indicated that lack of such authority makes it difficult to seize real estate involved in alien smuggling activity. In 2005, we recommended that the Attorney General, in collaboration with the Secretary of Homeland Security, consider submitting to Congress a legislative proposal, with appropriate justification, for amending the civil forfeiture authority for alien smuggling. Justice prepared such a proposal and it was incorporated into several larger bills addressing immigration enforcement or reform since 2005, but none of these bills had been enacted into law as of July 2010. According to justice officials, the current administration has not yet taken a position on civil asset forfeiture authority for alien smuggling cases. We continue to believe it is important for justice to seek the civil asset forfeiture authority it has identified as necessary to seize property used to facilitate alien smuggling. Thus, in our May 2010 report, we recommended that the Attorney General assess whether amending the civil asset forfeiture authority remains necessary, and if so, develop and submit to Congress a legislative proposal. Justice concurred with this recommendation.

A second opportunity involves assessing the financial investigative techniques used by an Arizona Attorney General task force. The task force seized millions of dollars and disrupted alien smuggling operations by

following cash transactions flowing through money transmitters that serve as the primary method of payment to those individuals responsible for smuggling aliens. By analyzing money transmitter transaction data, task force investigators identified suspected alien smugglers and those money transmitter businesses that were complicit in laundering alien smuggling proceeds. ICE officials stated that a fuller examination of Arizona's financial investigative techniques and their potential to be used at the federal level would be useful. An overall assessment of whether and how these techniques may be applied in the context of disrupting alien smuggling could help ensure that ICE is not missing opportunities to take additional actions and leverage resources to support the common goal of countering alien smuggling. In our May 2010 report, we recommended that ICE conduct an assessment of the Arizona Attorney General's financial investigations strategy to identify any promising investigative techniques for federal use. ICE concurred with our recommendation and stated that the week of April 12, 2010, ICE participated in the inaugural meeting of the Southwest Border AntiMoney Laundering Alliance, a body consisting of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies along the southwest border. The main purpose of the meeting was to synchronize enforcement priorities and investigative techniques. However, while these are positive steps toward combating money laundering along the southwest border, it is not clear to what extent these actions will result in ICE evaluating the use of the Arizona Attorney General's financial investigative techniques.

01 and CBP have not fully evaluated progress toward achieving alien smuggling-related program objectives. Federal standards for internal control call for agencies to establish performance measures and indicators in order to evaluate the effectiveness of their efforts. One of the major objectives of 01's alien smuggling investigations is to seize smugglers' assets, but 01 does not have performance measures for asset seizures related to alien smuggling cases. Tracking the use of asset seizures in alien smuggling investigations as a performance measure could help 01 monitor its progress toward its goal of denying smuggling organizations the profit from criminal acts. Thus, in our May 2010 report, we recommended that ICE develop performance measures for asset seizures related to alien smuggling investigations. ICE concurred with the recommendation and stated that ICE is in the process of assessing all of its performance measures and creating a performance plan.

In addition, ICE operates the Mexican Interior Repatriation Program (MIRP), which removes aliens apprehended during the hot and dangerous summer months to the interior of Mexico to deter them from reentering the United States and to reduce loss of life. However, ICE does not know the effectiveness of MIRP at disrupting alien smuggling operations or saving lives because ICE lacks performance measures for the program. Thus, in our May 2010 report, we recommended that ICE develop performance measures for MIRP. ICE did not agree with this recommendation because it believed that performance measures for this program would not be appropriate. According to ICE, any attempt to implement performance measures for MIRP to emphasize the number of Mexican nationals returned or the cost-effectiveness of the program would shift its focus away from the program's original lifesaving intent and diminish and possibly endanger cooperation with the government of Mexico. However, we believe that performance measures would be consistent with the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed by the United States and Mexico related to MIRP which calls for evaluation by appropriate officials. Thus, we believe that measuring MIRP's program performance would be consistent with the MOU's intent.

CBP operates several programs that address alien smuggling, such as the Operation Against Smugglers Initiative on Safety and Security program (OASISS) in which suspected alien smugglers apprehended in the United States are prosecuted by Mexican authorities. In addition, CBP's Operation Streamline prosecutes aliens for illegally entering the United States in order to deter them from reentering the United States. Lack of accurate and consistent performance data has limited CBP's ability to evaluate its alien smuggling-related programs. CBP is in preliminary discussions to establish systematic program evaluations, but has not established a plan, with time frames, for their completion. Standard practices in project management for defining, designing, and executing programs include developing a program plan to establish an order for executing specific projects needed to obtain defined results within a specified time frame. Developing a plan with time frames could help CBP ensure that the necessary mechanisms are put in place so that it can conduct the desired program evaluations. Therefore, in our May 2010 report, we recommended that the Commissioner of CBP establish a plan, including performance measures, with time frames, for evaluating CBP's alien smuggling-related enforcement programs. CBP concurred with

our recommendation and stated that it is developing a plan that will include program mission statements, goals, objectives, and performance measures. CBP stated that it also has begun gathering data and holding workshops on developing performance measures for some of its programs. However it is not clear to what extent these actions will include time frames for evaluating CBP's enforcement efforts.



Appendix B

Guidance for Guerrillas

Now that you have studied and committed to memory the 24 chapters in *Guerrillas*, including a splattering of superfluous, self-indulgent, and (I hope) comically barbed political comments (it was never my intent to make this book a dry, impersonal, purely academic quasi-tome of excruciating statistical and historical minutiae; this is not an FM, after all), the following appendices should be helpful in consolidating some important points. (If you are attending a military school, such as the U.S. Naval Academy, Staff Non-Commissioned Officers Academy, Sergeants Major Academy, National War College, U.S. Military Academy, National Defense University, NonCommissioned Officers Academy, National Defense Intelligence College, Command and Staff College, or Army War College, and this book is a text or reference, you will be tested on it.) Appendix B provides bullets for modern-day minutemen of sorts, without whom this country would never have been founded:

- At every opportunity, demonstrate to the people that you, not the opposing forces, have their best interests at heart and sincerely care for them.
- Likewise, at every opportunity, demonstrate to the people that the opposing forces are cruel, wanton killers who could not care less about them.

- Never harm a civilian simply because you suspect him of favoring the opposing forces (if you know he is actually aiding them, that's a different story); instead, make him a pariah among his own people.
- Promptly repair or replace all things you damage and publicly apologize.
- Provide valued goods and public services to the people.
- Establish a medical care program.
- Reward those who assist you.
- Spend quality time with the people without asking them for anything, but always asking how you can help them.
- Ask leaders and the elderly for their thoughts and advice, which shows respect.
- Provide mothers with things they need for their children.
- Be very kind to children, as they might know something you would like to know.
- If the opposing forces are foreigners, stress to the people how those forces are invaders who want to exploit them any way they can.
- Provide security to the people.

All these build the people's trust and confidence in the guerrilla force, and demonstrate that the guerrillas will provide tangible benefits to those who support them and their goals. In the end, the people must believe that their lot in life will be improved if they side with the guerrillas.



Appendix C

Guidance for Counter guerrillas

A huge amount has been written about counterinsurgency and counter guerrilla warfare over the centuries. By now it has all been said before. The differences with what's being said today are that, depending on the particular conflict, it could have a direct impact on America, and it sometimes uses fresher examples and unique analogies, current events, the different writing styles of writers, the writer's personal experiences in counterinsurgencies, and so on.

Beware of he who claims-or allows others to claim as his proxy-that he is a one-of-a-kind wellspring of counter guerrilla warfare wisdom. No counterinsurgency leader today is truly inventing doctrine as he goes; he is only modifying doctrine and tweaking counterinsurgency operational art that has already been applied on long-ago battlefields so that it suits his present needs. (Also beware of counterinsurgency advice that consists only of oversimplified statements, statements advising the painfully obvious that are meant as stand-alone nuggets of brilliance with no supporting context and details, or statements that are simply stupid. Beware, too, of self-proclaimed counterinsurgency experts whose primary experience involved serving on staffs and in think tanks, as a government bureaucrat, or as an academician.) And it should not take a staff meeting, a series of memos, and extra training to make your tank driver understand why he shouldn't run his tank across and

through a farmer's irrigation system out in Baladrour, Al Muqdadiyah, Haji Mahmud, or Jabbar in Diyala Province near the Iranian border.



A chef grilling lamb kabobs and roasted tomatoes in northern Baghdad Province. Get your security in order and patronize the locals' places of business to get a feel for your area of operations and show you care about them. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



Don't insult the locals by showing shock or dismay at how a meal is being prepared. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)



An aggressive counterinsurgency training program for indigenous troops can work wonders. (Photo by R.P. Newman.)

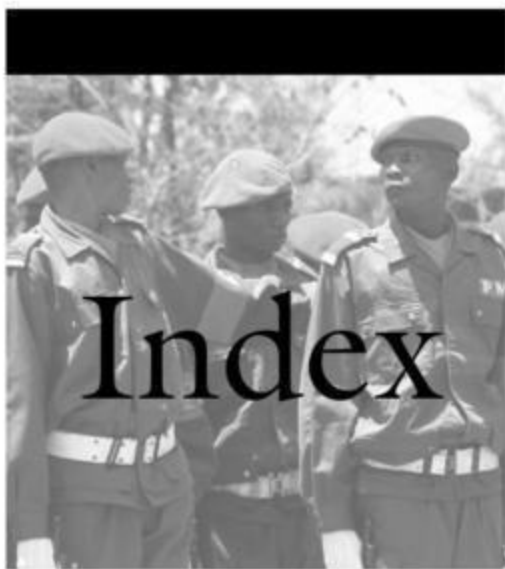
Ergo, Appendix C is far more a consolidated reminder of what to do and what not to do when fighting guerrillas than it is Gunny's exhortation of counterinsurgency warfare genius as the 21st-century's veritable Oracle at Delphi. I am just another Marine in a long column of Marines who paid attention, got the job done, led as his leaders taught him to lead, and is now passing the scoop to those following in trace. Oh, and I wouldn't be overly impressed simply because I wrote a book (21 actually), as a computer's "spell check" software and a good editor can make anyone look smart.

Bullets:

- Get inside the insurgents' comfort zone and live there, physically and mentally.
- Every time the enemy does something terrible, make sure the locals hear

about it.

- Bring the fight to him using his own tactics against him (so long as they are legal).
- Gaining and maintaining contact with the enemy is far more than just seeing him fairly often and shooting at him from a distance as he scampers off; it is getting out of your MRAP and into the guy's jockstrap (so to speak) facing forward.
- Do everything in your power to provide the people with effective, practical, and culturally sensitive security.
- Asking male elders for their opinion and suggestions is brilliant; greeting them as respected friends is genius.
- Being disrespectful of the locals will get you and your men killed, and killed fast.
- Use every asset available to build goodwill by delivering tangibles; this makes the people want to assist you because that assistance brings real rewards.
- Never lie or make a promise you can't keep.
- Fight individual IEDs at the tactical level, but always hunt the cell that put them there from the operational level.
- Never assume you know exactly what is going on here or there; bum and incomplete scoop oftentimes masquerade as the whole truth in an insurgency.
- Get good really fast at simultaneously killing the enemy with dispatch while doing everything you can to avoid collateral damage; this can be a lot easier said than done.
- If the village women like you or at least trust you most of the time, you have half the battle won right there.



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The author of 21 books and a past contributing editor for Soldier of Fortune magazine, Newman has written articles and columns for dozens of periodicals, including the Marine Corps Gazette, Navy Times, Marine Corps Times, and Denver Post. He won the prestigious Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps Leadership Writing Award, as well as the National Edward R. Murrow Award for investigative reporting on homeland security.

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Newman is a proud descendant of High King Feradach Finnfechtnach of Eire, High King Angus Turbech of Tara and the Kings of Dalriada in northern Ireland, Scotland's King Somerled (Lord of the Isles and Highlands), and Robert Emerson Newman, who hung the lanterns for Paul Revere in the steeple of Boston's Old North Church. He is a member of the elite Force Recon Association, International Counter-Terrorism Officers Association, International Association of Maritime Security Professionals, National Military Intelligence Association, International Association of Emergency Managers, International Association of Risk and Compliance Professionals, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, and the U.S. State

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Newman is currently working in counterinsurgency in his fifth war zone (one conventional, four asymmetric) as a private military contractor in the Middle East, prior to which he was operating in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and equatorial Africa. When in the United States, he lives in the Rockies.

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