Pamphlet

COIN and Irregular Warfare

in a Tribal Society

FOREWORD

1. PURPOSE. The COIN and Irregular Warfare in Tribal Society Pamphlet is designed to assist staff officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers and Marines in conducting COIN and irregular warfare operations in a tribal society.

2. SCOPE. This pamphlet provides a general overview of tribal society and behavior to gain an appreciation of the cultural operating environment. The pamphlet is based on the premise that the key component of COIN and irregular warfare is to effectively communicate intent within the cultural frame of reference of the target audience.

3. CHANGES. Recommendation for improvements to this pamphlet are encouraged from commands as well as individuals. Recommendations may be submitted electronically to:
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Introduction

Irregular warfare has been described as the "violent struggle among states and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant population". Concepts of legitimacy and influence are key components in this struggle. When engaged in such a struggle, the design of the Counterinsurgency (COIN) or irregular warfare campaign must reflect the population's cultural realities, social norms and conventions of war and peacemaking. A COIN or irregular warfare campaign must take these factors into consideration so as to effectively communicate intent.

COIN and irregular warfare operations in tribal society are a clash of martial, social, religious and political cultures' and reflect a number of divergent concepts of victory, defeat and 'rules of play'. Each side's social and political behavior and conventions of war and peace are based on unique historical and social experiences and are expressed in each side's stylized way of fighting and peacemaking. In tribal society or better stated a society whose behavior is shaped by the tribal ethos, the arts of war and those of peace are the two sides of the coin of statecraft and diplomacy.

The study of the tribal terrain is a challenge. The reason: definitive research materials on tribal diplomacy and the arts of tribal war and those of peace are sparse. Much of the material that speaks to the topic is general and regional in nature and requires 'reading between the lines' to gain an appreciation for the subject matter. The information contained in this pamphlet is intended to assist the student of the tribal arts of war and those of peace in developing an analytic structure for assessing personal experiences, observations and unit after action reports. The ultimate goal is to assist the warfighter to make sense of the behavior patterns and trends inherent in tribal politics and diplomatic conventions. It hopes to serve as a guide to gauge the effectiveness of COIN or irregular warfare tactics, techniques and procedures (TTP) and a cultural baseline to determine why certain approaches succeed or fail.

The pamphlet is neither a comprehensive cultural study nor a "how to template" but a guide to recognize events for what they are and the reasons as to why individuals and groups in tribal society act the way they do. In short, it hopes to explain behavior so that you may gain a better appreciation of the situation. A better appreciation of the situation helps you to more

effectively communicate intent, whether kinetic or non-kinetic, within the cultural frame of reference of the target audience. This pamphlet also seeks to assist and to encourage you 'how to think' not 'what to think' about the cultural operating environment as you engage in COIN and irregular warfare operations in a tribal society.

The pamphlet is divided into two major sections: theory and application. In the theory section you will be introduced to concepts such as mental models, mental model development, social contract, political formula and the tribal ethos. Mental models are explanations of someone's thought process for how something works in the real world and serves as the foundation for how we perceive this world. In our discussion on mental model development we will address the need to reengineer our current mental model based on classical counterinsurgency methods to arrive at innovative and culturally effective approaches. This effort requires a rudimentary understanding as to the role of the existent social contract and political formula in a given area of operation. Finally, we will focus on the tribal ethos. The tribal ethos is the foundation of the existent social contract and political formula in tribal society from which the implied agreement by which people maintain social order and by extension the logical beginning and foundation of a political order arise.

The second section introduces the reader to the cultural operating environment and provides a number of models to gain an appreciation of the tribal dynamics in play, whether in terms of intra or inter-tribal interactions or inter-tribal and governmental relationships. The intent of these models is for the reader to combine them with specific tribal information contained in this pamphlet as a situation warrants gaining a greater appreciation for specific behavior or that between groups and the social system as a whole.

The United States Marine Corps is a learning organization. I urge you to read this pamphlet but also to watch and listen, study the rhythms of the tribal house and the informal and ritualistic interactions between individuals and groups. This effort will pay great dividends as we seek to develop culturally effective strategies and tactics, techniques and procedures (TTP) during COIN and irregular warfare operations in a tribal society.

THEORY

Mental Models[1]

Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be defeated.

Sun Tzu

According to T.E. Lawrence, "irregular warfare is far more intellectual than a bayonet charge". This assertion certainly includes counterinsurgency warfare. All intellectual endeavors therefore must start with how we think about the problem.

   a. A **mental model** is an explanation of someone's thought process for how something works in the real world and based on culture, attitudes, emotions, values, authority, persuasion and or coercion.

   b. Each soldier and Marine must recognize and appreciate the fact that we see the world based on our own unique culture, attitudes, emotions, values and authority. As a member of an expeditionary force you will encounter people and cultures that differ markedly from our own. The hardest task is to lay our cultural lenses aside and to gain an appreciation of the "others" cultural operating environment.

   c. Define to what extent you understand your own mental process. How good are your insights in how you weight evidence in making judgments.

- Studies show that individuals assume an implicit "mental model" consisting of fundamental beliefs and assumptions. These fundamental beliefs and assumptions for sake of mental model development are called variables.

It follows that:

- An individual should be able to identify and describe the mental variables they consider most important in making judgments.

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[1] Much of the information for the mental model section is drawn from Richard J. Heuer, Jr. research and published in his book "Psychology of Intelligence Analysis".

- Cognitive studies show that individuals tend to overestimate the importance of variables that have only a minor impact on their judgment and underestimate the extent to which their decisions are based on a few major variables.

- In short, people's mental models are simpler than they think.

- As a matter of fact it is seldom more than one or two mental variables that are considered at any given time when assessing a given situation

- This revelation helps explain why additional information does not normally improve predictive accuracy. We tend to confirm or deny information in accordance with our existing mental model.

- Accuracy of judgment depends almost exclusively upon precision of the mental model for there is little other basis for judgment.

d. Describe your own mental model. An example of a very simple mental model is Boyd's Observe, Orient, Decide, and Act (OODA) Loop.

e. What are your mental variables when you contemplate Iraq, the various provinces or tribal society?

f. Which variables influence your mental model for how you see, perceive and experience the culture of the operating area?

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Mental Model Development

Rebuild our mental models of this conflict, redesign our classical counter insurgency and counter terrorism methods and continually develop innovative and culturally effective approaches.

David J. Kilcullen
COIN Expert

The social contract defines the limits of power and social responsibilities between individuals, groups and governance. It is the logical start point to gain an appreciation for the distribution of power in a given society and the critical first step in determining how best to shape behavior.

Social Contract

- The social contract is an implied agreement by which people form nations and maintain social order.

- It is an agreement by which individuals and groups give up rights to a form of government so as to secure social order.

- Tensions exist between governmental sovereignty and individual liberty.

- The social contract does not provide for rights that are "natural" or permanent. Rights are only legitimate to the extent that they serve the general interest

- Arguments can be made for a natural right of rebellion in case the social contract leads to tyranny.

- Fighting is a form of negotiation.

Political Formula

- The political formula is the logical beginning and foundation of a political order. The entire legal and social structure of the state is built upon a specific political order.

- No political formula can be scientifically proven to be correct. Every political formula is fiction. Only the force which the political formula exerts and expresses as political faith is real. The political formula is taken to be correct, true and necessary by those who believe in it and uphold it.

- A political formula which does not correspond to the desires and efforts of the people is useless. Those who rely on the political formula's legitimacy and associated force lose their power i.e. that influence which allows them to impose their will.

- A political formula without legitimacy is mere legality. Yet, the political formula seeks to survive by virtue that it exists.

- Legitimacy is derived from differing political formulas which the various actors seek to realize. Every revolution bequeaths legitimacy once its political formula is believed.

U.S. political formula

- The American political formula is based on the idea that authority is derived from "the people" and that everyone who belongs to this order is called upon to participate. This participation is expressed in elections and votes in which the decisions of the majority are delegated to the appropriate authority, according to directives from below.

It follows that:

- The government represents the will of the people and is held accountable for its actions.

It further follows that this mental model might assume that COIN and irregular warfare is primarily a struggle between:

- The government fighting against the insurgency for the hearts and minds of the people.

Political formula in a tribal society

a. The primary building block is the group, not the individual.

b. Competition for access and influence is between a multiplicity of compact groups – ethnic, sectarian, economic-and tribal all striving separately and suspicious of each other.

c. The state as an institution and the territory it encompasses represents a "political field" or arena in which groups compete for influence and resources. It is a power-sharing system that includes urban and rural, sectarian, political and tribal groupings.

d. The focus of each group is to survive and prosper and they can do so only if they preserve and reinforce the corporate pattern.

e. Iraqis do not focus on the individual but rather on the tribe or the community of interest and let the tribe or the community of interest succeed or fail as a group.

f. Community of interest is defined as any temporary or long-term alliance to achieve a common goal.

Key Points.

a. Does the current mental model of ***"the" government fighting against "the" insurgency for the hearts and minds of "the" people*** meet your requirements for a greater appreciation of the tribal stylized way of fighting and peacemaking?

b. Does the current COIN and irregular warfare mental model support the development of appropriate tactics, techniques and procedures (TTP) to accomplish your operational and tactical objectives within the cultural frame of reference of the target audience?

c. A mental model provides the foundation for appropriate action. If the mental model clashes with the cultural operating environment then the effort should focus on improving the mental model in use by individuals to interpret information within the cultural frame of reference of the target audience and the analytical processes used to evaluate the information.

Tribal Ethos

Cultural assessments in COIN and irregular warfare are based on an appreciation of the values, beliefs, attitudes, customs and traditions of the target population. The advantage goes to the person who takes the time to identify and understand the potential effects of cultural differences on operations. To identify and understand these potential effects requires that we study the motivating factors of group behavior, especially in COIN and irregular warfare operations. In the case of Iraq or Afghanistan, this study must focus on the tribal ethos.

   a. Do not differentiate the behavior of tribes from that of "legitimate organizations" (government institutions, ministries, political organizations, etc) because its members were also raised with the ***tribal ethos.***

   b. To appreciate how institutions and organizations behave within a tribal society you must understand the ***tribal ethos*** first.

   c. The tribal ethos is revealed in four distinct cultural operating codes and two coordinating messages.

Cultural Operating Codes

   a. Are rules of conduct that define the range of actions and the ideas of individuals and groups within a social system.

   b. Determine what to do and what not to do, how to do it or not to do it, who to do it with or who not to do it with.

   c. Dictate under what circumstances behavior will shift and change.

The cultural operating codes are as follows: <u>I) Shame and Honor, II) Segmentation of Tribes and Groups, III)Patronage and IV) Territory. Each is discussed more fully below.</u>

I. Shame and Honor

Shame and Honor <u>*NOT*</u> "hearts and minds" govern individual / group relationships and competition

Key Points.

    a. Honor is a finite resource and exchanged like currency.

    b. Zero-sum exchange. One gains honor at another's expense (and imposes his shame).

    c. Honor is not for sale (misplaced assumption of "hearts and minds"). Honor can only be exchanged for honor and/or the imposition of shame

II. *Segmentation of tribes or groups*

**H and I will act together as Group D, if confronted by E.
D and E will act together as Group B in a dispute with C.
Segmentation: groups come together against external threat
or economic and political necessity even though they may be
potentially hostile toward one another, or involved in open
conflict with one another. The segmentation principle applies
to tribes, political parties, military units, etc.**

Figure 1. Segmentation of tribes or groups model.

III. *Patronage*

    a. Is closely linked to segmentation ("Social Contract")

    b. Is both an obligation and system requirement

c. Provides access to scarce resources, influence and sources of power (honor, guns and money)

d. Is a commitment to maximizing "kindred" strategies

Key Point. Patronage reflects the "social contract." It supports establishing/articulating relationships between individuals/groups that share "*asabiya*" (solidarity) and "*nasab*" (origin). Therefore, it is closely linked to segmentation. Patronage reflects a *two-way* exchange. In exchange for someone's patronage, the patron is responsible for providing something in return (protection, economic and or political assistance…). A patronage relationship is not easily entered into. The decision to do so reflects a strategic decision and a commitment by two parties to maximize a "kindred" strategy or long-term relationship.

Key Point. Patronage relationships take time to develop and establish (achieve equilibrium / stability). This may be one reason why democratic institutions (in a Western sense) may be so difficult to establish – society is averse to the turmoil that would result after every election and change in leadership and associated systems of patronage. The institution of patronage may help us better understand why monarchies and autocracies are so prevalent in the region. While this system does not reflect Western democratic principles, the constraints imposed on individuals/groups by the patronage system certainly appear to contribute to long-term stability ("better a hundred years of tyranny than one day of anarchy").

Key Point. Nationalism undermines the patronage system to some degree. Loyalty to a nation-state is not the same as loyalty to a ruler or kinsman. Therefore a strong sense of nationalism may lead to questionable loyalties from the perspective of the ruler (ex. the removal of multiple Iraq Army generals who appear too effective in fighting insurgents *and* sectarian violence).

IV. *Territory*

a. Every piece of terrain is controlled by some primary descent or community group

b. Principle methods of ownership and mechanisms of transfer

(1) **Hereditary** – tribal lands

(2) **Right of customary usage** – grazing and/or water rights

(3) **Sanctioned by central power** – smuggle routes

(4) **Conquest** – the "fight for Baghdad"

c. Territory will be defended by force. The extent of territorial control is determined by the state's ability to project power and influence and challenge ownership.

Coordinating messages

a. Coordinating messages are "cultural themes within a society that shape individual decisions and behaviors".

b. The coordinating messages are as follows:

(a) **"No stability without us".**

(b) **"What have you done for me lately…what will you do for me tomorrow?"**

The cultural operating codes and coordinating messages are the variables in the COIN and irregular warfare mental model.

Historical Example.

> "You allow kinship to prevail and put religion second; you excuse and hide your transgressors and tear down the order which Islam has sanctified for your protection. Take care not to creep about in the night; I will kill everyman found on the street after dark. Take care not to appeal to your kin; I will cut out the tongue of every man who raises that call… I rule you with the omnipotence of God and maintain you with God's wealth (i.e. the state's); I demand obedience from you and you can demand uprightness from me. However much I may lag behind my aims I will not fail in three things: I will at all times be there for every man to speak to me, I will always pay your pensions punctually and I will not send you into the field for too long a time or too far away. Do not be carried away by your hatred and anger against me, it would go ill with you. I see many heads rolling; let each man see that his own head stays upon his shoulders!"
>
> Ziyad ibn Abihi (673)
> Governor of Basrah and Kufa

Figure 2. Historical application of social contract, political formula, cultural operating codes and coordinating messages.

Ziyad ibn Abihi assumed the governorship of Basrah and Kufa in modern day Iraq in 673 C.E. He summoned the urban and tribal leaders for an audience and delivered his inaugural address depicted in *Figure 2*. The social contract outlining the relationship between ruler and ruled valid 1334 years ago still resonates in Iraq's polity today. You will also recognize the cultural operating codes and coordinating messages.

a. *"You allow kinship to prevail and put religion second; you excuse and hide your transgressors…"* – Ziyad ibn Abihi specifically addresses the segmentation of tribes and groups operating code.

b. *"Take care not to appeal to your kin."* This statement again addresses the segmentation of tribes and group cultural operating code.

c. *"I rule you with the omnipotence of God and maintain you with God's wealth."* Ziyad ibn Abihi explicitly states that he is the giver of patronage. He decides who will gain access to influence and resources, security, and economic benefits. This statement addresses the patronage cultural operating code.

d. ***"However much I may lag behind my aims I will not fail in three things."*** Ziyad ibn Abihi now outlines his responsibility to the various community groups. He reinforces the specifics of the social contract.

e. ***"I will at all times be there for every man to speak to me."*** This pledge is still applicable in Iraqi society today. Military commanders, conditioned to operate within well established processes and procedures are continually surprised when a tribal sheikh unbeknownst to the command will seek and gain an audience with the Prime Minister of Iraq to submit petitions directly, negotiate patronage relationships or voice his displeasure with government policy. "I will at all times be there for every man to speak to me" remains a leader's obligation and an inherent responsibility whether in governance or the tribal house. This pledge addresses the "no stability without us" coordinating message. By making himself available to every man at all times, Ziyad ibn Abihi recognizes that all the various community groups are needed for communal harmony and necessity to preserve this unity with himself and his administration at its center.

f. ***"I will pay your pensions punctually."*** No matter how confused the political situation in the capital, every administration will do its utmost to meet this social contract obligation. Much consternation and distrust of future Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) intentions resulted after the disbanding of the Iraqi Army after the removal of the Saddam Regime. Much of the negative feelings toward the CPA can be attributed to its inability to meet this social obligation efficiently and effectively. This pledge addresses the "what have you done for me lately, what will you do for me tomorrow" coordinating message.

g. ***"I will not send you into the field for too long a time or too far away."*** This statement addresses the territory cultural operating code. Even today, much of our Iraqi Army military training initiatives are frustrated by this cultural operating code. This cultural operating code is reflected in the extremely liberal leave policy of the Iraqi armed forces and the reluctance of Iraqi military units to deploy outside their home territories. Iraqi military personnel recruited from a specific district or region do not wish to be stationed or to conduct military operations outside their home district or region. If ordered to leave the home district to conduct military operations it will not be "for too long a time or too far away".

APPLICATION

The Operational Environment[2]

a. The tension between the state and the various groups competing for influence and resources is an expression of power.

b. Competition among a variety of groups takes place in a specific cultural, social, historical and religious context. It is a power-sharing system that includes urban and rural, sectarian, political and tribal groupings.

(a) Throughout history rulers and administrators located in the capital had to resort to various methods to retain power and prevent attacks from the countryside or to check the process by which a new dynasty might arise to seize power. The countryside and its inhabitants embody a continuous danger that threatens urban administration.

(b) State power, then as now, spreads outward from a number of urban centers with a force that tends to grow weaker with distance. The distance from the center of power influences the amount of force the ruling authority is capable of projecting to achieve national control at any given time.

(c) The reach of state power and its projection capability can be divided into three regions of influence. Each region differs in regard to the nature and extent of state control.

(1) In an outlying region where the population can not be checked or forced to yield, the administrative authority attempts to secure a certain level of influence by political manipulation setting one powerful family against another or giving formal investiture to one family rather than another. At a minimum, the ruling authority will attempt to prevent rebellion.

(2) The ruling authority may exercise more direct control by means of local sheikhs in areas closer to the center of power. Local sheikhs are given investiture in return for support of the provincial or central government. This relationship is reinforced on occasion by increased

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[2] The operational environment model is based on Albert Hourani's extensive research and published in his book "A History of the Arab People". The power dynamic between the urban area and the countryside remains applicable today.

military presence or the withdrawal of recognition and transfer of investiture to a rival sheikh.

(3) The third region consists of strategic areas vital to the survival of the regime. Here the authorities maintain more direct control. Permanent military garrisons or security force presence maintains order to prevent the emergence of local centers of power.

(d) The dividing line between the outlying region and the area closer to the center of power is not fixed. It depends on the influence of the ruling authority and the changing balance of power.

Relationship between central government and the provinces

a. Provincial administration is based on the premise that "Arabs rule - they don't administer".

b. A provincial governor, either as a kinship member or once he has pledged his loyalty to the central government will organize the administration of the area under his control in accordance with the political and security realities in the province.

c. The provincial government administrative structure may well be similar in its composition to the central government ex. Ministries, bureaucratic administration etc, but the conduct of day-to-day governance will be heavily influenced by specific administrative and security requirements and character of the population in a specific province.

d. The notion of a uniform administrative structure runs counter to the reality we are facing in Iraq. Many of our administrative solutions are shaped to fit Iraqi political and security realities.

Civil-Military relations

a. Civilian control over the military consists of a deliberate policy of breaking up undue concentrations of military and police power under any one commander.

b. The mechanism to assure civil dominance over the security forces consists of carefully regulating the flow of supplies and pay.

c. Civilian officials charged with resupplying security forces may also play one commander off against another. This tactic can be used to prevent any concentration of power and defiance should a security force commander find himself tempted to bring armed forces to bear on the decision-makers in the capital.

d. The intent is to strengthen the root by weakening the branches.

Tribes 101

Large parts of the globe are inhabited by detribalized or non-tribal populations, and as is true in many cases, tribal identity often competes with and is eclipsed by other forms of identity such as sect, ethnicity, class, or ideological orientation. However, it is a mistake to underestimate the role and influence of the tribe in a multi-group political system.

   a. Simply, tribes are a broad based group of kinsmen organized on the basis of blood ties and genealogical decent.

   b. The genealogical structure of the tribe rests upon an eponymous ancestor who is referred to as "jid" or grandfather even if most of the families belonging to the tribe are not his direct descendents. This flexibility in terms of ancestry supports the absorption of other descent groups into the tribe. The names given to those tribes and their sub-groups thus bear the name of the ancestor following the prefix "Bani" or "Banu" meaning "son" or "sons of".

   c. Tribes should not be viewed as isolated groups but as part of a broader multi-tribal, political, security and economic system that accommodates the political, security and economic needs of its members.

   d. Tribal politics is concerned with authority over people not territory. The tribe as a political unit is people centered not a territorial concept. The most important political factor is the offering of personal allegiances. Allegiances are therefore extremely fluid.

   e. Specific family bloodlines or lineages are valued highly in tribal tradition and tribal culture. From such bloodlines and lineages, individual and tribes derive such fundamental values as honor (sharaf) and shame ('ayb). The primary bloodline and lineage serves as a basis of identity and determines position and areas of authority in the tribe and sub-tribes within the overall tribal structure.

   f. A community group is an assortment of various such bloodlines or lineages that maintain connections among themselves on the basis of patronage relationships, political and security alliances and economic

cooperation. Members of various descent groups are integrated into a community group.

g. In every community group only one primary bloodline or lineage holds the position of political power and is the relevant group in decision making such as forging alliances or declaring war.
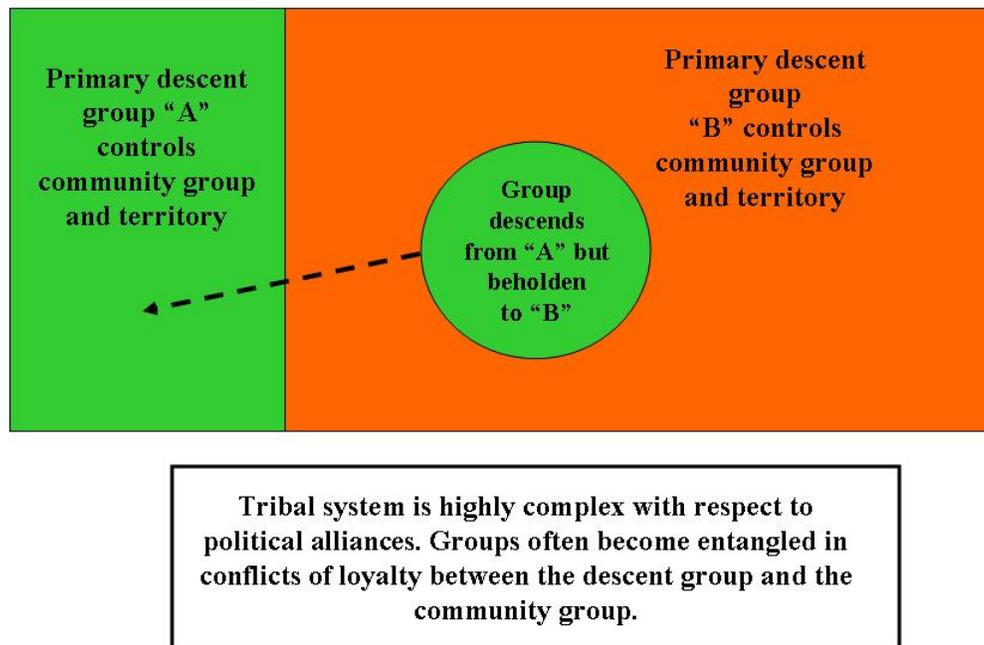
Figure 3. Relationship between a primary descent and a community group.

Key Points.

a. The primary descent and community group model depicted in *Figure 3* will assist you in applying your understanding of the culture's social contract, political formula, cultural operating codes and coordinating messages. The concept of a primary decent group and its affiliated community group applies to all facets of life in Iraq. It is reflected in the competition of groups for influence and resources whether in the tribal house or in Iraq's governing institutions.

b. An individual or kinship group of a primary descent group and its affiliated allies or community group may dominate a given ministry, military or economic sphere. The primary descent group in this case exploits key positions in a ministerial department, or command of a specific military command to gain access and influence. A primary descent group and its affiliated community may dominate a political party, sectarian or ethnic groups, or cliques of urban or rural elites.

d. Note: although a ministry or political organization may not be defined as tribal, its members are recruited from tribes and exploit kinship ties.

e. *Figure 4* below depicts how a given descent group might exploit kinship ties and patronage relationships to compete for influence and resources. Patronage relationships reveal the existence of political ties above and beyond blood ties.

The State as a political field or arena
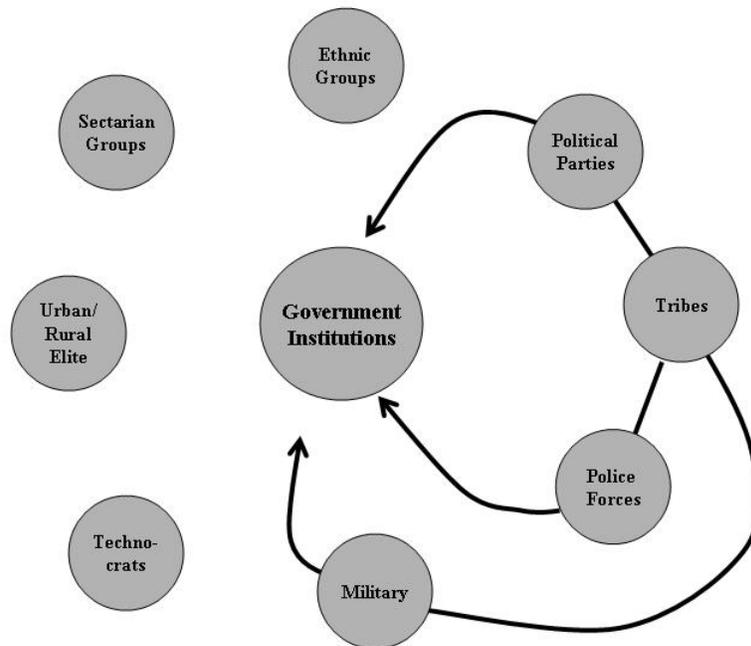
Figure 4. In this example, tribes exploit kinship ties and patronage relationships within political parties, police forces (Ministry of Interior) and the military (Ministry of Defense) to compete for influence and resources. Tribes are part of a broader, multi-group political system.

Examples.

    a. Iraq's Ba'ath party removed from power in November 1963 in a bloodless coup de etat by Colonel Arif commanding the 20th Army Brigade. The majority of the 20th Army Brigade are members of the Jumayli tribe, as is Colonel Arif and are united by a strong tribal bond. By 1965 many fellow tribesmen appointed to positions of power in the central government.

    b. Ba'ath party regains power in 1968. Close family and tribal ties bind the Ba'ath's ruling circle. Most notable in this regard are the Tikritis from the northwest town of Tikrit and related to Ahmad Hasan al Bakr. Three of the five members of the Ba'ath's Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) are Tikritis; two, Ahmad Hasan al Bakr and Hammad Shihad are related to each other. Real power remains in the hands of a narrowly based group united by close family and tribal ties.

    c. Saddam Hussein early-on during his reign marginalizes and even goes as far as to demonize the tribal institution as feudalism, a remnant of colonialism and anti-pan Arabism. He does this not because he actually believes that that tribal groups are anachronistic but as a deliberate move to neutralize a major obstacle to his one-party rule. He emasculates the tribal sheikhs all the while exploiting tribal organizing principles to consolidate his and his clan's hold on power. During the Iran-Iraq war Saddam Hussein requires tribal assistance and even more so during the 1991 Shia intifada. He reintroduces and elevates select tribes, both Sunni and Shia, to bona fide power contenders.

    d. In 2007, select Sunni tribes in northern Iraq lobby for inclusion in the Iraqi Army and police. Sunni tribal leaders seek to off-set Kurdish over-representation in one of the major power groups competing in the political arena for influence and resources.
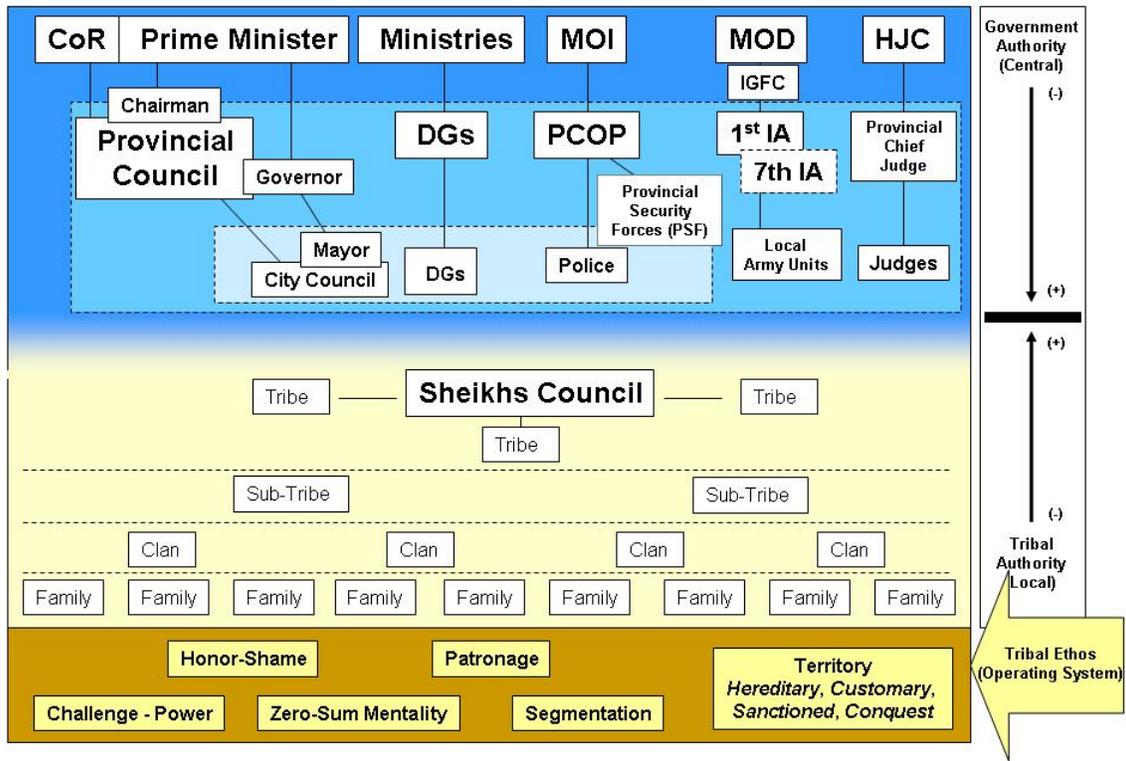
Figure 5. II Marine Expeditionary Force strategy in Anbar province to integrate tribal and civil governance. Tribes are highly encouraged to participate in elections and to send their elected kinsmen as representatives to municipal, district and provincial councils. This slide was developed by the II Marine Expeditionary Force governance team.

Phases in the breakup and creation of new tribal groups.

    a. Withdrawal of a particular tribal sector or fragment from a larger tribe.

    b. Establishment its own center of power. The breakaway tribe establishes its own patronage system (honor, guns and money) and effective defense posture. It acquires a solid identity of its own.

    c. The breakaway tribe begins to grow and add tribal sub-groups to its ranks via security or economic patronage relationships. In time transitions into a tribe in its own right.

d. Tribes in a subordinate role to the primary descent group that are not related by bloodline or lineage tend to develop a fictitious family tree and genealogical connection identifying them with the primary descent group.

e. Weakness on the part of a breakaway tribe whether unable to establish its own patronage system or to provide for adequate defense, results in absorption into a community group run by a stronger descent group.

> **The tribal breakup and creation dynamic is applicable when assessing the termination of individuals in positions of influence, or changes in ministry personnel, military commanders or technocrats and the formation and dissolution of political parties, etc. Not because of any tribal affiliation but because the process is essentially the same.**

The Role of the Sheikh

The traditional sheikh – tribe relationship is based on consensus not force. A given sheikh can only do what the people wish. Leadership in the tribal system is based on the sheikh's "ability to attract and keep followers" vice "ability to enforce". This in turn is based on an individual sheikh's legitimacy and credibility. Legitimacy and credibility is based on the following criteria:

- Years to grow a sheikh. It takes many years to learn, gain experience and wisdom.

- A sheikh's standing based on consensus of the tribe.

- A sheikh's legitimacy is based on lineage and bloodline.

- A sheikh's credibility is based on his ability to mediate and attract followers; he does not rule nor enforce. This is also a function of experience and wisdom (ability to manipulate and perception management).

- Tribal sheikhs are key communicators. Their basis of power is persuasion rather than the exercise of force.

- The majority does not rule in the tribal house. All decisions are based on consensus. If seven out of ten sheikhs agree; no sheikhs agree.

- Tribal members are free to challenge the sheikh. In a federation, a dissenting tribe may vote with its feet.

Example. **The different roles of Sheikh Ali Hatim**

   a. Sheikh Ali Hatim Abd al-Razzaq Ali Sulayman al-Assafi in his role as the Chairman of the Iraqi Sheikhs Council represents all Iraqi Sunni and Shia tribes and speaks on their behalf in its negotiations with the central government. In this capacity, Sheikh Ali Hatim is obligated to speak on their behalf if asked to do so. He is therefore duty-bound to speak for Sunni tribes

that are affiliated with known nationalist resistance "groups", or for specific tribesmen that may be members of resistance or insurgent groups.

    b. In his role as a prince of the al Suleiman Dulaymi bloodline and whose noble house is aligned with the Sahawa al Iraq (SAI), Sheikh Ali Hatim will accompany and support the leadership of the SAI to Baghdad during official tribal-government meetings.

    c. As a member of a noble house competing for leadership of the Dulaym Confederation, Sheikh Ali Hatim seeks to check the growing influence of the Albu Risha tribe or other competitors ' vis-à-vis his own house and tribe. In this instance Sheikh Ali Hatim seems to support the Anbar Salvation Council (ASC) and the Albu Thiyab tribe to check the growing power of the Albu Risha within the SAI.

    d. Many of his intrigues, schemes and political maneuvers are questioned by more mature and elder tribal statesmen who excuse his rashness as that of a young man who is still learning and under much pressure to earn respect for his own actions rather than the respect rendered him solely by virtue of his status as a prince of the Dulaym family.

    e. Many of Sheikh Ali Hatim's intrigues, schemes and political maneuvers are instigated by family members to test the waters for diplomatic initiatives or to ascertain shifts in the balance of forces.

    f. How Sheikh Ali Hatim deals with the repercussions of the various intrigues, schemes and political maneuverings provides him with much political and diplomatic experience and in time wisdom. All skilled sheikhs underwent similar training.

    g. All sides seek to exploit Sheikh Ali Hatim's various roles, as he is likely to do himself, as they maneuver to gain advantage.

Key Points.

a. A sheikh is many things to many different people.

b. Identify which role a sheikh may play at any given time. This will assist you in identifying the message he is sending to a given audience at a given time.

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c. Understand that you may not appreciate the message because you may have misidentified the role he is playing and the target audience he is addressing.

d. A sheikh speaks for many groups and his message is very likely to be intended for different target audiences at any one time. A number of examples are highlighted below:

(a) He speaks as a representative of a shura that includes many factions and groups all vying for their message to be heard.

(b) He speaks as a member of a noble bloodline, his specific family or noble house.

(c) He speaks as a representative due to his tribe's membership in a given shura or political party.

(d) If he is a young sheikh, his actions and message may be an attempt to establish himself in his own right as a credible contender for leadership.

(e) If he is a young sheikh, he may speak for more experienced sheikhs. Always remember that "the powerful send messengers".

(f) If he is a young sheikh, his boisterous behavior may be a reflection of his immaturity and inexperience.

The Shura

Shura is an Arabic word for "consultation" or "council". It is the method by which Arab tribes select leaders and make major decisions.

    a. The Shura reflects a decision making process -- consultative decision making -- that is considered either obligatory or desirable by Islamic scholars. Those scholars who choose to emphasize the Quranic verse: "…and **consult** with them on the matter" (3:159) consider shura as mandatory. Those scholars, who emphasize the verse wherein "those who conduct their affairs by **counsel** (43:38) are praised", consider shura as recommended.

    b. A shura is an arena in which each individual tribe voices its concerns and pursues its interests and is not in the Western sense a disciplined interest group representing one party platform.

    c. A shura is not a political party. If a political party is desired, members of the shura will form a political party distinct and separate from the shura.

    d. Decisions are reached by consensus and reflect the ability of tribal leaders to build alliances and persuade other tribal sheikhs. 'Ability to attract' vice 'enforce'. Decisions based on consensus not majority rule.

    e. Persuasion, mediation and negotiation are basic tenets of tribal politics and diplomacy, not the use of force or intimidation. The shura has no "leader" in the Western sense of the word. A respected family based on lineage and bloodline will be named to act as moderator, spokesman or representative for the council.

    f. Note: any dissenting tribe can decide to remove themselves from the shura, in essence "vote with its feet", and form its own shura.

    g. Identifying the networks of familial, tribal, security, economic and political relationships composing a given shura will assist in identifying how these networks influence group decisions.

Anbar Council of Sheikhs and Notables.

a. The council is composed of Sunni tribal representatives from Anbar and neighboring provinces.

b. A number of smaller shura are nested within the Anbar Council of Sheiks and Notables. The Sahawa al Iraq (SAI) is an Anbar centric shura composed of two tribal shura; the Sahawa al Anbar (SAA) sponsored by the Albu Risha tribe and its tribal allies and the Anbar Salvation Council (ASC) sponsored by the Albu Thyub tribe and its tribal allies.

c. The Council of Sheikhs and Notables specifically includes Sunni tribal representatives from outside Anbar such as Ninewa, Salahadin and Diyala provinces. A number of Shia Notables are included. The presence of Shia notables serves two purposes. First, it expresses the shura's inclusiveness and second, provides the shura with Shia mediators to communicate with the Shia tribal community.

d. The Council of Sheikhs and Notables in Anbar is a logical progression of the Anbar "awakening".

e. As the "awakening " meme spreads outside Anbar province higher level shura are established to negotiate, coordinate and mediate between cross-boundary tribes, sectarian and political groups.

Segmentation of Tribes Principle
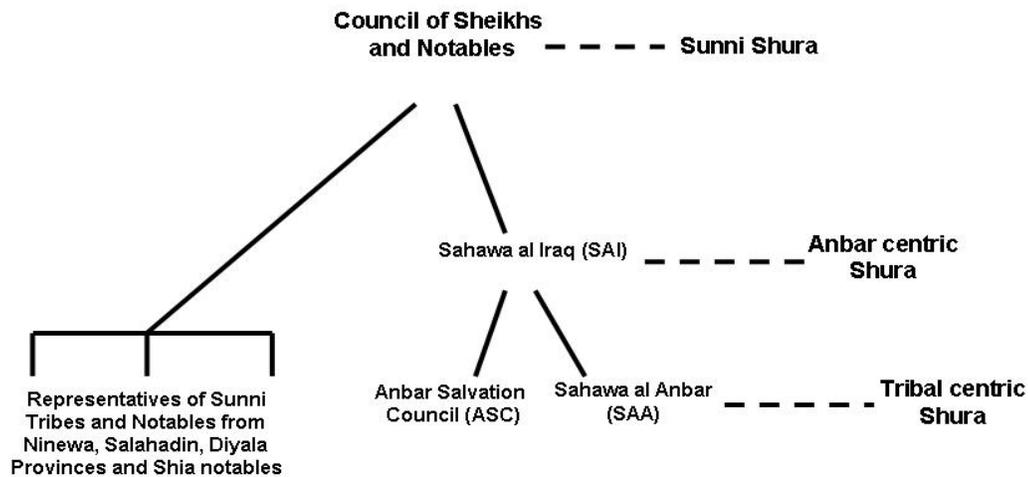
Figure 6. The Anbar Council of Sheikhs and Notables; segmentation principle in action.

Listening Points during visit to the tribal house/shura

1. Designate "observers" and "listeners" to gather atmospherics throughout the visit.

2. Observe and note which other sheikhs (tribes) have also been invited. Note the distance they sit away from paramount sheikh and the order in which they present themselves to him during the initial gathering. This information will assist in developing an understanding of present and potential alliances developing among the tribes.

3. Note the groupings of sheikhs as they meet and talk to each other and the general body language, and approximate length of time they converse with one another.

4. Note the groupings of sheikhs as they approach the paramount sheikh periodically to present petitions or to engage in conversation to determine which sheikhs (sub-tribes) may be aligned for specific objectives.

a. Designated listeners now listen for pledges of loyalty and or petitions that address security, political or economic issues or general exchange of pleasantries to indicate relationships.

c. Listen for concerns in regard to present provincial governance and administration/distribution of resources (patronage building).

d. Observe participant's body language if discussion involve sectarian political parties, provincial council, and elections.

e. Observe groupings of sheikhs during discussions and note those that speak favorably and those that do not (also take note of those that do not express an opinion) concerning the subject matter of interest.

f. Observe body language and facial expressions if topic involves security, security forces and role of Ministry of Interior (MOI), Ministry of Defense (MOD) or any other central governmental agency. Pay particular attention to side-bar discussions.

g. Designated observers judge body language and facial expressions (after translation) of comments made by U.S. military representative. Especially "key" comments crafted by the U.S. military representative designed to achieve a specific effect, point or recommendation.

Tribal politics and diplomacy[3]

Tribal politics is conducted in its own "political field" or arena where tribes compete for influence and resources. It too is a power-sharing system. The tribal politics and diplomacy model serves as a foundation for assessing the group dynamics in play.

Assumptions

a. Challenge leads to power, power leads to challenge.

b. Violence is a political act rather than an act of war.

c. The only way to discover a shift in the balance of forces is to test it.

d. Violence is not necessarily used to inflict loss on an opponent; rather, it is exploited to enhance maneuver, positional advantage and individual and group prestige. Prestige is a key ingredient of leadership, legitimacy and credibility.

e. Assassination is akin to a no-confidence vote; murder is an instrument for adjusting the balance of forces.

f. Force or patronage. Force most effective if it does not provoke retaliation.

Dynamics

a. Within the Dulaymi Confederation power holders do not and can not hold mutual or agreed-upon ambitions and so are in perpetual competition as they test one another. A commitment to one by definition incurs opposition of a rival. It is impossible in practice to have an assortment of allies, and therefore parties fluctuate between loss and gain.

b. All members of the Confederation are employing the same tactics of seeking more powerful sponsors, recruiting others and countering potential

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[3] The tribal politics and diplomacy dynamics model is based on David Pryce-Jones's extensive research and published in his book "The Closed Circle". It is by far the best description of the dynamic that governs power relationships, political and diplomatic discourse in the tribal system and by extension state-tribe relations.

challengers by all means available such as conspiracy, assassination and murder. Any tribe may switch sponsorship if advantage can be gained and is vulnerable, in turn, to an internal challenger who might switch sides if it benefits him.

c. The system is self-regulating and places constraints on the incumbent and challenger alike. The moment the challenger initiates action and begins to eliminate rivals, he begins to encounter opposition. The stakes increase until failure to deal decisively with a rival becomes tantamount to one's own demise.

d. The tribal system is not populated with "moderate" actors and is in a constant state of flux. The various actors continuously assess their relative power position in relation to their allies and rivals. Relationships are strengthened with select allies and new ones are mobilized to keep their social, security and economic patronage networks operational.

e. Conflict is the norm and an accepted part of the system and serves as a means to activate and evaluate relationships. Customary conventions of war and peacemaking are in place to manage violence.

f. The social system is subject to the tribal ethos expressed in its cultural operating codes and coordinating messages and therefore subject to analysis and shaping.

Anbar Province

a. It took Saddam Hussein thirty years to shape the Anbar patronage-security system to meet his needs. After his removal from power Saddam's patronage-security system collapsed. Today the Dulaymi Confederation is in the process of renegotiating its internal alignment.

b. All the members of the Dulaymi Confederation are in competition with one another to establish new centers of power or to reestablish old ones in the post-Saddam period.

c. Tribal competition is a critical component of the system. An example of this dynamic is the Albu Risha led Sahawa al Anbar's (SAA) tribal shura push to gain a positional advantage within the Dulaymi Confederation. It should come as no surprise that the Albu Risha tribe are experiencing push-

back from smaller and a number of more powerful houses in its pursuit to renegotiate their relative power position within the Dulaymi Federation as a whole.

Key points.

   a. Tribes depend on their connections and influence. If a tribe's power is diminished few will want to ally themselves. Tribes that feel isolated may overreact in desperation–which isolates them even further.

   b. Tribal diplomats will attempt to create the impression that an opponent is losing his connections. This will be done indirectly for if done directly the attacker may become entangled in an open fight.

   c. Attempts to divide the opponent from his power base (connection and prestige) are intended to make him appear to be weak. Before launching an overt attack attempts will be made to first weaken the opponent by creating as much division in his ranks as possible.

Tribal Considerations.

   a. Within any organization people naturally form smaller groups based on mutual self-interest. The primary desire is to find strength in numbers. These sub-groups form power-bases and if left unchallenged will threaten the status-quo of the tribe, alliance or confederation as a whole. The formation of factions within the tribe is a leader's greatest threat for eventually these factions will work to secure their own interests before those of the tribe, alliance or confederation.

   b. The solution is to divide and neutralize. To do so, a leader will first attempt to establish his descent group as the center of power. Other tribes will be compelled to compete for access and influence. The intent is to create the perception that there is more to be gained by cooperation than by trying to form a separate center of power.

   c. No tribal leader will declare his ambitions until certain of success because of the risk of exposure, antagonism and mobilization of more powerful opponents against his tribe. Instead he intrigues, he influences as best as he may, he conspires. If he is to win he has to enlist or neutralize challengers. His choice: force or favor. Force is most effective but only if

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certain that it will not provoke counter-force. Usually favor is preferred. The simplest and most effective means available is to lock challengers into the existing patronage system.

d. Tribal diplomacy involves a good deal of plotting, deception and intrigue. Sub-tribes may take advantage of a given situation to ally themselves to the highest bidder. Leaders may endeavor to make use of a more powerful "patron" for gain and to achieve their goals.

e. Behavior does not arise from abstract reflection, moral or otherwise but from difficult political choices made by leaders acting in their tribe's self-interest. Actions are tempered by accepted standards of honor, patronage and territory.

f. Policy in tribal politics is judged by its outcome. Tribal politics have little to do with good intentions or virtue but everything to do with political results. Reliance on superior morality does not make for effective tribal policy.

g. When contemplating an alliance, quality is more important than quantity. Perfect allies are those who provide something you cannot get on your own. They have resources the tribe lacks, do the dirty work and will fight battles for you. There are temporary alliances, alliances of convenience or long term alliances.

h. A unified group is more easily seduced and corrupted.

i. A prime tactic used to lure potential allies is promise of rewards in the event of success with the complimentary fear of isolation and exclusion if they do not join.

COIN and irregular warfare considerations.

a. To counter the divide and rule approach encourage communal cohesion. The breaking up of a tribe into autonomous individuals does not eliminate or smother the spirit of rebellion against the ruling authority.

b. An effective strategy is one that fosters a variety of compact groups - ethnic, religious or economic – competing against one another. When the sole aim of an operational initiative is to bring prosperity and progress to a

people it must do all it can to preserve and reinforce the communal pattern. The initiative must not concentrate on the individual but inject innovation and reforms into tribal or community channels and let the tribe or community progress as a whole.

Remember: tribes compete for influence and resources within their own political field and arena. It too is a power-sharing system. It is nested within the overall power-sharing system that includes governmental, urban and rural, political, sectarian and ethnic groupings.

Tribal Intelligence

Tribal intelligence is information or knowledge about specific tribes obtained through observation, investigation, understanding or analysis.

Information Requirements (IR)

1. How does the tribe perceive itself as expressed in its folklore, myths, legends and past deeds (narrative)?

2. How do other tribes perceive this tribe? Tribes have distinct personalities based on their own folklore, myths, legends and past deeds. They are described by other tribes as hard-headed, stubborn, conciliatory, brave, trust-worthy, and loyal, etc.

3. Which tribes or sub-tribes are feuding? Why and for how long?

4. Who are the antagonistic tribes and or sub-tribes in the area of operation?

5. Where are they located?

6. What do the antagonistic tribes' desire?

    a. Economic gain?

    b. Security?

    c. Status among other sub-tribes?

7. What is the disagreement?

8. Is it a blood/vendetta feud?

9. What tribe or sub-tribe is most respected as mediator?

10. Which tribe is willing to moderate and/or mediate?

11. What are the negotiating positions?

12. Have other tribes or sub-tribes attempted mediation? If so who are they?

13. What alliances exist among the tribes in your area of operation?

14. Have AQ affiliated tribesmen requested to rejoin the tribe?

    a. Have former AQ affiliated tribesmen been pardoned?

    b. Did arbitration between tribes occur to facilitate return of pardoned AQ affiliated tribesmen?

    c. What restitution and reconciliation agreements were reached between the tribes to facilitate return of AQ affiliated tribesmen?

15. How many tribal shura presently exist in the area of operation?

    a. Where are they located? Where do they meet?

    b. Which tribes participate in the shura?

    c. Which tribe or tribes dominate the shura?

    d. What are the networks of familial, security, economic and political relationships?

    e. What (security, economic patronage relationship) and who (notables, technocrats or governance representative) connects the shura to government organizations (ministries, military, etc)?

16. How many trans-provincial or national or dirah (tribal lands) shura presently exist in the area of operation?

    a. Where are they located? Where do they meet?

    b. Which tribes participate in the trans-provincial or national or dirah (tribal lands) shura?

    c. Which tribe or tribes dominate the shura?

d. What are the networks of familial, security, economic and political relationships?

e. What (security, economic patronage relationship) and who (notables, technocrats or governance representatives) connects the shura to government organizations (ministries, military, etc)?

Rumors

a. Rumors are an important source of information in tribal society. The rumor is the news.

b. Assess rumors based on source, content, audience (intended, inter-mediate, unintended), message motivation (hostility, fear, etc), and potential effect.

c. Visualize how the rumor will flow throughout the social network. Monitor for indications of change in behavior.

Deception[4]

a. It is important to know what type of situation present the greatest likelihood for deception.

b. Analysis suggests that weak, but motivated opponents pose the greatest risk of exploiting deception.

c. Be suspicious when an individual, weak tribe or group makes reassuring comments about limited objectives while hinting that the opponent lacks the will, interest, inclination, opportunity or ambition to take action.

d. Ask yourself: Is the source reliable, is the source vulnerable to manipulation or control? Is there a history of deception?

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[4] Central Intelligence Agency: "A Tradecraft Primer: Structured Analytical Techniques for Improving Intelligence Analysis", Volume 2, Number 2, June 2005.

e. Routinely consider that communications may be intended to deceive. If possibility of deception is present assess the information based on three criteria:

      (a) Does source have the motive, opportunity and means to deceive?

      (b) Would this potential deception be consistent with past practice?

      (c) What can we learn from the evaluation of the evidence?

Tribal law

This section does not attempt to provide detailed information or legal interpretations of tribal law. It highlights the importance of tribal law as an expression of the existing social contract among tribes themselves and between tribes and the central government.

   a. Tribal law (**urf**) verdicts are an expression of the existing social contract.

   b. Tribal law verdicts seek to reconcile violations of the social contract. The intent is to restore harmony in the community and to preserve the unity of the group.

   c. Tribal law verdicts seek to restore honor to a victim and his family.

Consideration.

   a. Western rule of law verdicts emphasize guilt and innocence and punishing the guilty rather than reconciliation. Tribal law verdicts focus primarily on compensation and reconciliation.

   b. Reconciliation and compensation serve a critical function in communal stability.

   c. A court verdict does not lead to reconciliation between two parties nor eliminate the need for tribal mediation.

   d. The "rule of law" does not address the requirement for social or community justice which emphasizes linkages between people, reconciliation and compensation (**diyyeh**).

Tribal law jurisdiction encompasses four major areas of consideration.

   a. **Killing among tribes** cases are divided into various reprisal acts in which a member of one tribe is killed or murdered by another. Depending on the circumstances of the murder, tribes may exact blood from the offending

tribe or individual family. These killings can in some cases continue up to seven generations (**kham**) depending on the seriousness of the situation.

b. **Killing during feuds or fighting** cases will cause the offending tribe to seek punishment of the perpetrator or pay **fasel** (compensation). The amount of fasel will depend on the person's position in the tribe who was killed or his relationship to the sheikh of the tribe. The tribe which killed a member of another tribe will collect money from all the tribe's families, if the killed member's tribe agrees to this form of compensation. The victim's tribe determines the amount of fasel.

c. **Killing without cause** cases. The victim's tribe will kill four men from the killer's tribe. This may include cousins and uncles. The retribution may target any relative up to the fifth relative (kham) in the killer's family. One of the four must be the killer. This form of retribution is called **Moraby'a**. There will also be a payment of money to the killed member's tribe. This is a fixed amount of money.

d. **Banditry/theft.** If a person steals from another or commits a theft without killing the victim, the thief's hand and the opposite foot (right hand and left foot or left hand and right foot) will be cut off. If a person is killed during the act of banditry or theft than the same punishment as killing without cause is applied and the killer will be hanged until the body is decayed. This form of retribution is called **Al-Haraba**.

Tribal law terms of art.

a. **Arain** – sanctuary.

b. **Hurmat al-belt** (sanctuary of the house)-the owner is duty bound to receive any fugitive who asks for his protection.

c. The **Dakhal** (protector) must immediately assume the responsibility to ensure at all costs the safety of his **daksheel** (refugee seeker or suppliant).

d. **Al-Mahrbat** – (escape days) three days of protection given to the culprit and his kinsmen group to allow them to flee their **dira** (tribal homeland). The ritual practice of **rita** permits the killer's kinsmen to stay within their tribal group community and limits conflict and its potential spread across a wider social field.

e. **Jali** (exile)-this custom of exile away from one's tribal homeland serves several functions. First it secures immediate protection for the exiled family within the territory of their protector. Second, Jali saves the victim's group from dishonor because the killer and his group are not within practical reach. Throughout the period of exile, which may extend for months and years, members of the killer's group are relegated to a marginal sociopolitical position within the tribal community offering them protection. After a period of time the mediation process can start.

f. **Kadi** – judge operating in accordance with Sharia. Can often be a mediator. Precedents for judgment are set by previous courses of right action (as exemplified by the Sunnah).

g. **Intiqaam** – revenge for loss of honor.

h. **Diyya** - settlement following death, insult, or destruction of property requires payment of diyya.

i. **Sulha** – peacemaking tradition. A ritualistic conflict management process that can be used publicly or privately. Honor and shame are major themes. Two types of outcome.

(a) **Complete sulha**: ends all types of conflict between the two parties, who henceforth decide not to hold a grudge against each other.

(b) **Conditional sulha**: ends conflict between two parties according to conditions agreed upon during the settlement process.

Mediation

a. The mediation process is highly complex. Tribal leaders must reach mutual agreement on the appropriate course of action while taking into account their respective tribal laws as well the history of the relations between tribes, the nature of the crime, and the interests of their own tribe and that of the injured or offending parties.

b. Government leaders may be involved in negotiations with tribes, whether representing a tribe in bilateral disputes or acting as a third party 'honest broker'.

c. Mediators mediate, not arbitrate - that is judge right from wrong.

d. Mediation must continue until reconciliation is achieved.

e. Tribal mediation traditionally takes place in the village guest house. The guest house serves as the meeting place of the men, as the council chamber in which the elders sit and the courtroom in which intra and inter-tribal disputes are adjudicated.

Consideration. The majority of homicide cases are settled through the mediation of tribal leaders. The aim is not to take the life of one particular person but to provide satisfaction and restore honor to the members of the injured group.

Mediation terms of art.

a. **Sulha** - mediation process between different tribes or sub-tribes.

b. **Wasit** – the mediator or mediation. Wasit enables a cessation of fighting between parties without incurring the shame of exhibiting weakness of admitting defeat. Restraint between feuding parties results from the respect for the mediator. Imams and sayyids are also often involved in the mediation process.

Tribal Arbitration

The mechanisms of arbitration, blood money, and honor money (fasl al-qatil, hashm) serve to circumvent endless-blood feuds (not usually between whole tribes but rather between kinship groups of five generations, or khams). Long, unresolved blood feuds that continue unabated are the exception not the rule in traditional tribal society.

a. A tribe that recognizes its relative weakness will in the majority of cases seek mediation and arbitration.

b. Arbitrators can be sheikhs, heads of respected families, notables and religious leaders. In some cases this role is hereditary.

c. Arbitrators must possess a broad based knowledge of tribal jurisprudence. They must know the prevailing customs and traditions and way of life of the specific area and tribes.

d. Arbitrators must possess the moral authority so that their rulings can be enforced. On a personal level, an arbitrator must have a strong personality and be reputed as wise, dignified and generous.

e. Arbitrators must be able to judge impartially; able to issue convincing rulings and explanations as to those rulings.

f. Tribal arbitration will differ among tribal regions and their jurisdictions.

g. Economic conditions greatly influence the form and content of the arbitration and reconciliation, as well as the individuals involved.

General Phases of Arbitration

- Initial truce.

- Provisional Agreements.

- Mediation and Negotiations.

- Conciliation

Initial truce.

a. An initial truce may last between three and four days. Mediators on behalf of the offending party make this initial request in order to reduce tensions and prevent retaliation by the victimized party. The main goal of the truce is to reduce tensions and create an appropriate atmosphere to discuss the problem.

b. Provisional are granted of free will and consent not coercion.

c. Should a party violate one of the terms, it will lose the case.

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Provisional Agreements.

a. Provisional agreements may be accorded verbally by the victimized party through a mediator to prevent reprisals and may last between a minimum of 3 days to 1 year.

b. Provincial agreements are a most important first step in tribal arbitration as it means that the family of the victim agrees to mediation.

Types of provisional agreements. There are three types of provisional agreements:

a. **Concession**. A truce granted by the victimized party to the offending party as evidence is gathered.

b. **Respite.** A grace period granted by the victimized party to the offending party for the latter to move out of the area so as to reduce tensions and prevent retaliation.

c. **Approach.** Time period preceding final arbitration and peacemaking and considered a procedural arrangement that takes place prior to reconciliation.

Arbitration terms of art.

a. **Takim** – the process of arbitration. Arbitrators are chosen for their wisdom, justice, fairness, knowledge of local customs and traditions, knowledge of genealogies and good rhetoric. Each party has arbitrators; both arbitrators collectively decide the outcome. Their decision is binding.

b. **Muscalaha** – the final act of reconciliation. Several overarching principles tend to guide reconciliation. Mediators supervise the reconciliation and restitution ritual.
Four Quranic influences that seek to govern interaction between parties during conflict resolution:

(1) Civility and respect.

(2) Tolerance.

(3) Humility.

(4) Moderation.

> The cause of faction cannot be removed and the relief is only sought in the means of controlling its effects.
>
> James Madison
> Federalist Paper #10

Tribal Feud

Example. **Potential implications of a sheikh's assassination.**

1. Background.

    a. Seven months ago initial reports begin to surface of an internal feud inside a primary descent group. Two opposing factions emerge. One faction is represented by the paramount sheik of the tribe and is opposed by another faction led by two family members who are also his cousins.

    b. The paramount sheikh of the tribe pledged his support and allies his tribe with the most influential tribe in the area in their fight against al Qaeda. In early August 2007, the paramount sheikh is assassinated.

    c. Two sub-tribes respond to the assassination of their paramount sheikh by aligning themselves publicly with the more powerful tribe in the area and affirm their continued support in the fight against AQI.

    d. The assassination of the paramount sheikh occurs approximately 2 weeks after the more influential tribe in the area pledged its support to the Sahawa al Anbar (SAA) and the Albu Risha tribe in its fight against AQI.

    e. One of the opposing cousins announces himself as the new sheikh of the tribe left leaderless after the assassination of its paramount sheikh and begins to consolidate his faction's power.

    f. The unfolding of events has all the makings of a successful coup de etat. The new leadership of the tribe blames AQI for the murder of the paramount sheikh. AQI publicly denies any involvement in the killing.

2. Initial Assessment.

Who benefits from the sheikh's death?

    a. Anyone arrayed against the SAA. Since any tribe allied with the more influential tribe in the area is likely affiliated with SAA and the Albu Risha tribe.

b. The internal tribal feud represents an exploitable weakness. We are presently unable to determine if the new leadership will align itself with the more influential tribe or with another group. It appears at present that it may not align itself with the more influential tribe in the near-term since prominent members of the sub-tribes responded to the assassination of its paramount sheikh by reaffirming its ties with the more influential tribe in the area This may be a move to prepare themselves for an eventual showdown with the usurper faction.

c. The assassination of the paramount sheikh appears to have weakened the more influential tribe's overall position in the near-term and sends the message to other tribes considering an association with this tribe to rethink their options.

3. Coalition Forces (CF) Courses of Action

a. Mediate. This option must consider whether the military unit possesses the required expertise and experience to successfully mediate.

b. Do nothing. Monitor and isolate troubled area as best as possible.

c. Accept the coup as fact and engage the usurper faction. This option requires appreciation for changes in the near-to-mid term power equation internal and external to the affected tribe.

d. Publicly embrace the paramount sheikh of the most influential tribe in the area to send the message that the coalition forces will not tolerate any moves against order, security and stability.

e. Combination of options c and d.

5. Task the unit responsible for area of operation (AO) to monitor rumors carefully for information regarding realignment of factions and possible intent. Especially important is monitoring for the likelihood of vendetta considerations against the usurper faction.

4. Monitor for indicators of impending tribal feud/vendetta operations.

a. A blood relative such as a son or nephew of the assassinated sheikh may respond by seeking revenge for the killing. He may reach out to a close friend of his father or uncle and request assistance. Honoring this request is both an honor and an obligation if the sheikh of the other tribe was a close friend of the murdered man.

b. A witness, willing and able must publicly accuse the offending party. His testimony must be able to reasonably prove that the death of the paramount sheikh can be directly attributed to the usurper faction or prove the existence of a conspiracy involving the usurper faction to assassinate the paramount sheikh.

c. The other tribes will not initially interfere in an internal feud. Tribes uninvolved in the emerging blood feud will now monitor the developing situation. Some may have already reached agreement with the usurper faction. Many of these agreements were in all likelihood already negotiated before the coup de etat took place. We can assume this to be the case for the usurper faction would not have executed the plot before isolating the paramount sheikh and his faction as best as possible.

d. The change in regime represents a revolution within the tribe and would not have taken place unless the usurper faction had supporters inside and outside the tribe. Mediation to solve the differences between the two factions may commence at this stage but we should not discount the "vendetta" option. This feud will be initiated to restore honor to the victim and his family

e. Differences within the tribe may be set aside in the near-term until enough strength can be amassed to initiate the feud but the matter will raise its head again until the affair is resolved in accordance with tribal law.

f. Should fighting erupt between the two factions provincial Government security forces will in all likelihood refuse to interfere so as not to be drawn into the vendetta relationship. Coalition forces may be inadvertently drawn into the fighting without knowing while conducting routine security and stability operations.

Cultural messaging

The act of communication consists of transmitting information from one person or group to another. In fact, many scholars of communication take this as a working definition and use the maxim, "who says what to whom in what channel with what effect."

   a. A simple communication model consists of a sender conveying a message containing information to a receiver.

   b. Other researchers suggest that a ritual process of communication exists and cannot be separated from a particular historical and social context.

   c. Communication is rooted in human behavior and the structure of society and should not the divorced from behavior or a particular social event.

   d. It is helpful to examine the communication process through one or more of the following viewpoints:

      (a) **Mechanistic:** This view considers communication to be a perfect transaction of a message from the sender to the receiver.

      (b) **Psychological:** This view considers communication as the act of sending a message to a receiver, and the feelings and thoughts of the receiver upon interpreting the message.

      (c) **Social constructionist:** This view considers communication to be the product of sharing and creating meaning.

      (d) **Systemic:** This view considers communication to be the new messages created via "through-put", or what happens as the message is being interpreted and re-interpreted as it travels through the social network and its members.

Theme and message development in tribal society

Tell a story. It is the story that matters; not the story teller.

   a. Integrate into your theme three interlocking messages.

(1) Describe a past situation, condition or place.

(2) Describe the journey from there to here or from then to now.

(3) Praise and boast about the target audience.

    b. Consider the five functions of language in theme and message development:

    (1) Logical – convey information.

    (2) Expressive – express emotion.

    (3) Evocative – solicit a response.

    (4) Poetical

    (5) Ceremonial – display proper manners and correct responses to situations.

Tribal Communication Networks

1. Sheikhs depend on their connections and access. Sheikhs will carefully nurture these connections and communications channels.

2. Communications channels can be divided into two primary categories; formal and informal.

    a. Formal communication channels consist of overt exchanges of information whether in the tribal house or sent via messengers. Formal communications channels are used when the sheikh trusts all the individuals comprising the communication network and when the message itself is not of an overtly sensitive nature.

    b. Informal communication channels or back-channels are used when the sheikh believes that the overall communication network has been compromised and messages of a very sensitive nature must be conveyed to the intended recipient.

3. In tribal politics, back-channels are of greater importance than formal communication channels for the sheikh feels more certain that his message will reach the intended recipient.

4. A sensitive message conveyed via the informal communication channel will be delivered by a "trusted" agent. He may be introduced as a close and long-time friend.

5. The sheikh will signal that he wishes to communicate "informally" in the manner he approaches the request to communicate with the intended recipient of the message. The signal that the message is sensitive is by sending a "trusted" friend to speak on his behalf.

Negotiating with tribes

1. Recognize the negotiation situation for what it is and prepare yourself accordingly. The first and most important rule for military negotiators to understand is that it is not personal. It is all about gaining and maintaining advantage and momentum.

2. Prepare, prepare, prepare.

    a. Conduct strategy session prior to engaging in negotiations.

    b. Define and articulate the negotiation position. Key take away from this process is the topics to be discussed and those to be avoided. Wargame how to transition back to your main negotiating position when the transition occurs.

    c. Study the tribe before you engage in negotiations. Be familiar with its relative power position among other tribe, and degree of influence.

    d. Study the expected negotiator before you engage in negotiations. This includes any previous experience dealing with the opposing negotiator such as negotiating style and tactics (aggression, conciliation, enthusiasm, interrogation, patience, sulking, withdrawal, etc)

    d. Identify listeners and observes for your negotiating team.

        (a) Listeners are focused on monitoring for side discussions and gathering information.

        (b) Observers are focused on watching body language as positions are established and defined during the course of the negotiation process.

    e. **Note: the powerful send messengers.** The head negotiator may not be the lead for the negotiating team. The tactic of inserting surprise requests or demands may reveal the true leader of the negotiations. An individual unauthorized to make concessions may inadvertently look at the person empowered to so.

f. **Note: the opposing negotiating team will have English speakers, listeners and observers dedicated to gathering information on you during the negotiation session.**

The negotiating environment

a. Negotiations involve maneuver and deception. It is not personal.

b. Negotiations may be conducted to establish relationships in order to buy time so as to deal with a different opponent first. A truce here serves as a cover for a move against another.

c. A truce may be calculated to purchase trust. Trust is not a matter of ethics it represents just another maneuver. Earning people's trust and confidence is not a moral issue but a strategic one sometimes necessary sometimes not. Sheikhs will break their word if it serves their interests and will find any moral or legal excuse to justify their moves.

d. A sheikh will attempt to place himself in the strongest position before negotiations. If weak, he will use negotiations to buy time or to delay battle until ready. Conciliatory gestures are a negotiating maneuver to gain time.

e. If in a strong negotiating position, a sheikh may seize many concessions early so he can concede those he least values later. This maneuver will make him look generous and conciliatory. He will not concern himself about creating distrust. People will quickly forget broken promises by a strong leader in a position to offer them something of value later.

f. Seizing the moral high-ground leaves the valley to the opponent. One may control the moral high ground but the other will control the valley and its lines of communication and resupply. The party on the moral high ground will be left to wither on the vine.

Fighting as a form of negotiation

a. Fighting is a form of negotiation by which groups seek to shape the behavior of their own and rival groups.

b. Fighting is political rather than warfare. Victory is more often sought to exploit its effects rather than to defeat a given opponent. Similarly, the reason for engaging in a fight is not so much the desire to inflict loss as to exploit the victory to enhance individual and group prestige.

c. Fighting is a necessary instrument, a mechanism of social control. The only way to recognize a shift in the balance of forces is to test it.

d. Hate is rapidly enflamed but just as rapidly extinguished once its purpose has been achieved because today's enemy may easily transform into tomorrow's ally.

e. In regard to fighting as a form of negotiation, hatred is not an ingrained behavioral trait but exploited for effect.

Tribal etiquette

The ritual of gift giving

a. When a sheikh presents a gift, he is attempting to establish, expand and or shape a relationship with the military unit and more specifically with the commander himself. The commander is a powerful man and represents patronage in the form of honor (legitimacy, credibility), guns (security, weapons permits, establishing a tribal security forces) and money (economic development, ability of the tribe to receive contracts).

b. When a sheikh provides a gift he may be advertising to "his" audience and guests "look at my tribe, we are wealthy, generous, courteous, and an honorable tribe". In the end, gift giving is a supporting effort in establishing, expanding and shaping a personal relationship. If an "intimate" relationship already exists, gift giving reinforces this relationship since most, if not all alliances are first and foremost personal.

c. **Declining a large group meal.** Accepting or declining an invitation to a meal depends on the effect we are trying to achieve. Do we seek to establish a relationship, do we feel a need to reinforce an existing relationship, and do we wish to send a message? Are we happy with the existing relationship? A "large meal", especially if invited, is likely a means for the invitee to shape the environment. If an intimate relationship already exists, there should be no need for a large gathering, unless it is a celebration, anniversary, or special event to commemorate the relationship between the military unit and the tribe in which case it would be beneficial to attend in any case.

d. **Declining a gift.** What is the message the military commander seeks to send? Declining a gift is in bad taste if we are not attempting to send a message. Since we know that a gift will likely be presented, inform the host a number of days before the meal/banquet that although the military representative greatly appreciates the gesture and understands the honor bestowed upon the guest and the military unit in general, a small token of respect would be highly appreciated.

What is the Sheikh trying to do by giving a gift?

Specifically:

   a. What would be the impact of declining a large group meal?

   b. What would be the impact of declining to accept a gift?

   (a) Firstly, an invitation to a large meal or gift giving is a ritual and conscious attempt to shape a relationship. The gift giving ritual is divided into the science and the art. The science consists of the customary ritual and behavior. For instance, the guest is expected to present a gift to the hosting sheikh, but, the commander will not carry the gift himself but will have one of his aides bring the gift forward at the appropriate time, hand the gift to the commander, after which the commander presents the gift to the sheikh.

   (b) Gift giving is "shame/honor" currency. The desired effect of gift giving is to honor and to elevate a particular sheikh in the presence of others. A number of options are available to the gift giver. The options depend on the effect desired; if to elevate an individual, the larger the audience the more elaborate the gift (gift to audience ratio).

   (c) The art consists in picking the appropriate gift for the appropriate sheikh. It will have to be "masculine" and "valuable" (relatively speaking) whether in terms of monetary or psychological/emotional value.

   (d) A second consideration is the number of sheikhs in attendance. A conscious decision is then made whether to provide gifts to all sheikhs, or not, with the value of each gift corresponding to the sheikh's position within the tribal system (gift to sheikh ratio).

The customary gifts include the following:

   a. A pistol (sign of manhood)

   b. A Sheik's outer-garment, an Abaya, usually embroidered in gold thread, very expensive cloth.

c. A sword

d. A Qur'an wrapped in cloth or silk

e. A watch (presented when you are intimate and well acquainted or it may be misinterpreted as a bribe by others in the audience, especially those that did not receive a gift based on the gift to sheikh ration consideration)

f. Jewelry of sorts (presented when you are intimate and well acquainted with the Sheikh or it may be misinterpreted as a bribe by others in the audience)

g. A statue (can't go wrong with horses)

It is best to put out subtle feelers as to the sheikh's likes and dislikes before attending the large meal/banquet so as to provide the appropriate gift.

Tribal Audiences: The Grand Gesture

a. In our efforts to win over tribal sheikhs, instead of trying to persuade by speeches or fancy words focus on the feeling you leave them with. Persuasion is ultimately an emotional process.

b. Establish an emotional connection. Strategic emphasis on the quality and mood of the ending; not in terms of winning or losing, success or failure. How you finish something determines what you do next. How you end something is very important. It resonates in the mind. If it ends badly that is all anyone will remember.

c. Focus on the emotional resonance of the ending, the afterglow, the way the event will linger in people's minds. Endings inspire overpowering emotions such as anger and the desire for revenge.

Employment of tribal security

a. The formation of tribal security forces must take into account that the state as an institution and the territory it encompasses represents a "political field" or arena within which tribes compete for influence and resources. It is a power-sharing system that includes urban and rural, sectarian, political and tribal groupings.

b. Tribes compete for influence and resources within their own political field or arena. It too is a power-sharing system.

c. This section introduces the **"Band of Tolerance"** concept to assist in appreciating the dynamic in play when tribal security forces interact with other tribes and government organizations.

1. General Tribal Assumptions

a. The individual tribe is a member of a broader, multi-tribal system. Membership accommodates security and economic needs of its members.

b. Tribal politics are primarily concerned with authority over people. Most important factor is the offering of allegiances based on personal and tribal loyalties.

c. Tribal/confederation leaders understand that sub-groups will emerge within an alliance or confederation of tribes based on individual tribal agendas. The shura will attempt to shape the ability of sub-groups to form their own power bases, which if left unchecked will threaten the stability of the multi-tribal system or confederation. The requirement to shape power relationships early is one of the reasons why the central government is reluctant to employ "local" tribal security forces.

2. Specific Tribal Security Assumptions

a. Tribes are protective of territory and potential income.

b. Tribal security force operating in another's tribal area is subject to tribal law.

3. Considerations for employment of tribal security force.

a. The introduction of tribal fighters into a differing tribal area entails risks. Primary risk consists of rivalry between the indigenous population that may interpret a "foreign" tribal element as infringing on territory and potential income.

b. The transplanted tribal security force is also less likely to view its security mission as vital to the overall defense of the security zone and is less likely to provide the best possible protection. We can expect to see an increase in the leveling of unauthorized "toll" or "security" taxes since the transplanted tribal security force has no loyalty to the local population that will likely make up the majority of commuter traffic in the area.

c. Perceived mistreatment of the local population by the transplanted tribal security force will require retribution on the part of the local tribe and may result in tribal feud if an incident ends in blood shed. A transplanted tribal security force is also likely to be more susceptible to corruption since they are not as concerned for the safety or economic well-being of the local population.

Example. In 2004, a U.S. Army Engineer Brigade hired a number of tribal fighters to secure a stretch of power lines near Baji. Within weeks, the unit reported tribal fighting in the area. The Army Brigade had inadvertently employed members of a rival tribe. The indigenous tribe was upset that another tribe was active in its territory and sought to have them removed. The Army Brigade was forced to hire local tribesmen to secure the stretch of power lines.

4. Hiring a local tribal security force entails risk.

a. Local tribal security personnel will likely collect a "toll" or "security tax". The community of sheikhs will hold the sheikh who leads the security force personally responsible and his tribe collectively accountable for the conduct of his fighters.

b. Steady-state security operations will be maintained within a **"band-of-tolerance"** and subject to pressures exerted by social conventions and

decisions of the shura as a whole. Tribal checks and balances exist and govern the conduct of security operations.

Band-of-Tolerance
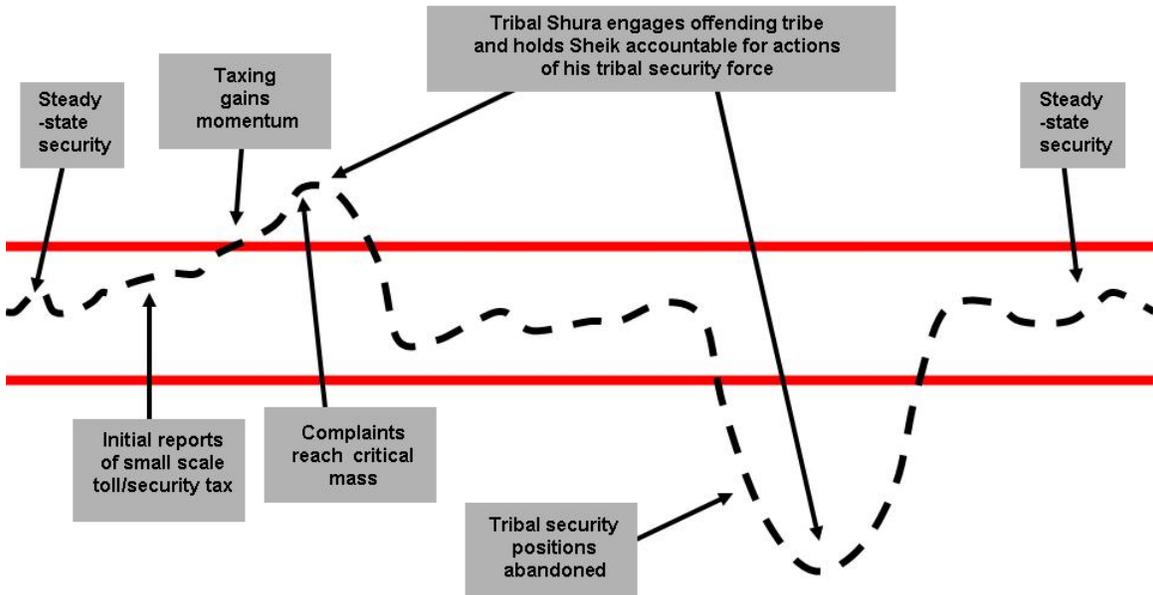
Anticipated pattern of territorial tribal security activities
if deployed to secure economic corridor and/or rolling pipeline

Figure 7. Band-of-Tolerance in regard to tribal security force

Tactics, techniques and procedures development

TTP Development Process

Step 1. Gain an appreciation for the cultural operating environment. The key tenet of COIN and irregular warfare is to communicate intent within the cultural frame of reference of the target audience.

Step 2. Apply your understanding of the social contract, political formula, cultural operating codes and coordinating messages to categorize the specific actions of specific actors.

     a. _**Example.**_ The political system works on establishing patronage/security relationships. Holders of power and their allies in the various ministries such as the Ministry of Health, Education, Interior or Defense for that matter are not beholden to the entire polity but only to those in their respective patronage/security system. The development of a **patronage system** is the result of the **segmentation** process that occurs as related groups join or alliances of interests are created. All political and sectarian parties, whether Da'wa, Fadilah, Organization of Martyr Sadr (OMS), Iraqi Islamic Party, Tawafuq or the Supreme Council of an Islamic Iraq (SCII) are maneuvering and establishing their relative power positions in relation to their allies and opponents.

     b. _**Example.**_ The **segmentation and patronage** principles reflect the capability of a leader or leading family to "attract" and to provide for their specific kinship group and affiliated allies and associates. It is even more important to obtain coveted ministry posts that provide access to influence and resources and the ability to sustain the **patronage** relationship and retain power. Discussions between sheikhs and governance leaders' focus on gaining access to funds and contracts and are highly contentious. Sheikhs require access to the sources of patronage in order to "attract" more followers and the political leaders seek to block this access so as to be able to "attract" followers and create patronage relationships in return. This dynamic is played out across the political spectrum at each level of governance whether at the national, provincial, district or local levels.

     c. _**Example**_. Although the western press continues to focus exclusively on personalities in the Sahawa al Anbar (SAA) shura, it is

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unaware of the dynamics in play as the various tribes renegotiate their relative power positions within the Dulaym Federation. The Albu Risha tribe is experiencing push-back from a number of other tribes as they attempt to improve the tribe's relative power position within the Dulaym Federation as a whole. Expect continuous realignments to occur. The Albu Issa tribe established its own organization called the Thawar al Haq in response to the Albu Risha's push for greater influence. The Albu Issa tribe was not going to be subordinate to the Albu Risha, a third tier tribe, or allow it to encroach on its **territory**. The Albu Issa remain nominally aligned with the SAA and retain representation in the SAA shura. We also are witness to various "testing" of the Albu Risha's ability to "attract" and retain followers in the person of Sheikh Ali Hatim, a prince in the Dulaym family. Sheikh Ali Hatim, in his role as a prince of the al Suleiman Dulaymi tribe, was the front-man of a number of sheikhs testing the Albu Risha's ability to attract. The Albu Risha are holding their ground for now but we can expect more of the same as conditions warrant. It is part of the system and not out of the ordinary. The relationships and inter-tribal alliances are in constant flux at the tactical level but always strive to present a united front to an outside opponent.

Step 3. Develop TTPs to engage leaders of tribal, governance, political, sectarian and or ethnic groups that reflect the operating environment and consider "cultural receptivity" so as to shape behavioral change in the desired direction.

    a. Reinforce behavior in direction which a group is already disposed.

    b. Shape action to induce change in a specific behavior by demanding alternative behavior.

    c. Demand group refrain from a specific certain behavior that its is already pursuing.

Reasoning by Analogy [5]

a. COIN and irregular warfare in a tribal society is significantly different from what the U.S. military has either experienced or trained for in the past. A proper understanding of history can greatly assist the warfighter in the planning and execution of military operations.

b. Reasoning by historical analogy is one method for decision-makers to apply the lessons of history to current situations and events. On the other hand, reasoning by historical analogy has great potential for the misuse of history and may adversely affect decision-making. Marine leaders must understand the characteristics of reasoning by analogy in order to recognize its potential benefit and downside. Such recognition will assist in ensuring that their judgment is not distorted by misplaced or misapplied historical analogies.

Historical analogies can assist the warfighter in five specific ways:

- Help define the nature of the situation confronting the warfighter.

- Help assess the stakes.

- Provide recommendations.

- Evaluate alternative options by predicting their chances of success.

- Warn of dangers associated with specific options.

The use of analogical reasoning can oversimplify inherently complex problems and result in the following pitfalls:

a. Decision-makers tend to pick the first analogy that comes to mind. Research has shown that people tend to use analogies on the basis of surface similarities, rather than in-depth examination of the two situations. Their choice also significantly depends upon the ease with which the analogy can

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[5] The "Reasoning by Analogy" section is a product of the WAR ROOM REPORT 2-04, dated 9 January 2004.

be remembered and they will therefore choose what the analogy that they are more familiar with.

b. Decision-makers may also fail to seriously look for other similarities to study and compare.

c. Decision-makers neglect potentially important differences between situations being compared.

d. Counter-intuitively, analogies that have clear and unambiguous lessons are likely most dangerous to use because there is a further reduction of critical thinking about the analogy and its application.

e. The analogy can become a substitute for proof.

Reasoning by analogy should therefore be conducted with the following four guidelines in mind:

a. Be very clear about what information is <u>actually known</u> as opposed to that which is unclear and or presumed.

b. Fully understand the historical context of the analogy.

c. Fully understand the differences between the situations, as well as the similarities.

d. Look at a number of different potential analogies.

Psychological effects of reasoning by analogy:

a. Top down or "theory driven processing" describes the tendency to immediately fit new information into the established analogy. Information that does not fit the analogy tends to be either ignored or not given the weight it deserves. Ambiguous information is interpreted to support the analogy. While "bottom-up" processing (assessing the facts as they are) plays an important part in determining what analogy might be most appropriate, "top-down" processing is much simpler and requires less effort. People prefer the less demanding option and tend to process information top-down rather than bottom-up.

b. Perseverance describes the phenomena of a person persistently believing in the applicability of the analogy even in the face of contradictory information.