

NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

HYBRID WARFARE – Just a Twist of Compound Warfare?

Views on warfare from the United States Armed Forces perspective

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION.....	3
1.1	Hybrid Warfare	3
1.2	References	4
1.3	Frame of reference and limitations.....	7
1.4	Research questions and methodology	9
2	CASE 1: VIETNAM WAR.....	11
2.1	Background	11
2.2	National Liberation Front (NLF).....	12
2.3	Early American involvement	14
2.4	Expanded Commitment.....	16
2.5	Withdrawal.....	20
2.6	Summary	22
3	CASE 2: SECOND LEBANON WAR	24
3.1	Hezbollah	24
3.1.1	Background	24
3.1.2	Early Terrorist Campaigns	25
3.2	Background To The Second Lebanon War	27
3.3	A Retaliatory Campaign Escalating to a War	28
3.4	Summary	33
4	FULL SPECTRUM OPERATIONS	36
4.1	FM 3-0 <i>Operations</i>	36
4.2	Full Spectrum Operations	38
4.3	Summary	41
5	ANALYSIS	42
5.1	National Liberation Front vs. Hezbollah.....	42
5.2	Compound Warfare vs. Hybrid Warfare vs. Full Spectrum Operations	45
6	CONCLUSIONS	50
7	REFERENCES.....	52
7.1	Books.....	52
7.2	Papers	52
7.3	Articles	52
7.4	Presentations	54
7.5	Government publications	54
7.6	Internet news agencies.....	54
8	ENCLOSURES.....	55
8.1	Abbreviations	55

HYBRID WARFARE

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Hybrid Warfare

In this thesis I will discuss a military theory called *hybrid warfare*, where hybrid is defined as something heterogeneous in composition of different elements of ways to wage war. This theory is not part of the United States formal doctrine writing, but it has been an inspiration for the ongoing debate among military thinkers since the turn of the 21st Century as the conflicts of today are getting more and more complex. *Hybrid warfare*, although there is no universal agreed definition, describes well the nature and multi-modality of conflicts the Western militaries are part of in Afghanistan or Iraq. This is probably also a kind of warfare western militaries will face in the future, and therefore should be prepared to tackle. I would describe *hybrid warfare* as a cocktail of conventional military capabilities, insurgencies, terrorism, guerrilla warfare, organized crime, cyber warfare and advanced military technology. This kind of warfare may also include violations of international laws of war, and will often also include non-state actors and organizations, supported by states with dubious agendas. All these ingredients may be blended together with an equivocal number of ingredients affecting the outcome at the same time. The magnitude of each ingredient may vary significantly during the war depending on the phase of the war or its immediate effectiveness.

The wars Western militaries are involved in today are different from those that were fought before the turn of the 21st Century. The two Gulf Wars were probably like a dream come true for the advocates of military theories like the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) which included use of large numbers of regular forces, heavy armour, air supremacy, cruise missiles, and technological advantage over the adversary. It seemed warfare had become everything Western armies had developed themselves to handle.

All this was about to change after September 11, 2001 when the Twin Towers, and Pentagon were hit by passenger planes hijacked by the terrorist group Al-Qaida. As a result the United States invaded first Afghanistan, and then later attacked Iraq with the help of a Western coalition. Campaigns, in both Afghanistan and in Iraq, were well executed to the point the two countries were conquered and occupied. But for neither campaign had a clear exit strategy been planned.

After the President of the United States, George W. Bush, on board the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln on May 1, 2003¹ claimed “Mission Accomplished” in Iraq, little by little the U.S. and the coalition forces became involved in an escalating and changing conflict. The unstable internal development in Iraq, with development of extreme political and religious groupings, and a difficult social and economic situation for the inhabitants of the occupied state, became together the starting point for a growing insurgency. The occupying forces were unable to meet the requirements for local security, political stability and economic development – all important factors if the occupation forces hope to gain the respect and confidence of the residents in an occupied territory.

In both countries, Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S. forces and their allies faced diverse local groups with different agendas (ethnic, political, religious, criminal, terrorism, etc.) that were trying to reach their conflicting goals with all means possible. Some of them were willing to use violence, not just the regular gun slinging, but any method of warfare available. To undermine the allied supported law and order their way to wage war included “*advanced conventional weapons, irregular tactics, terrorism, and disruptive technologies or criminality to destabilize*”²

The Americans were not the only ones facing unexpected ways of how to wage war. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) faced a similar modus operandi used by Hezbollah during their Second Lebanon War in the summer of 2006. Hezbollah’s capability to fight and to adapt to the changing environment was underestimated by the IDF. This was not anymore just badly organized gunmen, but rather a highly motivated, well trained and equipped force with for example advanced anti-tank weapons and long-, mid- and short-range missiles.³

To describe these new developments of warfare in the 21st Century, the term “hybrid” was introduced to the military discussion, and eventually the term: *hybrid warfare*.

1.2 References

The theories about so-called *hybrid warfare* have been the background for a number of articles in the military periodicals around the world over the last few years, since the term was

¹ *CNN Politics*, White House pressed on ‘mission accomplished’ sign, October 29, 2003, http://articles.cnn.com/2003-10-28/politics/mission.accomplished_1_aircraft-carrier-conrad-chun-banner?_s=PM:ALLPOLITICS, 6.12.2010.

² Wilkie, Robert: Hybrid Warfare; Something Old, Not Something New, *Air&Space Power Journal*, Winter 2009, volume XXIII, No. 4 ARFP 10-1, <http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj09/win09/wilkie.html>, 25.3.2011.

³ Kober, Avi: The Israel Defense Forces in the Second Lebanon War: Why the Poor Performance?, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 3-40, February 2008, pp. 15-16, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390701785211>, 1.10.2010.

adopted into the military debate. The theories have inspired some researchers in the American military thinkers' community, and the issue is *indirectly* discussed in different Field Manuals of the U.S. Armed Forces that mostly deal with counterinsurgency. To create a picture of what *hybrid warfare* is, we must familiarize ourselves with other types of warfare discussed over the last 30 years. There are some fundamental works that provide the critical background for this thesis.

Thomas M. Huber is the editor and author of articles in the book *Compound Warfare: That Fatal Knot*. The book is a collection of studies of selected conflicts that occurred over an about 300 year long period. In his book Huber presents and explains his theory of what he labelled *Compound Warfare*. In this thesis, I will use Randall M. Briggs' study of the Vietnam War published in this book, as an example of compound warfare.⁴ In my study I will also use Colin S. Gray's paper "Irregular Warfare: One Nature, Many Characters"⁵ there he discusses irregular warfare and counterinsurgency, as well as Mr. Hoffman's article "Complex Irregular Warfare: The Next Revolution in Military Affairs".⁶ Irregular warfare is discussed in length and comparisons to how *hybrid warfare* can be made. From the American point of view, counterinsurgency (COIN) surfaced again after 9/11 as a challenge for future military operations, but not as the only *modus operandi*.⁷

Frank G. Hoffman's paper "Conflict in the 21st Century: the Rise of Hybrid Wars"⁸ is an interesting introduction to the modern day warfare and the development of *hybrid warfare*. Mr. Hoffman has also written other articles on the topic. He has been the most active advocate of *hybrid warfare*, and the need for the American military to take the changing circumstances of conflicts more into consideration.⁹

The United States Government Accountability Office's (GAO) study on "*Hybrid Warfare*" from September 2010 is one of the other primary sources for this thesis. According to that document, the U.S. Armed Forces are abandoning the term, since according to them, in different branches of the U.S. Armed Forces, *hybrid warfare* is included in the already existing term *full spectrum operations*, and is thus included in the existing doctrines on traditional and ir-

⁴ Huber, Thomas M.: *Compound Warfare: That Fatal Knot*, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Press, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2002.

⁵ Colin S. Gray: Irregular Warfare: One Nature, Many Characters, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Winter 2007, www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2007/Winter/gray.pdf, 6.12.2010.

⁶ Frank G. Hoffman: Complex Irregular Warfare: The Next Revolution in Military Affairs, *Elsevier Limited on behalf of Foreign Policy Research Institute*, Summer 2006, pp. 395 – 411.

⁷ Gray, pp. 54-55.

⁸ Hoffman, Frank G.: *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars*, Arlington, Virginia, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007.

⁹ Hoffman, Frank G: How Marines are preparing for hybrid wars, *Armed Forces Journal*, March 2006, <http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/2006/03/1813952/>, 6.12.2010.

regular warfare. As a result, GAO suggests *hybrid warfare* should not be considered a new form of warfare. Because of the GAO-report there is now a possibility that the term will disappear from the official doctrines, field manuals and discussion of the United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC)¹⁰ within the next two to three years. Yet hybrid threats exist, and this term describes the complexities of modern day conflicts well.¹¹

The following U.S. armed forces and government publications provide an insight to irregular warfare and its operational environment:

- Irregular Warfare Special Study: JOINT WARFIGHTING CENTER: USJFCOM the United States Joint Forces Command, Joint Warfighting Center, Suffolk Virginia, August 2004.
- Department of Defense DIRECTIVE No. 3000.07, *Irregular Warfare*, December 1, 2008
- Field Manual 3-0, *Operations*, Headquarters, Department of the Army Washington, DC, (Final Approved Draft); this publication supersedes FM 3-0, February 5, 2008.
- Joint Publication 3-24, *Counterinsurgency Operations*, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 05 October 2009.

Avi Kober's article, "The Israel Defense Forces in the Second Lebanon War: Why the Poor Performance?" provides the background for the chapter dealing with an example of a hybrid war. It describes the multiple challenges today's Western armies face when fighting an opponent who uses asymmetric means to meet their goals.¹²

Anthony H. Cordesman study "Preliminary 'Lessons' of the Israeli-Hezbollah War"¹³ from 2006, and his presentation "The Lessons of the Israeli-Lebanon War"¹⁴ from 2008, provide concise picture of the failures and successes of both Hezbollah and Israel in the war. The latter presentation has more accurate information of the war since more time has lapsed from the war and more reliable data has become available.

¹⁰ Command's Mission: TRADOC develops the Army's Soldier and Civilian leaders, and designs, develops, and integrates capabilities, concepts and doctrine in order to build an Army that is a versatile mix of tailorable, adaptable, and networked organizations operating on a rotational cycle for Full Spectrum Operations; Support the Army's Human Capital Core Enterprise and sustain the All-Volunteer Force. <http://www.tradoc.army.mil/about.htm#CommandMission>, 10.1.2011.

¹¹ United States Government Accountability Office, *Hybrid Warfare*, Washington, D.C., USA, September 10, 2010, pp. 2-3.

¹² Kober, p. 7.

¹³ Cordesman, Anthony H: *Preliminary "Lessons" of the Israeli-Hezbollah War*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C., USA, 2006.

¹⁴ Cordesman, Anthony H: *The Lessons of the Israeli-Lebanon War*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, USA, 2008.

The Winograd Commission Final Report reveals the official results of the Israeli investigation of the Second Lebanon War 2006, and thus provides the Israeli view on the war as far as successes and failures are concerned.¹⁵

The majority of the references used in this thesis are public and accessible through internet. They are written in English. Most of them are published in American military periodicals or papers written in military schools or research centres. I will focus mostly on the American view on *hybrid warfare*.

1.3 Frame of reference and limitations

In order to understand the framework of *hybrid warfare*, one must understand the concepts leading to the development of the term. In this thesis I will define conventional warfare, irregular warfare, *compound warfare* and asymmetric warfare, but the focus will be on *compound warfare* and *hybrid warfare*. These types of warfare have been discussed in military literature over the last 30 years due to the nature of conflicts the western military establishments have been involved in over that period of time. It is essential to understand the differences of these definitions when discussing *hybrid warfare* because it can be said *hybrid warfare* evolved from them over time.

First, let us begin by defining the types of warfare discussed in this thesis.

Conventional warfare can be described as the kind of war two or more states wage against each other, using their regular forces and national armies to reach their respective political or military goals. These armies fight battles and follow the rules of war, at least to some degree, and the warring parties expect their counterparts to abide by these rules.

Irregular warfare is a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant population(s). Irregular warfare favours indirect and asymmetric approaches though it may employ the full range of military and other capacities in order to erode an adversary's power, influence, and will.¹⁶ Irregular warfare includes acts of terrorism, insurgency and other unconventional methods, as well as the countermeasures for each i.e. counterterrorism and counterinsurgency.

Compound warfare is the simultaneous use of a regular or main force and an irregular or guerilla force against an enemy. In other words, the compound warfare operator increases his

¹⁵ Winograd Commission Final Report, January 30, 2008, Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.crf.org/publication/15385/winograd_commission_final_report.html, 7.12.2010.

¹⁶ Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms: Joint Publication 1-02, 12 April 2001, amended September 30, 2010.

military leverage by applying both conventional and unconventional force at the same time.¹⁷ Compound warfare will be discussed at length in chapter 2. It is a combination of conventional and irregular warfare, including elements of both used to reach the common goal.

The term *asymmetric warfare* describes an alternative way to fight a war, a way for a weaker party to counter the stronger opponent. In asymmetric warfare the weaker party uses his own strengths to strike at the enemy's characteristic weaknesses. So-called unconventional or unorthodox tactics are typically included in the weaker party's toolbox. The approach includes surprise and unpredictability. The weaker party tries to deny the stronger party of the ability to use his strengths and countermeasures effectively by forcing him to fight in unfavourable circumstances. Asymmetric warfare can be seen to include irregular and hybrid features of warfare, but as a term it is not clearly defined.

In the text "Countering Irregular Activity within a Comprehensive Approach" Rear Admiral Chris Parry (retired) of the Royal Navy describes *hybrid warfare* as:

*"Hybrid warfare is conducted by irregular forces that have access to the more sophisticated weapons and systems normally fielded by regular forces. Hybrid warfare may morph and adapt throughout an individual campaign, as circumstances and resources allow. It is anticipated that irregular groups will continue to acquire sophisticated weapons and technologies and that intervention forces will need to confront a variety of threats that have in the past been associated primarily with the regular Armed Forces of states."*¹⁸

In addition to the types of warfare mentioned above, significant additions to *hybrid warfare* are the elements of criminality and cyber warfare. These two elements make it even more comprehensive than the other types of warfare mentioned before.

In this thesis I intend to discuss the theory of *hybrid warfare* and *compound warfare*, the predecessor of *hybrid warfare*, from the point of view of terminology, definition and two case studies. I will explain the differences of each term and the becoming of the military theory of *hybrid warfare*. I will demonstrate the differences and similarities of the terms, if there are any. I will focus on the views of the United States Armed Forces, since the Americans have been dominating the theoretical military thinking over the last two decades due to the fact that they are the world's strongest military power today.

Frame of reference in this thesis presented in figure 1.¹⁹

¹⁷ Huber, p. 1.

¹⁸ Wilkie, p. 1.

¹⁹ This frame of reference is a developed version and influenced by Government Accountability Office report on hybrid warfare. United States Government Accountability Office: Hybrid Warfare, Washington, DC, USA, Sep-

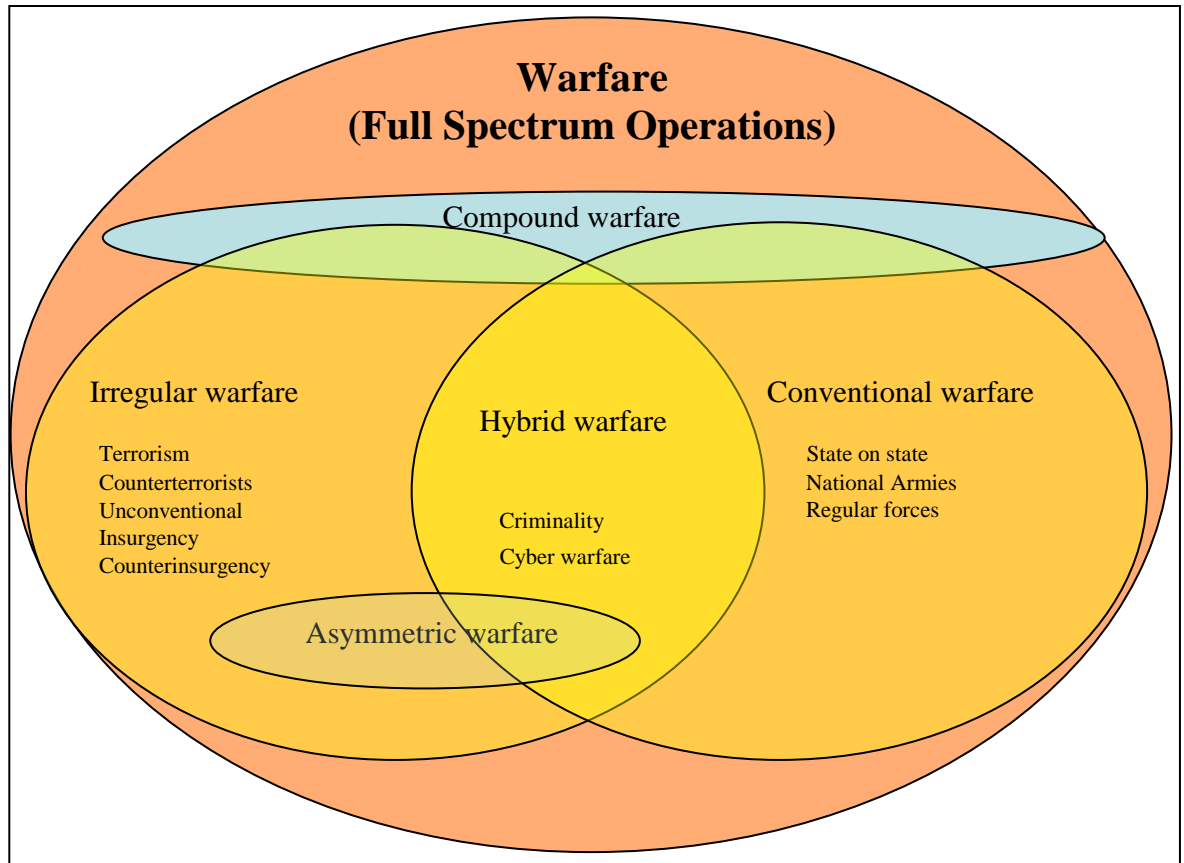


Figure 1: Hybrid Warfare seen in context with other forms of warfare.

1.4 Research questions and methodology

The purpose of this thesis is to answer the following question:

- What is the thinking behind the development of the *hybrid warfare* theories?

Follow up questions are:

- What is *hybrid warfare*?
- How does it differ from *compound warfare* or *full spectrum of operations*?

In this thesis I will use qualitative data analysis for analysing the concepts of warfare from the available literature with the development of thought about warfare over time in mind. First, I will use two case studies as examples of *compound warfare* and *hybrid warfare*. Then, I will introduce *full spectrum operations* as described in the United States Department of Army Field Manual No. 3-0 *Operations* – the current doctrine of the United States Army for conducting military operations.

As Case 1, I will use the Vietnam War (1965-1975) to further define *compound warfare*, probably the starting point for the development of thoughts leading to the concept of *hybrid warfare*. Why will I use the Vietnam War? The Communist side's use of both conventional

and irregular forces under the same command (provided by the North Vietnamese leadership) secured that they were fighting for a clear political and military goal. Ultimately, this strategy for a long war against the enemies led to the U.S. (and South Vietnamese) defeat in Vietnam. The war may be looked upon as a good example of a modern form of *compound warfare*. The Vietnam War involves the American military, which represents the angle I have chosen for this thesis – the American point of view. The Americans possessed all the most updated weapon systems of the time, and during the Vietnam War conventional weapon systems dominated. The Communist side also had access to modern weapons received from Soviet Union and China. But the long “local war” for control over the South Vietnamese hamlets and villages depended on use of well-trained cadres and small arms and the use of political pressure, terror and persuasion, in a fight for influence over the population. Here the guerrilla forces had an important function, and were a very important support to the main forces from North Vietnam. It is the combination of irregular and conventional forces which is the centre of *Compound warfare* as a theoretical concept. This thinking has developed using analysis of historical conflicts - it is “historically tested” so to speak, and it works provided that the circumstances are correct.

As Case 2, I will use the Second Lebanon War (2006). Why use this war as a case study? Although this war did not involve U.S. forces, but was fought by the Israeli armed forces, it serves as an excellent example of what hybrid war can look like in the future. It is considered among the American military writers as a good example of *hybrid warfare*, since it involved multiple dimensions of war, thus fitting into the description of *hybrid warfare*.²⁰ *Hybrid warfare* as term may be looked upon as a new military theory with the aim to better understand the conflicts of today. It is not yet a practically tested and clearly defined term like *compound warfare*.

By comparing these two cases and *full spectrum operations*, noting the similarities and differences, if there are any, I will demonstrate the development of thought behind *hybrid warfare*, and the American need to understand the conflicts of today. In both of the case studies presented before, there is the stronger, overpowering force and then the underdog that should not have any chance to win the conflict. The analysis of these two conflicts should also give answers to why there was a need to bring a new term into discussion and how it came to be.

²⁰ Hoffman, Frank G.: “Hybrid Warfare and Challenges”, *Joint Force Quarterly*, issue 51, 1st quarter, 2009, p.37.

2 CASE 1: VIETNAM WAR

*“War is the highest, most comprehensive test of a nation and its social system. War is a contest that not only tests the skill and strategy of the two adversaries, but also their strength and will. Victory goes to the side which has the correct military strategy, which makes the best use of the art of military science and which most successfully limits the war-making capacity of its adversary.”*²¹

2.1 Background

The Vietnamese people have fought against their neighbours, among themselves, or against the French colonialists from the days of the 16th century competing royal families to the invasion and rule of the French empire. There was a long tradition in Vietnam for popular uprisings against the official authorities prior to the American involvement in Vietnam from the late 1950's. The French rule in Indochina ended as a result of the First Indochina War (1946-1954). The French empire had been significantly weakened during the Second World War and in the end it could not resist the Vietnam Independence League (Vietminh), a Communist organization, formed by a Communist intellectual Ho Chi Minh. After the declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in September 1945, the French began a military campaign to topple Ho's declared nation. Both sides demonstrated violence and brutality, but even with the superior numbers of French and Vietnamese troops and after winning most of the many battles, the French was never able to secure control of the countryside. The war culminated in the French defeat at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954.²²

At the Geneva Accords in July 1954, Indochina was divided into four independent countries, namely Cambodia, Laos, North- and South Vietnam. The division of Vietnam was intended to be temporary, pending on nationwide elections. The communists, led by Ho, were especially strong in North Vietnam, and the French and their Vietnamese installed leadership had some popular support in South Vietnam (especially among the Catholic minority and city dwellers). Eventually South Vietnam was renamed by the existing government as the Republic of Vietnam (RVN). The elections to be held in accordance with the Geneva Accords were cancelled; the French were evicted and replaced by the Americans as supporters of the non-Communist South Vietnam. The regime in Saigon had problems gaining strong support in the rural population since they were seen by the peasantry as an alien urban elite, the heirs of the

²¹ Senior General Van Tien Dung, People's Army of Vietnam, Briggs (in Huber) Randall M.: *Compound Warfare in the Vietnam War*, in Huber, p. 221

²² Briggs (in Huber), pp. 221-223. Davidson, Philip B.: *Vietnam at War: The History: 1946-1975*, Presidio Press, Novato, CA, USA, 1988, p 269, 280.

French. Moreover, it did not help that in the eyes of the peasants, the existing non-Communist government seemed to be more interested in staying in power rather than correcting the inequities created by the French, or improving the living standards of the peasants. By 1960, the existing South Vietnamese government had made mistakes and lost the support of the majority of the people. Corruption, lack of economic progress, extortion and theft of private individuals, torture of prisoners, and falsifying elections, were real problems. The seed for the upcoming conflict was well planted.²³ The Americans were now the main supporters of the Saigon regime, but they did not run the country, and were not in a position to politically control the developments.

As early as in the mid 1950's the communists of North Vietnam had started planning an insurgency in South Vietnam to eventually unify the divided country. They planned to execute this by toppling the South Vietnamese leadership through a three phase insurgency. First, they were to establish a political organization in South Vietnam and gain the support from especially the rural population. Second, they would advance into guerrilla warfare against carefully selected targets, and finally they would combine the guerrilla warfare operations and the use of conventional (full time) main force.²⁴ All of these may be seen as typical elements of *compound warfare*.

2.2 National Liberation Front (NLF)

In the battle against the French in the First Indochina War Vietminh demonstrated its capability to fight successfully against a Western colonial power. The purpose of Vietminh had been to attract non-Communist nationalists and other democratic elements into a combined effort against the French to unify and liberate Vietnam. The support of these other elements was not based on the Communist political long term aims, but rather built on their *temporarily* adopted *nationalist* aims. Vietminh was thus seen as representing the entire people of Vietnam, rather than just the Communist.²⁵ As a result of the Genève Accords, Vietminh was to withdraw its troops North of the 17th parallel and as a result about 80,000 troops were moved to the North, but about 10,000 clandestine cadres remained in the south and eventually were to play an important role in the Communist insurgency during the Vietnam War against the regime in South Vietnam and later also against the Americans.²⁶

²³ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 224-225.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 226.

²⁵ Joes, Anthony James: *Victorious Insurgencies: Four Rebellions That Shaped Our World*, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, USA, 2010, p. 81; Ahern, Thomas L. Jr.: *Vietnam DECLASSIFIED: The CIA and Counterinsurgency*, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, USA, 2010, pp. 1-2.

²⁶ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 224; Ahern, p. 16.

From the mid-1950's the Communist insurgency in South Vietnam included assassinations of government officials, anti-communist teachers, secret police agents, etc. Bad government officials were often left in office just to advertise the inefficiency of the existing government. The South Vietnamese government responded to these rising numbers of assassinations by publishing tighter anti-insurgency laws prescribing harsh punishments for anti-government activity. This, in contrast, was one of the reasons behind the official birth of the National Liberation Front (NLF) in South Vietnam in 1960. The core of the NLF-cadres was formed from the Vietminh cadres left in the South after the First Indochina War. It also included Southern Communists and it included some representatives from several non-communist opposition factions. Because of this, it easily gained support among the South Vietnamese reformers as well as Western liberals, as it was not recognized entirely as a Communist party, but rather a party with a nationalist agenda to unify the two Vietnams, and thus representing a broad spectrum of Vietnamese society. Eventually its sub-organizations People's Liberation Army (PLA), the military wing of NLF, and People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) were established. The South Vietnamese government called these organizations Vietnamese Communists, or "Vietcong". In the eyes of Vietnamese people, the NLF was heir of Vietminh, and it was controlled by North Vietnam.²⁷

The members of the NLF cadre worked hard to win the support of the peasants, since initially the Communists were forced to develop their own logistical support in South Vietnam. The Communists had realised that the support of the rural class was necessary to reach their goal. It helped that the South Vietnamese society, landlords, and ARVN had suppressed and disrespected the peasants over time. The NLF emphasized that the land belonged to the peasants, (but did not say anything about the ultimate goal – all the peasants should work on collectives). Although the Saigon regime had tried to re-enforce its authority over the landlords, they did as they wanted, and these unsuccessful attempts made it difficult to gain the support of most ordinary peasants. The NLF representatives and Saigon government appointees were often seen among the peasants as opposite forces. The NLF respected and brought status to the peasants who had not received respect in the past, whereas the Saigon's appointees came from a different social class which the peasants could not relate to. In the early 1960s the NLF provided better future prospects for the peasants and their children than the Saigon government, and thus the NLF kept gaining support among the peasants.²⁸

²⁷ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 226-227, p. 230.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 228-229.

The military wing of NLF, PLA was organized in two levels, namely full military force units (main force) and paramilitary or guerrilla force units. These guerrilla force units were divided into two types, regional or territorial guerrillas and local guerrillas. From the very beginning PLA was directed from Hanoi. The idea was that PLA was self-supporting and self-contained in terms of supplies and personnel. It was not until 1968 that Hanoi began openly supporting the PLA, till then the support was quite limited.²⁹

From the point of view of the theories behind the concept of *compound warfare*, all the elements were there: the North Vietnamese government had its own conventional force (PAVN – People’s Army of Vietnam, North), and the NLF’s military wing was organized as a guerrilla force (PLA), with a developed political ideology and a clear goal to unify the two Vietnams. In order to improve its odds of succeeding, the Communist regime in North Vietnam needed foreign strong allies to back up the effort. Allies were found in China and the Soviet Union. Hence the war in Vietnam categorizes as a *fortified compound warfare – compound warfare* with external supporters. Of the two foreign supporters, China was in the 1960s the most important, providing Ho Chi Minh’s troops with training camps and advisors, and a show of force of 200,000 troops across the border. Yet North Vietnam’s relationship and attitude towards these two supporters was complicated, due to the fact that neither had worked in favour of North Vietnams interests in the Geneva Accords negotiations back in 1954.³⁰

2.3 Early American involvement

President John F. Kennedy took office in 1961 and brought new spirit and hope to the American people. Yet the Cold War was at its peak and the confrontation between the West and East was at the centre of the U.S. policy making. The United States and the Soviet Union fought fiercely in the world of international politics to maintain acquired positions and to increase the support of their own ideology. Vietnam was, from the American point of view, an important stage to stop the spread of international Communism.³¹ Although the Kennedy Administration saw the problems were mounting in South Vietnam, the withdrawal of support from South Vietnam was rejected.³²

The more direct American involvement in South Vietnam started with limited military assistance to the regime. With the help of the so-called Military Assistance and Advisory Group

²⁹ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 231.

³¹ President Kennedy needed to demonstrate American credibility and resolve to stop the spreading of Communism in South East Asia, or retreat to “Fortress America”. He had fumbled in his earlier diplomatic engagements with the Soviet Union and Vietnam offered an opportunity to correct that.

³² Briggs (in Huber), pp. 227-228. Davidson, pp. 291-292.

(MAAG) the Americans helped South Vietnam reorganize its army. With strong American influence, it was organized into divisions and corps and was partly mechanized. It was not well suited for fighting insurgents or guerrillas, but rather to meet the American threat scenarios, meaning to have the capability to defend against a conventional invasion from North Vietnam, in the same way as the North Korean Communists had started the Korean War. Thus the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) was designed primary for conventional warfare, i.e. for meeting a conventional attack from North Vietnam, which was a likely scenario at that time. The insurgents were to be fought by police, the secret police and local security forces. Of these the latter actually ended up more or less protecting provincial administrations, and thus demonstrating the inexistent support for the South Vietnamese government, since there was a clear need to protect local administration offices.³³

Regardless of the MAAG help, the ARVN was not successful in fighting the PLA. A typical ARVN operation of the early 1960's resulted in little and gave often a propaganda victory to the NLF, due to heavy damages to civilian structures and many civilian casualties. Even when the ARVN outnumbered the PLA in every aspect in the battlefield, the results were poor. ARVN had problems with its leadership and badly motivated troops. ARVN officers were inexperienced and frequently disobeyed orders that did not suit them. The South Vietnamese leadership misused troops, ordering them to avoid decisive contact with the guerrillas. The incompetence of the ARVN became evident throughout the war in Vietnam. The internal problems were seen already during the French rule and was never completely solved even during the American involvement in the war. Worst of all, the nature of the problems was misunderstood by the ARVN itself, and by the South Vietnamese leadership. The PLA was successful because it had the support of the rural population. ARVN's battle tactics emphasized air and artillery attacks (the use of firepower), which worsened the situation and alienated people even further. The artillery and air strikes were supported by the U.S. Air Force and resulted in tens of thousands of refugees hostile to the Saigon government.³⁴

The U.S. Army faced guerrilla warfare in Vietnam from the beginning to the end. This threat was recognized by the Kennedy Administration in the early 1960's, and correct analysis to some degree was made of the necessary steps to be taken in South Vietnam in order to meet the communist threat. Yet the most fundamental fact was not understood, the fact that the South Vietnamese Government during the 1960s did not have the support of its own people. In order to gain support of its own people fundamental reforms by the Saigon regime were es-

³³ Briggs (in Huber), p. 232.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 232-234. Davidson, pp. 413-414, pp. 652-654.

sential.³⁵ The early American involvement included significant interest in counterinsurgency (COIN), but this was eventually overpowered by the conventional warfare way of thinking. The American military leadership favoured firepower, using artillery and airpower as the answer to the Communist insurgency, which, of course, scored no points in the eyes of the people of South Vietnam.

2.4 Expanded Commitment

In 1963 the United States covertly participated in a military coup which included the assassination of the President of South Vietnam (Ngô Đình Diệm). After the coup South Vietnam plunged into chaos during a succession of unstable military governments.³⁶ Being part of the disposal of the earlier South Vietnamese leadership, the U.S. was forced to support his successors. President Kennedy was assassinated the same year (1963). Kennedy's legacy of foreign policy was an expanded commitment to South Vietnam as an experiment in counterinsurgency. President Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded Kennedy and he continued in the footsteps laid out by his predecessor in terms of assisting the South Vietnamese against the Communist conspiracy.³⁷ Initially, President Johnson was reluctant to commit American combat troops to South Vietnam, but little by little he increased the American effort in South Vietnam, from military advice and support to direct military action. By mid 1965, the United States was committing ground forces to the war, with no clear victory at hand or even visible. From the American perspective, the conflict kept escalating.³⁸

The Americans faced four major restrictions connected with their military involvement in the war in Vietnam. First, the RVN government was not legitimate in the eyes of the population; as it had a limited support among the population. The Americans failed to realize this. Second, from around 1964 the NLF was widely supported in the *rural areas*. The young and bright peasants had better expectations of the future by becoming a member of the NLF rather than the government organisations. Third, the Americans recognized the necessity to gain support in the rural areas, and thus tried to improve the RVN position there, but found it very difficult to obtain results. And finally, the ARVN was no match for the PLA in the mid 1960s, and was losing on all fronts. It was evident that ARVN could not defeat PLA alone, meaning that a considerable contribution of American forces was needed to defeat PLA before a successful nation building could begin. To defeat the PLA, the Americans had to use firepower, which on the other hand, at the same time caused great destruction and loss of civilian

³⁵ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 234-235.

³⁶ Davidson, pp. 303-304.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 313-314.

life. The war against the PLA worked counterproductively in terms of the second and third restriction mentioned above, but it was a precondition for the fourth and indirectly to the first restriction, since the Americans caused casualties and destruction to the Vietnamese areas controlled by the NLF. And all was done in support of the not very popular RVN government.³⁹

In 1965, as the American troop numbers grew, the PLA in South Vietnam, supported with infiltrated cadres and military units from North Vietnam, responded to the growing pressure by moving to third phase of the insurgency, meaning conventional, large unit confrontations. The PLA leadership estimated that they could destroy the ARVN and encourage the American withdrawal. This was a miscalculation and the PLA suffered heavy casualties that year. The step to the phase three was taken too early. The PLA's unconventional warfare had previously worked well, and the new conventional warfare did not. Important lessons were learned that year for both sides. The insurgents realised that they could fight the American troops and "win", by their own definition (which included accepting heavy casualties). The Americans may win a battle physically in the jungle, but soon after they retreated and then the insurgents would reoccupy the area.⁴⁰ If PLA could "win battles" according to their own definition, they could win the war. The Americans on the other hand learned that regardless of favourable kill ratios during the battles (12:1 at best), a growing part of the American public was not ready for the increased casualty rate of the war, regardless of how many enemies were killed at the expense of the lives of their sons. The idea of attrition warfare, bleeding the enemy to death, was suffering serious blows.⁴¹

The Americans increased the volume of air campaigning along with the increase of operations on the ground. Operation ROLLING THUNDER was carried out against North Vietnamese targets. It was supposed to last for eight weeks, but ended up lasting three and a half years (from March 1965 to November 1968).⁴² During this air campaign one million tons of bombs were dropped, about eight hundred tons a day, without any significant favourable political results. One reason was that the DRV had anticipated the American air campaign, and had received material and technical assistance from the Soviet Union to build a modern air-defence system. The DRV had received modern jet interceptors, Soviet technicians were setting up

³⁸ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 237-241. Davidson, pp. 302-303, pp. 314-317, p. 350.

³⁹ Briggs (in Huber), p. 242.

⁴⁰ In operation CEDAR FALLS, in the Iron Triangle once the US troops pulled out, the Vietcong forces returned in two days. Davidson, p. 428.

⁴¹ The American military leadership had decided the attrition warfare was the answer to the win the war. In their opinion, PLA could not replace casualties endlessly, since it had such a small pool of personnel and would thus eventually "bleed to death". Briggs (in Huber), pp. 243-244. Davidson, p. 350.

⁴² Davidson, p. 336.

surface-to-air missiles and a sophisticated Soviet built radar-control system.⁴³ The DRV's air-defence system was updated to the most complex and capable any nation had had since World War II. By late 1967, ROLLING THUNDER had inflicted an estimated \$300 million damages to North Vietnam and had cost more than seven hundred aircraft worth \$900 million – not a very flattering cost-benefit ratio. This is another example of the effectiveness of *fortified compound warfare* when a major supporter, here Soviet Union, is willing to supply the receiver with modern technology.⁴⁴

The Americans failed to nullify *compound warfare*. Hanoi was not just supporting the PLA, but directing it, the end state being a unified Vietnam under Communist leadership. As soon as the Americans entered the theatre, the *conventional war* between the United States and the DRV started. The Americans imposed restrictions on themselves, restrictions that had not been there during WWII against the Germans. The American political system would not accept for example carpet bombings of major cities, or destruction of the dikes upstream along the Red River, both of which would have caused significant damage to the infrastructure of the DRV, and civilian casualties as well.⁴⁵ The Johnson administration limited the ground fighting to South Vietnam alone, leaving the support lines and staging bases in eastern Laos and Cambodia (almost) untouched. All this was due to the fear that China or the Soviets could directly enter the war.⁴⁶ Thus the DRV had powerful allies, China and Soviet Union⁴⁷, sanctuaries and supply routes in Laos and Cambodia, and the support of the rural people in South Vietnam – all elements for successful fortified compound warfare.⁴⁸

The American forces in South Vietnam relied on heavy firepower and use of modern technology. They wanted to engage the enemy at long range rather than close in as the PLA preferred. It was typical of the American forces to use massive artillery shelling and air support during their battles with the PLA. According to Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (MACV) the PLA had suffered significant losses by the end of 1967, but these numbers can be questioned, since the casualty figures caused to the PLA were either inaccurate or too optimistic, or a number of killed were civilians. Many outsiders questioned the American approach of fighting insurgents with massive firepower. Since the guerrilla war was mostly fought in the countryside instead of in the cities, the rural Vietnamese society was being destroyed, and bombed heavily which was not the best political solution, whereas social reform

⁴³ Ibid., p. 363.

⁴⁴ Briggs (in Huber), p. 245.

⁴⁵ Davidson, p. 341, p. 438.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 340.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 439.

⁴⁸ Briggs (in Huber), p. 246.

probably was.⁴⁹ Again, the destruction in the countryside worked counterproductively for the Americans.⁵⁰ The American military leadership at MACV thought doubtless their strategy of attrition warfare against the Communists was working, yet the only problem was time. The captured insurgents unilaterally claimed they were willing to fight for ten, fifteen or twenty years, if needed.⁵¹ Were the Americans prepared for that? For the Americans this meant that speedier results needed more troops and removal of the political restrictions on the war.⁵²

The Tet offensive of 1968 shifted the focus of the war. Towards the end of 1967 the situation on the battlefield was at a deadlock, which favoured the Communists. In Hanoi's opinion, the Americans could not increase their efforts without overextending themselves. Thus the continuing strategy would be to keep the United States bleeding till it was ready to negotiate according to Hanoi's terms. Other goals of the Tet offensive were to drive a wedge between the Americans and the RVN and to cause considerable damage to both, to show the American vulnerability regardless of their military strength and to start the uprising of the rural population.⁵³ The PLA forces reinforced with troops from North Vietnam launched simultaneous attacks against more than a hundred cities and towns, U.S. and ARVN supply dumps and headquarters during the Tet lunar New Year holiday (which the Communists had pledged to observe). The PLA forces fought ferociously, but at the same time terrorized people in the areas they seized. In most places, the PLA forces were crushed by the American and ARVN troops with devastating force. Militarily the Tet offensive was a disaster, the PLA's main forces were almost annihilated. But politically the PLA disaster became very important for the Communist cause. The U.S. public opinion was stunned by the Communist feat. According to the official assessments the war was now being won, but the live footage from the television screens showed otherwise – the reality of the war seemed totally different.⁵⁴ The Communists had been able to achieve a near-total surprise for their massive attack.⁵⁵ The American public support for the war declined dramatically after the Tet offensive, as the true realities – the destruction of the PLA main forces, was hardly reported in the Western press. Again, in *compound warfare* the battlefield results are not the only thing that counts.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Bernard Hall, a veteran French observer of Indochina, commented the war while visiting American officers in Vietnam in early 1967). *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁵¹ Davidson, p. 421.

⁵² Briggs (in Huber), pp. 250-252.

⁵³ Davidson, pp. 445-446.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁵⁵ The level of surprise of the Tet offensive has been a question of debate among scholars over the years. It could be concluded it was not a strategic, but a tactical surprise. *Ibid.*, pp. 477-478.

⁵⁶ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 252-254. Weir, William: *Guerrilla Warfare, Irregular Warfare in the Twentieth Century*, Stockpole books, Mechanicsburg, PA, USA, 2008, pp. 201-203.

The Tet offensive changed American policy in Vietnam. The attrition strategy was no longer considered the only way to go and alternatives had to be sought, since the American military leaders were not sure whether the Communists could match any troop build up or not. The opposition to the war was growing in the Congress as well. By the end of March 1968, President Johnson announced the stopping of the bombing of North Vietnam as a gesture of good will and he was now open for beginning peace negotiations. He also announced he would not run for president for another term. Peace talks began in six weeks, but neither party could agree on the terms, and thus the peace talks continued for another five years.⁵⁷

2.5 Withdrawal

President Richard M. Nixon won the elections in November 1968 and took office in January 1969. He realized the United States could not obtain a military victory, but he believed he could achieve a diplomatic settlement favourable to American interests. This meant the RVN should take more responsibility from the American forces and carry the burden of war more. President Nixon and his administration planned a different approach, and decided to attack the communist effort by cutting off the guerrillas from their safe havens and the support they received from allies. First, the Americans began secretly bombing the communist headquarters and bases in Cambodia with some good results, but ultimately failed to prevent PAVN operations from the area.⁵⁸ The second part of the plan was to disrupt the support North Vietnam was receiving from the Soviet Union and China. The Soviets were reluctant to put pressure on North Vietnam, since they feared it would merely cause DRV to seek closer relations with China.⁵⁹

Although the political negotiations and alternative efforts for a favourable solution began, nothing had changed in the battle field. The Americans still relied on firepower, even more than before, and attrition warfare. During the period from late 1965 to the Tet offensive in early 1968, battles were mostly fought in the countryside, large amounts of bombs and explosives were used. Peasants were removed from their villages, the American forces would go in, fight the battle, and then retire back to their bases in populated areas. The American casualty rate grew steadily and little results were achieved. This in turn raised strong criticism in the U.S. Congress and the American press towards the American war efforts in Vietnam.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Briggs (in Huber), p. 255. Davidson, pp. 533-535

⁵⁸ Davidson, pp. 595-596.

⁵⁹ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 256-257

⁶⁰ An example of a typical battle: In May 1969, a battalion of 101 Airborne Division assaulted PAVN position on Aphia mountain ("Hamburger Hill") eleven times in ten days. When the hill was captured about five hundred dead enemy was counted, but own casualties were 476, including fifty dead. The Air Force dropped 500 tons of high explosives and 76 tons of napalm to support the attacks. Briggs (in Huber), p. 257; Davidson, pp. 614-615.

During his presidential campaign, President Nixon had promised to reduce American involvement in Vietnam.⁶¹ At the same time, he tried to disturb the *compound warfare* effort of DRV by affecting DRV supporters politically and the North Vietnamese supply routes and safe havens militarily. Orders were given to the commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam to diminish operations to avoid heavy casualties (late 1969). Troop reductions were announced. A strategic withdrawal from the war had begun.⁶²

In 1970, President Nixon decided to hit Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. The American and ARVN troops invaded Cambodia with the mission to destroy Communist staging areas.⁶³ Militarily the operation was a temporary success but the Communists quickly shifted to operating in another area, regrouped and resumed action as before. In America, this was seen as an escalation of the war rather than de-escalation as President Nixon had stated his policy. Antiwar demonstrations and college student strikes across the continental United States caused unrest. The Congress passed a bill that prohibited U.S. ground troops from operating in Laos or Cambodia.⁶⁴

Over the next two years the “Vietnamization” process was pushed forward in South Vietnam, with some success. But the ARVN could not easily take over the responsibilities from the American forces; it was just not capable of doing that. President Nixon tried to influence the fortified *compound warfare* supporters of the DRV, the Soviet Union and China, by making official visits to both countries, and at the same time to demoralize the DRV. The bombing of North Vietnam was resumed and intensified, while the number of American troops in Vietnam kept declining.⁶⁵

To demonstrate their strength, the failure of Vietnamization, and to improve their positions in the peace talks in Geneva, Hanoi launched a massive invasion from North Vietnam in March 1972. The PAVN objectives were to achieve victory and to humiliate President Nixon, destroy his war policy and prevent his re-election. The North Vietnamese leadership had hoped to destroy ARVN forces as much as possible and to occupy key terrain threatening Saigon. They also hoped to cause the U.S. troop withdrawal to accelerate; and ultimately to seize control of South Vietnam.⁶⁶ Again, the Communists abandoned successful *compound warfare* tactics and went too early to ‘phase three’ of their insurgency strategy. General Giap had, as

⁶¹ Davidson, p. 587.

⁶² Briggs (in Huber), p. 257. Davidson, p. 641.

⁶³ Davidson, p. 625.

⁶⁴ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 259-260. Davidson, pp. 663-665.

⁶⁵ The U.S. troops in Vietnam numbered 540,000 by the end of 1968, 280,000 by the end of 1970, and 65,000 in 1972, Briggs (in Huber), p. 256, 260, 262.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 261. Davidson, pp. 673-674.

during the Tet-offensive in 1968, underestimated the strength of the U.S. Air Force and the by 1972 much improved ARVN forces. Although the number of American troops in Vietnam was significantly lower than the years before (estimated 65,000) they would not be able to pose a conventional threat to the PAVN as a combat force, but the American military advisors on the battle field could still coordinate the close air support to the fighting ARVN forces, thus unleashing the awesome firepower of the U.S. Air Force against the now exposed PAVN forces. A number of times the ARVN forces were saved by the massive American support from the air.⁶⁷ The Americans and the South Vietnamese gained a tactical victory, but it resulted in a harsh realization that the American support of the ARVN was only delaying the inevitable outcome in the war – a defeat for the Americans and a victory to the insurgency.⁶⁸

After winning the 1972 presidential elections, on Christmas Day, President Nixon gave orders to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong in order to force DRV to a settlement.⁶⁹ He had promised in his presidential campaign that the war was fought successfully and that peace was at hand. American forces being pulled out of Vietnam, gave another picture. The bombing was heavy and destructive, but as it was aimed at military targets the civilian casualties were relatively low. A cease-fire agreement was signed in the end of January 1973 and a political settlement followed.⁷⁰

The last Americans left Vietnam in the spring of 1973, and the war was over for America. President Nixon had new problems arising in the United States that tied his hands as far as supporting the RVN government with air power or other supplies was concerned. Congressional hearings on secret bombings of Cambodia and the Watergate scandal intensified, eventually leading to his resignation in August 1974. The PAVN began its final spring offensive in 1975, and as a result of this the ARVN collapsed and South Vietnam was conquered within three months. The American efforts in Vietnam had ultimately failed.⁷¹

2.6 Summary

Many researchers and officers have discussed the reasons for the failure of the United States war efforts in Vietnam over the years. There is no simple answer, but there are some key elements that can be pointed out.

⁶⁷ During the two-month siege of An-Loc, the U.S. Air Force flew 262 B-52 missions, USAF and the Vietnam Air Force provided 9,203 tactical air strikes. The B-52s alone dropped 42,444 tons of bombs.

⁶⁸ Briggs (in Huber), pp. 261-262. Davidson, pp. 711-712; Ahern, p. 374

⁶⁹ Davidson, pp. 726-728.

⁷⁰ Briggs (in Huber), p. 262. Davidson, p. 730.

⁷¹ Briggs (in Huber), p. 263.

1. The United States never matched the will to win the war as did the Communist DRV. Whereas the DRV committed all national efforts to reaching its ultimate goal to unify North and South Vietnam and winning the Americans was a prerequisite of it, the Americans limited their efforts to what they considered adequate.
2. The DRV fought a political war and to reach political goals, it used military force only as one tool along with political agitation, propaganda, terrorism and international diplomacy.
3. The Americans restricted themselves from using all means possible to wage war, since they did not want to risk escalating the conflict or a possible war with China or the Soviet Union. By doing this, the PAVN sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia as well as the supply routes, were untouched for a long time. In this case, North Vietnam cleverly used the asymmetry described in *compound warfare* theory to its advantage.
4. The Americans have also been strongly criticized by some critics about the armament and development of ARVN – it was too “heavy” for guerrilla warfare. In the critics’ opinion, light infantry would rather have been the sort of forces needed to fight the Communist insurgents.
5. The Americans also faced a relentless enemy – time. Whereas the insurgents had prepared to fight ten, fifteen or twenty years, the American interest in committing to the war diminished over time. This can be seen as an essential part of *compound warfare* dynamics.⁷²

The Vietnam War demonstrates the classical elements of fortified *compound warfare* in action. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) utilized a conventional force of its own army (PAVN). It had a guerrilla force formed from People’s Liberation Army of South Vietnam (PLA) and safe havens in Laos and Cambodia. And as a fortifying element it had major power alliances with China and the Soviet Union. It also demonstrates the difficulty of fighting against an enemy who is using a *compound warfare* strategy. The inability to recognize key factors in the conflict proved fatal to the United States. The DRV’s goal was not to win the United States, but to unify Vietnam under Hanoi’s rule. The primary enemy was not the United States, but the government of South Vietnam. In this light, winning the “hearts and minds” of the peasants of the Vietnamese countryside, the importance of successful social reforms, and the general well being of the majority of the population are shown in an entirely new perspective, and demonstrates the difficulty of fighting a successful counterinsurgency war. Or as Thomas Huber puts it: “It is far less costly to understand *Compound warfare* dynamics going in than to learn them in a harder school; failed operations”⁷³ as the Americans did in Vietnam.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 263-264. Davidson, pp. 796-797.

⁷³ Huber, p. 7.

3 CASE 2: SECOND LEBANON WAR

3.1 Hezbollah

Hezbollah is a Shia Muslim political group with a militant wing called the Islamic Resistance. Hezbollah is defined as a terrorist organization by the West. The group is active in Lebanon, and can be described as a “state-within-a-state”. Along with the activities of its military wing, Hezbollah is also a major provider of social services, operating schools, hospitals, and agricultural services for thousands of Lebanese Shias. It has participated actively in the Lebanese political system since 1992 - having had over the recent years from two to eleven out of thirty seats in the Lebanese national unity cabinet. Hezbollah operates a satellite TV channel, al-Manar, and a broadcast station - both are in the West regarded as terrorist entities. Ideological and financial support for the organization is provided by Iran and Syria. Hezbollah raises funds from criminal activities, such as counterfeiting money and drug production and trade.⁷⁴

3.1.1 Background

The seeds for Hezbollah were planted among the Lebanese Shias in the late 1970's as a result of the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1977), and two Israeli campaigns in Lebanon in 1978 and 1982. Hezbollah was to counter the Amal Movement, the largest Shia organization in Lebanon at the time. It was a new organization, separate from PLO or other Palestinian groups operating in the area. In 1982, a group of Lebanese Shia Muslims declared themselves to be the “Party of God” (Hizb Allah), as response to the Israeli invasions of Lebanon. Islamic resistance units were formed and were committed to the liberation of the occupied territories and the ejection of the Israeli forces. As soon as it was realized that the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) intended to stay in South Lebanon, the (at that time inexperienced) Hezbollah resistance cells began to develop its military competence with the desire to resist the Israeli occupation. It was assisted both ideologically and logistically by the Iranian Revolutionary Guards based in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley - originally sent there to aid in the resistance against Israel. Hezbollah began developing its popular base in Lebanon, and has over the years expanded and strengthened about its political and military capacity.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Ching, Jennifer and Toiba, Michael: Hezbollah (a.k.a. Hizbollah, Hizbu'llah), Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/lebanon/hezbollah-k-hizbollah-hizbullah/p9155>, 25.2.2011, p. 1; [Hezbollah](#); Profile of the Lebanese Shiite Terrorist Organization of Global Reach Sponsored by Iran and Supported by Syria, Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies (C.S.S), July 2003, http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/ENGLISH/IRAN/PDF/JULY_03.PDF, 25.2.2011, pp. 141-149.

⁷⁵ [Hizballah](#) / Hizbollah / Hizbullah / Hezbollah, Global Security, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hizballah.htm>, 25.2.2011, p. 1.; Hezbollah, the ‘Party of God’, Israel News, 2006, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3284023,00.html>, 25.3.2011, pp. 1-2; Who are Hezbollah?, BBC News, 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4314423.stm, 25.3.2011, pp. 1-2.

Hezbollah draws inspiration from the Iranian Revolution, and it is dedicated to the creation of an Iranian style Islamic republic in Lebanon, and the removal of all non-Islamic influences from the area. It is strongly anti-Western and especially anti-Israel in its ideology. Since the organization was founded it has received substantial support from Iran and Syria, both financial and military training support. The affiliation between Iran and Hezbollah has always been a close one. There is a strong religious and ideological tie between Iran and Hezbollah – both being Shia Muslims. Iran has had a great effect on Hezbollah's improved capabilities by delivering vital material and moral support to Hezbollah over the years.⁷⁶

Syria on the other hand has been, and still is a close supporter of Hezbollah. There are two main reasons for Syria to support Hezbollah. Syria has had its own conflicts and confrontations with Israel over the occupation of Golan Heights and it has had interests to look after in Lebanon, both of which still exist. Thus Hezbollah serves as a useful tool for Syria in the regions political field.⁷⁷

Hezbollah is a Shia Muslim organization in which religion plays an important political role. Shias differ from Sunni Muslims in the way they look at leadership, not the spiritual aspect of religion. Shias believe their leadership, either religious or political – which often go hand in hand – descend directly from the family of the Prophet Mohammad or God himself. Therefore among the Shias, Imams are considered sinless by nature and their authority infallible since it comes directly from God or the family of the Prophet. Hence the leaders are highly respected, and their authority unquestioned. Among the Muslims Shias are a minority with about 15% of the Muslim population of the world. The attitude towards the divine authority of Shia Imam's explains how Shia organizations may turn fanatical and be considered to behave like terrorist organisations in the West.⁷⁸

3.1.2 Early Terrorist Campaigns

Once established as a militia, Hezbollah received acclaim and legitimacy in Lebanon and throughout the Muslim world by fighting against the IDF and the South Lebanese Army (SLA). Its base areas were, and still are, Lebanon's Shiite dominated areas, parts of Beirut, Southern Lebanon and Bekaa Valley. Aside from its activities in Lebanon, in 1980's and early 1990's Hezbollah conducted a global terrorist strategy with a capability to operate all over the world, and they carried out terrorist attacks against Israeli and US targets. Hezbollah fo-

⁷⁶ Ching (Toiba), p. 1-2, and Hizballah, p. 1.

⁷⁷ BBC News, p. 1.

⁷⁸ What's the Difference Between Shia and Sunni Muslims? http://islam.about.com/cs/divisions/f/shia_sunni.htm, 25.3.2011.

cused on South America, Southeast Asia, Jordan, the Persian Gulf, and the European continent.⁷⁹

During the 1980's and early 1990's, Hezbollah was behind a series of terrorist attacks against Western targets such as a suicide bombings of the U.S. embassy in Beirut (1983), U.S. Marines base in Beirut (1983), the U.S. Embassy Annex in Beirut (1984), aircraft hijackings (Trans World Airlines 1985, Kuwaiti Airlines 1984 and 1988), the attack on Israeli Embassy in Argentina (1992) and a number of kidnappings of U.S. and European civilians as well as French, British, German and Russian diplomats. Hezbollah was responsible for most of the kidnappings of foreign nationals carried out in Lebanon during that time period (at least 18 citizens of Western countries were held hostage, and three of them were killed). It is said that Hezbollah was heavily influenced, even its actions directed by Iran over this period of time. In the 1990's, following a shift in Iranian policy, Hezbollah lowered the profile of its anti-Western pursuits and focused its attention on terrorist activity against Israeli and Jewish targets.⁸⁰

In the beginning of the 21st century, there was an increasing cooperation between Hezbollah and other Palestinian terrorist organizations in the region.⁸¹ It was very active against the IDF during the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon in May 2000. Focus was transferred to violent activities in Israeli territory with the aim to disrupt any attempt at dialogue, or the peace process in general.⁸²

However, since the September 11, 2001 attacks Hezbollah made considerable efforts to promote its image in order to blur its identity as a terrorist organization. It publicly denied its involvement in terrorism in general, and in particular, its capability of global terrorism.⁸³ Yet despite the Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah continued periodically to shell Israeli forces in the disputed Shebaa Farms border zone resulting periodic conflict and a retaliation from Israel.⁸⁴ In the end of 2005, Hezbollah and the IDF had a heavy exchange of fire across the Blue Line established by the UN Security Council resolutions 425 and 426 for the IDF withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000. Both sides used heavy weapons against each oth-

⁷⁹ Hezbollah, p. 64.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 64- 65.

⁸¹ Hizballah, p. 3, and Hezbollah, pp. 96-99.

⁸² Hizballah, p. 2.

⁸³ Hezbollah, p. 65.

⁸⁴ Hizballah, p. 4.

er. Since the withdrawal of IDF from Lebanon, Hezbollah had built its military capabilities substantially with the support of Iran and Syria.⁸⁵

In 1989, heavily influenced by Syria, the Lebanese administration accepted Hezbollah as the only militia organization in Lebanon, whereas all other ethnic militias were to be dismantled. Along with the weakness of the Lebanese central regime, Hezbollah's special status enabled the organization to use its power and seize both military and civilian control in Southern Lebanon (and several areas of the Bekaa region), practically replacing the legitimate Lebanese regime. This process continued even after the IDF withdrawal from Lebanon. Southern Lebanon had in fact turned into a *state-within-a-state*. Hezbollah thus became the ultimate authority in this region, undisturbed by the Lebanese regime's weak control, which focused mainly on economic development projects that were themselves approved by Hezbollah. Hezbollah pursued its own policy in southern Lebanon, which it imposed on the Lebanese government. It opposed the effective deployment of the Lebanese army in the south thus preventing the Lebanese regime from assuming responsibility for this region's security and implementing its sovereignty. According to resolution 425 of the UN Security Council, the Lebanese army was to deploy in the south of the country. However, receiving strong support from Syria, Hezbollah openly rejected deployment of Lebanese Army to the South, and carried on as before.⁸⁶

The Shia community had been the largest, and yet the most underprivileged ethnic community in Lebanon. For Hezbollah this created a fertile soil for gaining support with an extensive social and economic program, since the Lebanese government had lacked the initiative to improve the situation. Far-reaching social and welfare activities were carried out by Hezbollah, including schools, women's affairs, health and medical services, social welfare and religious education. All these were financed by the funds received from international fundraisers and its support from Iran and Syria. Unsurprisingly, Hezbollah earned the trust and support of the Shia community as well as some non-Shias. The social and economic programs served Hezbollah's aims to gain political power in Lebanon and its ultimate goal of forming an Islamic republic in Lebanon.⁸⁷

3.2 Background To The Second Lebanon War

After the withdrawal of IDF from Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah kept close ties to Iran and Syria and began arming itself. High quality weapons, such as land-to-land rockets, anti-tank weapons, anti-aircraft missiles, mines and mortar rounds as well as explosives, small arms and

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸⁶ Hezbollah, pp. 132-133.

ammunition, were being smuggled to Lebanon.⁸⁸ The tensions were high in the region and occasional clashes with IDF occurred. In September 2004 the UN Security Council resolution 1559 called for the Lebanese government to disband and disarm all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias and to prevent the flow of armaments and other military equipment to the militias from Syria, Iran and other nations. The Lebanese government did not comply with the resolution – Hezbollah was very popular among the Shiites, it had built a considerable military strength, and it did not want the Lebanese army in the Southern Lebanon – Hezbollah territory.⁸⁹ The November 2005 clash between Hezbollah and IDF, in its shortness and intensity, was like a prologue to the Second Lebanon War the following year.⁹⁰ The military and financial support Hezbollah received from Iran and Syria did not go unnoticed by the international community. As late as mid April 2006, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called on Syria and Iran to stop interfering in Lebanon. But the situation had already developed for the worse.⁹¹

3.3 A Retaliatory Campaign Escalating to a War

The 33-day long Second Lebanon War was initiated by the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah near Shtula on the Lebanese-Israeli border on July 12, 2006. The kidnapping Hezbollah unit had crossed the border during a diversion attack of Katyusha rockets and mortar rounds against the border villages and IDF positions. Israel responded and launched a large-scale retaliatory operation which eventually escalated into a war.⁹²

The war that ended in a ceasefire agreement on August 13, 2006, can be divided into three phases, seen from the Israeli point of view.

- Phase I: Air campaign (July 12-16)
- Phase II: Engagement of ground forces (July 18 – August 11)
- Phase III: Final push (August 12-13)

The first phase of the Israeli retaliatory operation began with a massive use of Israel Air Force (IAF). The IDF imposed air and sea blockades on Lebanon. The IAF attacked suspected Hezbollah command posts in Beirut, including military targets along the Beirut – Damascus highway and elsewhere, and tried to destroy the long-range missile launchers used by Hezbollah against Northern Israel. Israel refrained from bombing Lebanese infrastructure, although

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 136-137.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 108-116.

⁸⁹ Cordesman (2006), p. 10.

⁹⁰ Hizbollah, p. 4.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 4.

⁹² Kober, p. 3.

the IDF Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General Halutz had suggested that, thus imposing itself restrictions to conduct the operation. Israel also avoided a direct confrontation with Syria, despite the support it gave to Hezbollah. Within the first two days of the war, the IAF destroyed most of the Hezbollah's medium and long-range missile launchers, along with the Hezbollah command centres in Beirut. Yet the Israeli retaliatory campaign met an unexpected surprise, when a missile corvette INS Hanith, one of Israel's newest and most capable ships, while monitoring the naval blockade, was hit with an anti-ship missile fired by Hezbollah.⁹³ Lebanese government asked for a ceasefire on July 14, which was turned down few days later.

According to Kober, this was the culmination point of the operation – the efficiency of the air campaign would only get worse as the time went on. The situation could not be solved with air assets alone. This was recognized in the IDF high command, and on July 16, the IDF Deputy Chief of Staff, Major General Moshe Kaplinski recommended stopping the operation, but the highest political and military leaders thought otherwise. Thus the retaliatory operation started to escalate into a war.⁹⁴

In the beginning of the operation the Israeli political and military leadership was both confused and indecisive of the objectives and methods to reach them.⁹⁵ As an example, the IDF Chief of Staff was initially thinking of the operation “in terms of a retaliatory attack, not war”, and even instructed his subordinates at the General Staff level not to use the term “war” regarding the operation.⁹⁶ Afterwards, it can be concluded that Israel had five objectives in the war:

- Destroy the “Iranian Western Command” before Iran could go nuclear.
- Restore credibility of Israeli deterrence after the withdrawals from Lebanon (2000) and Gaza (2005).
- Try to force Lebanon to act as an accountable state, including the end of Hezbollah's “state-with-in-state” status.
- Damage or cripple Hezbollah while understanding it could not be destroyed as a military force, and would continue to be a major political player in Lebanon.
- Bring the two captured soldiers without major trades of prisoners held by Israel.⁹⁷

Although the operation was initially thought to be carried out based on an air campaign, a reserve infantry division was mobilized as early as on July 13 (eventually, three more infantry

⁹³ Cordesman (2008), p. 47-48.

⁹⁴ Kober, p. 4.

⁹⁵ Winograd Commission Final Report, points 13-17.

⁹⁶ Kober, p. 9.

⁹⁷ Cordesman (2008), p. 6.

divisions were mobilized).⁹⁸ Regardless of the damage inflicted on the Hezbollah long-range missiles and launcher arsenal, Hezbollah still had the capability to fire hundreds of short-range rockets a day into Northern Israel. This caused serious, but above all, moral damage to the Israeli civilian population living in the area. It was now finally understood by Israel's political and military leadership that the war could not be won without the ground element, and it felt forced to commit ground forces into battle, with the mission of destroying Hezbollah's positions along the Israel-Lebanon border.⁹⁹

On July 22, the second phase began – IDF committed ground forces in battle in Southern Lebanon. The Israeli forces attacked head on against the Hezbollah forces in Southern Lebanon, uncharacteristically to its tradition of mechanized warfare of outflanking and encircling the enemy, including the use of the element of surprise. The audacious fighting capabilities of Hezbollah came as a surprise to the troops on the ground. Whether this was the result of a failure of the Israeli intelligence community's or not, has been discussed. The Israeli troops on the ground faced a prepared enemy, including well prepared defence lines and bunker systems, well armed troops with missiles, rockets, and advanced lighter arms like anti-tank weapons and surface-to-air missiles.¹⁰⁰ Fighting was fierce but ineffective, seen from the Israeli point of view, and the short range rockets launched by Hezbollah kept terrorizing the civilian population in Northern Israel. The IDF operations kept building up. On July 29 there was an increased effort by the Israeli's to create a security belt on the Northern Lebanese border. The ground troops took hold of dominating terrain and Special Forces hit targets in Bekaa Valley and Tyre. Yet regarding the overall effort, it had not much effect.¹⁰¹

Characteristic of the Second Lebanon War was that as IDF engaged with Hezbollah, they often faced fighting in urban areas. Hezbollah had built its facilities in towns and populated areas. It used civilian facilities and homes to store weapons and supplies, as well as for defensive and offensive positions. Rockets and mortars were deployed within towns and homes; with the Hezbollah soldiers rushing in and out to carry out firing missions.¹⁰² Hezbollah used the people of Lebanon as *human shields* for their advantage, clearly against the rules of the international laws of war. IDF faced the challenge of target intelligence and collateral damage – how to verify targets to be engaged with different types of weapons and how to avoid collateral damage? How much to limit the strikes and the use of force, if military operations were

⁹⁸ IDF committed at least 15,000 troops to attacks in Lebanon out of a force that rose to roughly 30,000. Cordesman (2008), p. 3.

⁹⁹ Kober, p. 4; Cordesman (2006), p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Cordesman (2006), p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Kober, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰² There were numerous videos taped by Israeli of Hezbollah setting up a system, firing and leaving in a time

carried out of civilian facilities, or in the immediate vicinity of them? On the other hand, if the IDF Chief of Staff had publicly stated a threat of “setting Lebanon back 20 years”, it is tempting, if not evitable, for a non-state actor with terrorist status to use civilians as human shields. Collateral damage would play for benefit of Hezbollah in this case; it would be excellent media operations material to bring the population on their side.¹⁰³ In light of statistics, this could easily be done.¹⁰⁴ The Hezbollah leadership used effectively its own TV- and broadcast capabilities to send out their own message to their supporters, to their foes and to international press.¹⁰⁵

Other characteristic of Hezbollah fighting during the conflict was their well trained soldier’s use of the advanced weapon systems they had acquired before the war, such as anti-tank weapons, anti-aircraft missiles, anti-ship missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles. The anti-tank weapons were used skilfully in terms of tactics – multiple rounds were fired at the same target indicating that the use of anti-tank weapons was concentrated in anticipated kill zones. Anti-tank weapons were effectively used against IDF ground troops seeking protection from buildings, and these kinds of weapons actually caused most of the casualties of IDF in the war.¹⁰⁶ The anti-aircraft missile capability, which existence was known by the Israeli intelligence community played an important role from the Hezbollah’s perspective, although it could only drop one IAF aircraft during the war.¹⁰⁷ Just the knowledge of short range air defence missiles possessed by Hezbollah forced IAF to change mission profiles and to use extensively countermeasures to avoid possible ambushes to IAF planes. A successful ambush could provide Hezbollah with a propaganda victory.¹⁰⁸

In the first days of the war Hezbollah damaged INS Hanith with an anti-ship missile, a capability thought to be possessed only by national armies rather than by an organization with terrorist status. Israeli intelligence had given estimates of such weapons in the possession of

less than a minute. Cordesman (2008), p. 16.

¹⁰³ Cordesman (2006), pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁴ Lebanon reported some 1,110 civilian dead, 3,700 civilians wounded and almost 1 million displaced persons at the peak of the fighting. It also made claims that the war cost some \$2.4-6.0 billion worth of damage, some \$398 million worth of damage to electric facilities and key infrastructure equipment, and over 150,000 residences destroyed. Cordesman (2008), p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ Cordesman (2008), p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ IDF estimated that at least 500 anti-tank guided missiles were fired during the fighting (ATGM: AT-3 Sagger, AT-4 Spigot, AT-5 Spandrel, TOW, Tophaan, AT-13 Metis, AT-14 Kornet; ATW: RPG-29/Vampire). Some 500 Merkava Main Battle Tanks were committed to battle; some 50 were hit, 21/22 were penetrated depending on the source, out of which 10 caused casualties. Cordesman (2008), pp. 43-46.

¹⁰⁷ The IAF flew some 15,500 sorties during the war, lost one aircraft due to hostile fire and four to accidents. Cordesman (2008), p. 36.

¹⁰⁸ Israeli intelligence estimated Hezbollah to have a number of different types of man-portable surface-to-air missiles (SA-7 Strela/Grail, SA-14 Gremlin, SA-16 Gimlet, SA-18 Grouse) and perhaps a vehicle mounted, radar guided system (SA-8 Gecko) with a range of 10km. Cordesman (2008), p. 36. Also see Kober, p. 11.

Hezbollah as early as 2003, but the Israel Navy did not take the warning seriously, and as a result missile corvette INS Hanith operated without using active countermeasures and the ship was struck.¹⁰⁹

The unmanned aerial vehicles supplied by Iran¹¹⁰ provided Hezbollah with another force multiplier. With a range of up to 450 kilometres and payload capability of 45 kg it could deliver its load practically anywhere in Israel with an accuracy of 10 m with the GPS guidance system. One penetrated Israeli air defence system and was shot down by IAF 15 km from Haifa. This demonstrated a new threat to Israel, since the UAVs could not be detected with the normal surveillance radars and with had new repercussions unimaginable had the payload been chemical or biological weapons.¹¹¹ Although the long and medium range rockets and missiles threat to Israel was dismissed by IAF during the first days of the war, Hezbollah demonstrated its capability to inflict damage and a continuous threat to the Northern Israel civilian population by the firing of short range rockets continuously during the entire war. The smaller rockets required smaller launchers; they were moved and hidden easily and were both quick to set up and fire – a weapon that was used very effectively.¹¹² There were some reports of Iranian promoted electronic warfare capabilities of Hezbollah during the war, such as jamming and successful hacking of Israeli communication, which Israel has denied. It can be said that Hezbollah was well prepared to fight the war under the influence of Israeli electronic warfare, and could maintain its command network throughout the war.¹¹³

Due to the ineffectiveness of the IDF in the battlefield against Hezbollah's ground positions in Southern Lebanon, and particularly the IAF's inability in handling the continuous short-range rocket launcher threat to Northern Israel¹¹⁴, it became evident that unless the territory from where the rockets were launched was captured, the threat would not disappear. This set the stage for the third phase for the war. Although cease fire negotiations were on-going, an operation was planned to capture the entire area south of the Litany River. The operation was approved by the Israeli government because they thought it would give both military and political flexibility.¹¹⁵ Israeli troops in the area nearly tripled, and on August 12, the operation be-

¹⁰⁹ Cordesman (2008), pp. 37-38.

¹¹⁰ Iranian ABABIL was called MIRSAD-1 by Hezbollah. Kober, p. 6.

¹¹¹ Cordesman (2008), pp. 16-18.

¹¹² Cordesman (2006), p. 5; Cordesman (2008), pp. 16-19.

¹¹³ Cordesman (2006), pp. 38-29; Cordesman (2008), p. 23; Kober, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Hezbollah fired some 3,950 rockets to Israel during the war; more than 100 a day, and nearly 250 on the last day. Cordesman (2008), p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Winograd Commission Final Report, points 29-31.

gan. It was never to accomplish its objectives, because the ceasefire took effect on August 13.¹¹⁶

3.4 Summary

Looking at the outcome of the Second Lebanon War, one must admit that Hezbollah emerged as the one having better reached its set goals for the war than Israel. Israel could not restore credibility of deterrence, but the effect was rather the opposite. Kober points out serious weaknesses of IDF were exposed: a late perception that it was war; adherence to post-heroic warfare under circumstances that rather required a different approach; the erosion of the IDF's fighting standards due to policing missions; artificial Revolution in Military Affairs – inspired concepts; the adoption of the notion of *controlling* instead of capturing territory; a centralized logistic system; poor generalship; a hesitant and inexperienced political leadership and IDF dominance in decisions on military matters.¹¹⁷ All these problems could be discussed in some detail, but are out of the scope of this thesis. Lebanon was not forced to act as a credible state to end the Hezbollah's "state-with-in-state" status. Rather this war forced the Lebanese Government to ask the international community for support against the Israeli aggression towards Lebanon.¹¹⁸

Looking at Hezbollah's strategic goals of the war:

- Survive and adapt to an Israeli-driven escalation
- Inflict maximum casualties in forward area
- Win limited war of attrition
- Demonstrate the ability to strike into Israel with short and long range weapons
- Dominate media battle
- Enhance post-war status in Lebanon and Islamic world
- Emerge with political leadership, most weapons and key cadres intact
- Prevent from being disarmed after the war¹¹⁹

It can be said that Hezbollah was successful in almost all of them.

Hezbollah was unable to inflict real heavy casualties to IDF or Israel in general, but the damages caused were higher than expected, and as Israel has a democratic elected government, casualties is always a problem. The long range missile weapon systems were used in the beginning of the war, but were quickly taken out by the IAF. Yet the continuous use of short

¹¹⁶ Kober, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ Kober, p. 9.

¹¹⁸ Cordesman (2006), p. 16.

range rockets and the use of UAV have demonstrated adequately the Hezbollah striking capability beyond close range. As a result of the ceasefire it was not disarmed nor was Hezbollah incapacitated. It could continue to rebuild its lost capabilities, and continue to be an important part of Lebanese politics.

The reasons for Hezbollah's achievements are many. It can be said that Israel underestimated the new capabilities of Hezbollah, both politically and militarily, and at the same time overestimated its own capability to win the war by waging only an air campaign without the use of an extensive ground element.¹²⁰ Perhaps the biggest failure of Israel in the Second Lebanon War was that it escalated the retaliatory operation into a war before the Israeli government had decided whether to conduct a short and powerful blow on Hezbollah, or to bring about a significant change in Southern Lebanon with a large ground operation. In addition, the Israelis went to war without deciding on an exit strategy.¹²¹

Not only did Hezbollah possess weapons usually associated with national armies, but it used them with considerable precision and skill. With modern weapons and advanced guerrilla tactics included with the exclusion of internationally accepted rules of war, such as the use of civilians or civilian targets as shields for operative troops was something IDF was not prepared. But as Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah, the Secretary General of Hezbollah said "...we are not a regular army. We will not fight like a regular army."¹²² They did not, and it worked against Israel, a foe thinking and fighting according to the Western standards. The command system of Hezbollah was decentralized and responsibilities were distributed to smaller cells, thus giving the organization flexibility and strength to carry on fighting despite the fact that any of these independent cells were incapacitated. During the years before the war, Hezbollah had plenty of time to build its defensive positions in Southern Lebanon according to their estimates of possible battle spaces, and prepare for the eventually inevitable armed conflict, if not war, against Israel. With the decentralized command system going hand in hand with a decentralized logistics system, the small cells had well planned resources available for them and gave them logistical independence from the upper echelons, which is often not the case for national armies.

The support of Iran and Syria to Hezbollah was crucial to Hezbollah before the war and during it. Since Israel's 2000 withdrawal from Lebanon, both countries supported and supplied the Hezbollah military build-up extensively bringing weapons and military expertise to Leba-

¹¹⁹ Cordesman (2008), p. 7.

¹²⁰ Cordesman (2008), p. 5.

¹²¹ Winograd Commission Final Report, points 13-15.

non. During the war the support continued, and the support has continued after war as well. Israeli intelligence estimated that during the war Iranian advisors were closely working with Hezbollah. It is estimated that the Iranian advisors helped Hezbollah create a command centre for targeting and missile fire control thus increasing the Hezbollah capabilities.¹²³ Without the support from Iran and Syria, Hezbollah could not have built its military capabilities prior to the war, nor could it have maintained its forces during the war either. This demonstrates the importance and effectiveness of external support to an organization like Hezbollah.

The Second Lebanon War demonstrates the capability of a nonstate actor like Hezbollah to wage war successfully against an army like the IDF, study and deconstruct the vulnerabilities of Western style military and devise appropriate countermeasures.¹²⁴ To do this, it mixed elements of war to a cocktail of a hybrid war, and used these elements as force multipliers to its advantage. A successful cocktail of he served by Hezbollah included advanced weapons, well trained troops in irregular warfare, use of media to distribute as self-profitable information, disregard of the lives of own and civilian casualties, the inclusion of a strong religious background and the last, but not least, the knowledge of the opponent with the inclusion of political and military capabilities and restrictions, and especially the opponent's moral limitations. Just the kind of "Hybrid War" Hoffman describes as a "*blend of lethality of state conflict with the fanatical and protracted fervor of irregular warfare.*"¹²⁵ The opponents will have organizations of hybrid kind, and the means by which to reach their respective objectives; they "*will exploit access to modern military capabilities... and promote protracted insurgencies that employ ambushes, improvised explosive devices, and coercive assassinations.*"¹²⁶ The Second Lebanon War served as a good example, how to fight and be successful against a western military driven force, it lessons have been learned and studied by other organizations like Hezbollah. These are the types of conflict western militaries will be faced with in the future.

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¹²³ Cordesman (2006), p. 20.

¹²⁴ Hoffman (2009a), p. 37.

¹²⁵ Hoffman (2007), p. 28.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

4 FULL SPECTRUM OPERATIONS

“Army forces combine offensive, defensive, and stability or civil support operations simultaneously as a part of an interdependent joint force to seize, retain, and exploit initiative, accepting prudent risk to create opportunities to achieve decisive results. They employ synchronized action – lethal and nonlethal – proportional to the mission and informed by a thorough understanding of all variables of the operational environment. Mission command that conveys intent and an appreciation of all aspects of the situation guides the adaptive use of Army Forces.”¹²⁷

4.1 FM 3-0 Operations

The U.S. Army Field Manual 3-0, *Operations* is the U.S. Army’s capstone manual on operations. It shapes all of Army doctrine, while influencing the Army’s organization, training, material, leadership, education and concerns of individual soldier. It is contested, examined and debated by Army leaders and officers, and measured against their strategic, operational and tactical experience before it is adapted as an accepted doctrine. FM 3-0 *Operations* is supposed to balance between the U.S. Army’s current capabilities and requirements for future operations of different levels from civil support operations to full scale war. FM 3-0 recognizes the challenge of conflicts such as Iraq or Afghanistan the U.S. Army is involved in currently, as well as its part in countering global terrorism. There is always a clear need for evaluating the current conflicts and to predict the nature of future ones. The U.S. Army has the requirement to be able to deploy forces promptly at any time, in any environment and against any adversary, for an extended period of time from stable peace through general war.¹²⁸

FM 3-0 recognizes that conflicts of today are not solved with military means alone, and that land element is critical, but then again it is only a part of the campaign. In order to achieve success in an operation extended use of all instruments of a nation’s capabilities must be used – diplomatic, informational, military, and economic. The complexity of the 21st Century conflicts is recognized. Conflicts are more than just combat between armed groups, but rather conflicts with multiple dimensions; various armed groups operating among populations, difficulties in distinguishing a friend from a foe, winning of battles and engagements not being enough to succeed, improving the civil situation, informing public and influencing specific audiences for operational purposes. Stability operations are considered as important as, if not

¹²⁷ Field Manual No. 3-0: *Operations*, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, DC, (Final Approved Draft), this publication supersedes FM 3-0, February 5, 2008, p. 3-1.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

more important, than offensive and defensive operations. As the Department of Defense policy states:

*“Stability operations are a core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defense shall be prepared to conduct and support. They shall be given priority comparable to combat operations and be explicitly addressed and integrated across all DOD activities including doctrine, organizations, training, education, exercises, materiel, leadership, personnel, facilities, and planning.”*¹²⁹

Full spectrum operations is described as simultaneous offensive, defensive, and stability or civil support operations, and it is the theme for FM 3-0 *Operations*. Since 2001 there has been a shift in understanding that stability and civil support operations cannot be something the U.S. Army conducts just as “other than war” operations. Rather the civil situation must be addressed by the U.S. Army forces directly and continuously combining tactical tasks directed against the non-combatants with tactical tasks directed against the enemy. From these tasks have risen the need for “civil-military operations” and their importance to the successful completion of the mission. FM 3-0 emphasizes the need for nonlethal actions as part of the operations, and the aspect of civilian proximity during the operation. The complexity of the conflict is stressed as an integral part of the conflict as well as the importance of land power to victory in general.¹³⁰

When discussing about the adversary or the enemy, FM 3-0 concludes that they can involve very different groupings, like criminal organizations, extremist networks, private corporate enterprises, and increasingly powerful megacities or state-like extremist organizations. Failing states can provide safe havens for the adversaries to hide. These adversaries are capable of acquiring high tech equipment, such as mobile networks or media and use them effectively. Weapons of mass destruction are a potential threat in the hands of rogue states and extremist groups and may cause a catastrophic attack. The complexity of today’s operational environment is recognized, with the emphasis on the populated urban areas and new non-geographical areas such as cyberspace. *“All adversaries, state or nonstate, regardless of technological or military capability, can be expected to use the full range of options, including political, economic, informational, and military measure at their disposal.”*¹³¹

FM 3-0 expresses the changing nature of the threats facing the United States and thus the U.S. Army at the same time. The threats are divided in four categories: traditional, irregular, cata-

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. viii.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 1-1 – 1-3; 1-5.

strophic and disruptive threats. These categories do not describe the adversary, only the nature of the threat. The adversary can use any or all of these threats in a combination.¹³²

- Traditional threats are posed by states using recognized military capabilities and forces in comprehended forms of military campaign and conflict.
- Irregular threats are posed by an adversary employing unconventional, asymmetric methods and means to counter traditional U.S. advantages. These methods and means can include such means of irregular warfare as terrorism, insurgency and guerrilla warfare, and can accompany economic, political, informational and cultural means as well.
- Catastrophic threats involve the acquisition, possession and use of nuclear, biological, chemical and radiological weapons – weapons of mass destruction (WMA).
- Disruptive threats involve an enemy using or developing new, breakthrough technologies to reduce U.S. advantages.

By combining these threats together and changing the balances of each during duration of the conflict, the adversaries will try to create conditions in which they can employ capabilities the United States and/or its forces are least prepared. The adversaries are likely to adapt quickly to the changes in the operational environment whatever they will be, and blend in the populated urban areas. They will not be limited by national restrictions; rather they will use sophisticated combinations of conventional, unconventional, irregular and criminal tactics including information operations through global networks to achieve their objectives.¹³³

In the FM 3-0 “Operations” neither the terms hybrid operations, hybrid wars or hybrid warfare nor the word “hybrid” are mentioned, but the descriptions of future adversaries nor the operational environments could well be described with the word “hybrid”.

4.2 Full Spectrum Operations

Full spectrum operations are the foundation or the U.S. Army operational concept. The goal is to employ land-power as a part of a unified action to defeat the enemy on land and create conditions that accomplish the joint force commander’s established end state. The concept dictates how the U.S. Army conducts and adapts to land operations as a part of a joint force today and in the near future anywhere, in any situation worldwide. *Full spectrum operations*

¹³² Ibid., pp. 1-4.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 1-5.

require simultaneous combination of four elements – offense, defense, and stability or civil support.¹³⁴

Of these four elements, FM 3-0 determines that offense, defense and stability operations are to be combined simultaneously by the U.S. forces conducting operations outside the United States or its territories. While those operations conducted in the United States and in its territories combine civil support operations, defense and offense in support of civil authorities. Mutually supporting lethal and nonlethal capabilities are used to support operations in either case.¹³⁵

FM 3-0 recognizes the need for multipurpose and well-trained units as well as the importance tough and adaptive commanders to successfully conduct operations. The importance of flexibility in the execution of the operations and force design is stressed throughout the concept, whether operating as a part of a U.S. joint or multinational joint operation. The need for flexibility derives from the complex operational environment. There will most likely be continuous interaction between friendly forces, different groups, local population, multinational partners, civil authorities, business leaders, civil organizations, and adversaries and enemy forces. The operations are run amongst the populations, and at the same time the civil conditions are to be improved and the enemy defeated. Thus the *full spectrum operations* emphasizes that the conflicts are more than just combat between armed opponents – it is complex and multi-leveled. The FM 3-0 underlines that the stability or civil support operations are in joint operations often more important than defense or offense.¹³⁶

In Table 1, the primary tasks and purposes of each element of *full spectrum operations* are listed.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 3-1.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 3-2.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 3-2.

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Offensive Operations</i></p> <p>Primary Tasks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Movement to contact • Attack • Exploitation • Pursuit <p>Purposes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dislocate, isolate, disrupt, and destroy enemy forces • Seize key terrain • Deprive the enemy of resources • Develop intelligence • Deceive and divert the enemy • Create a secure environment for stability operations 	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Defensive Operations</i></p> <p>Primary Tasks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobile defense • Area defense • Retrograde <p>Purposes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deter or defeat enemy offensive operations • Gain time • Achieve economy of force • Retain key terrain • Protect the populace, critical assets, and infrastructure • Develop intelligence
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Stability Operations</i></p> <p>Primary Tasks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil security • Civil control • Restore essential services • Support to governance • Support to economic and infrastructure development <p>Purposes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a secure environment • Secure land areas • Meet the critical needs of the populace • Gain support for host-nation government • Shape the environment for interagency and host-nation success 	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Civil Support Operations</i></p> <p>Primary Tasks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide support in response to disaster or terrorist attack • Support civil law enforcement • Provide other support as required <p>Purposes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Save lives • Restore essential services • Maintain or restore law and order • Protect infrastructure and property • Maintain or restore local government • Shape the environment for interagency success

Table 1: The elements of *full spectrum operations*.¹³⁷

The offensive operations are combat operations conducted to defeat and destroy enemy forces and seize terrain, resources and population centers. Offense is the decisive element of combat operations and in full spectrum operations. No matter what the situation in the conflict is to defeat the enemy at any level requires a shift to the offense, sooner or later.¹³⁸

The defensive operations are combat operations conducted to defeat an enemy attack, gain time, economize forces, and develop conditions favorable for offensive or stability operations. Normally, the defense alone cannot achieve a decision. It can create favorable conditions to offensive operations, a shield for support operations, or counter enemy offensive operations. It must be done aggressively causing the enemy as much damage as possible. The chances for counterattacks – a shift to offense – must be exploited without hesitation, in order to gain initiative in the battlefield. During force projection phases of operations, the initial entry-forces may engage in defensive operations while the forces are building up, but they should have enough combat power to deter, attack, or defend successfully.¹³⁹

Stability operations include various military missions, tasks and activities conducted in cooperation with other instruments of national power.¹⁴⁰ Stability operations may aim to provide safe and secure environment, essential government services, emergency infrastructure recon-

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 3-7.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 3-7 – 3-8.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 3-10.

¹⁴⁰ Diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments of national power.

struction support or humanitarian relief. They can be conducted in support of a host-nation, temporary government or as a part of an occupation force if no government exists. Stability support operations may facilitate reconciliation among adversaries as a neutral party. Other missions may include establishing political, legal, social and economic institutions and the support of transition of power to the legitimate local government. It is emphasized that the causes for instability must be resolved in order to achieve the commander's end state, rather than only reacting to enemy actions.¹⁴¹

Civil support operations are conducted in the United States and its territories. They are categorized as support of the Department of Defense to the U.S. civil authorities for domestic emergencies, and for designated law enforcement and other activities. These emergencies include natural or man-made disasters, accidents, terrorist attacks and other incidents. The U.S. Army forces are used when the capabilities or capacities of the domestic civilian agencies are exceeded. Primarily the civil support operations are suited for the Army National Guard, and they are limited and directed by the U.S. laws.¹⁴²

4.3 Summary

The U.S. Army Field Manual 3-0 *Operations* gives the guidelines for operational use of Army forces. It explains in detail the universal basic military tactical principles used to successfully complete a mission. I have deliberately not focused on those, but rather concentrated on the descriptions of operational environment and *full spectrum operations* of today and the future. The term *hybrid warfare* was brought to discussion, because there was a need to better understand today's and tomorrow's complex conflicts. Thus there was a need to update FM 3-0 (2008) and take a broader look on *full spectrum operations* than the previous FM 3-0 from 2001 did. FM 3-0 underlines the need for the simultaneous application all elements of *full spectrum operations* in combinations in a given operation. The weight of each element depends on the circumstances occurring at the operational environment during the given operation, and the analysis and will of the mission commander. Defense and offense are important, but in the complex operations today, stability and civil support operations are even more important to achieve the required end states. The operations are recognized to be multileveled and complex – hybrid one could say.

¹⁴¹ FM 3-0, p. 3-12.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 3-16 – 3-17.

5 ANALYSIS

This chapter is divided in two parts. First, I will discuss the similarities and differences of the two organizations involved in the case studies, namely National Liberation Front (NLF) in Vietnam War and Hezbollah in the Second Lebanon War. Second, I will compare *compound warfare*, *hybrid warfare* and *full spectrum operations* to demonstrate the similarities and differences of these three terms.

5.1 National Liberation Front vs. Hezbollah

The National Liberation Front (NLF) in Vietnam War and Hezbollah in the Second Lebanon War have similarities and differences as organizations. Both can be seen as successful participants in the conflicts they were involved in different times – the NLF in the fight against the U.S. Armed Forces in the 1960's and early 1970's, and Hezbollah 35 years later in 2006 against the Israel Defence Forces.

In Table 2, the two organizations are compared with each other.

	National Liberation Front (NLF)	Hezbollah
Political agenda	Unify the two Vietnams as one Create a unified Communist state	Form Islamic state of Lebanon Deter Israel from the Southern Lebanon
Reason of foundation	Need to gather support of nationalist elements together (around communists) in the South	Need to resist Israel
Predecessor	Vietminh	None
Ideology	Communism, nationalism	Religion, nationalism
Appearance	Initially nationalism, later communism	Initially a terrorist organization, later tried to appear as a political one
Ideological and political leadership/guidance	North Vietnam	Iran
Military wing	People's Liberation Army (PLA)	Islamic Resistance
Supporters (logistics, military training, funds, ideology)	North Vietnam, China, Soviet Union	Iran, Syria
State with-in state	No	Yes
Support base	The rural population (different tribes). Understood that to win, it had to have the support of the rural population of South Vietnam.	Lebanese Shias Understands the Lebanese Shias always been second class, easy to unify and gain support.
War waging	Terrorism (regional) Insurgency Unconventional warfare Conventional warfare	Terrorism (global) Unconventional warfare Criminality (drug production and trade, counterfeiting money) Propaganda (Media)
Weapons	Light	Light to heavy

Table 2: Comparison of National Liberation Front (NLF) and Hezbollah

If we look at the similarities of the two organisations, we can pick up the following ones:

- A clear political agenda and ideology.
- The political organisations in both had their own military organisation.
- Strong support from one or more external states. This support from outside being political, ideological, logistical, military training and economic. For both organizations the external support was essential for their survival.

The supporters of Hezbollah, Iran and Syria have substantially improved the military capabilities of Hezbollah over the years prior to the Second Lebanon War, by providing it with military training and advanced weapons.

The military wing of FLN, PLA, on the other hand, received help and support from

North Vietnam, China and the Soviet Union, which was also essential for its fighting capability.

- An effort to appear as something else than the true colours at one time or another. Initially NLF appeared rather a nationalist than a Communist party to attract other nationalists to join forces with it, and later began to persuade its Communist agenda. Hezbollah on the other hand began as a terrorist organization, but at the turn of the 21st century tried to appear as a political party in Lebanon rather than a terrorist organization. There was a shift in the actions of Hezbollah from terrorism to regional politics.
- A clearly defined social group among the population to draw support from. Yes and no. Hezbollah support base consisted of South Lebanese Shia Muslim population, which was very homogeneous and the support was easy to gain. NLF on the other hand, had to work really hard to win the support of the rural South Vietnamese to their side, since it consisted of multiple different tribes not accustomed to support the Communists in the past.
- The use of terrorism and unconventional warfare to reach goals. Both organizations used acts that can be categorized as terrorist acts, and used methods of unconventional warfare during the conflict.

Anyhow, following differences can be found in these two organizations:

- NLF had a well functioning and battle-hardened predecessor, namely Vietminh, a revolutionary organization. Hezbollah started as a new organization in the region, when the Arab members had realized that the Israel Defence Forces were not going to withdraw from Southern Lebanon. Hezbollah was inspired by the Iranian revolution and was established on a religious foundation. It can be argued that a political movement, as in this case Communism, can be as strong of a motivation as religion when measuring the fanaticism of the members of each organization. Thus I make no difference in this case whether the organization was a Communist one or religious one when measuring fanaticism, which both the NLF and Hezbollah had. Although today, religion has potential to create more fanatical movements than political trends do.
- Hezbollah was and still is a “state-with-in-state” whereas NLF had strong influence in South Vietnamese rural areas, but never had constant “state like” status – control – in a particular area for an extended period of time. Hezbollah on the other had controlled (and still controls) Southern Lebanon as if it was its own state. It provides social ser-

vices and has its own militia, and even own mass media to control information distributed to the population of the region. The Lebanese government was (and is) powerless in the face of Hezbollah in Southern Lebanon.

- Hezbollah is clearly categorized as a terrorist organization by the West whereas NLF was not, although terrorist acts such as for example assassinations and use of torture were not alien to NLF either. Another difference is that Hezbollah conducted global terrorism targeted at Western nations, whereas the terror of NLF was regional, focused in South Vietnam alone.
- Hezbollah was involved in criminal activities such as counterfeiting money as well as drug production and trade. With these criminal activities additional funds could be raised and as a by-product have a negative effect on the Western nations
- Hezbollah used media aggressively to demonstrate its resolve and success. With its own television and broadcast stations it aggressively distributed its message during the Second Lebanon War implying the divine dimension of the Hezbollah's determination in fighting Israel.¹⁴³

The most fundamental difference in these two organizations is the “state-with-in-state” appearance of Hezbollah. It acts under Lebanese government in Lebanese soil, but is in no way controlled by the Lebanese Government, which has neither capability nor will to do so, because the Shia Muslims make the majority of the Lebanese population and any effort to control Hezbollah could result unrest. Some say that it is Hezbollah which controls Lebanon rather than vice versa.¹⁴⁴ Hezbollah has a well-trained and equipped militia with combat experience against the Israel Defence Forces. It is an organization with multiple layers – religion, political, social, military, criminal, and terrorism – and it has in its possession advanced military weapons with the capability to use them effectively. It is a hybrid organization, representing the sort of hybrid threats the Western militaries are likely to face in the upcoming conflicts of the 21st century.

5.2 Compound Warfare vs. Hybrid Warfare vs. Full Spectrum Operations

In the first chapter I stated that one of the purposes of this thesis was to answer how does *hybrid warfare* differ from *compound warfare* or *full spectrum operations*? In chapter two I in-

¹⁴³ Cordesman (2008), p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ Shapira, Simon Brig.-Gen. and Dr.: Has Hizbullah Changed? The 7th Hizbullah General Conference and Its Continued Ideology of Resistance, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, December 17, 2009 <http://nwodaily.com/2009/12/has-hizbullah-changed-the-7th-hizbullah-general-conferenceand-its-continued->

roduced *compound warfare* using Vietnam War as an example. Then in chapter three I used the Second Lebanon War as an example of *hybrid warfare*. In chapter four, I explained the current U.S. Army operational concept, *full spectrum operations* by covering the main topics from the U.S. Army FM 3-0 *Operations*. In all these chapters I brought up the characteristics of each term.

In Table 3, I have gathered information from my frame of reference (p. 10) and the subsequent chapters to compare these three terms. In the *full spectrum operations* column I have included the types of operations involved in that particular matter discussed.¹⁴⁵ This is done to better understand whether *hybrid warfare* is included in *full spectrum operations* as the United States Government Accountability Office declared. Table 1 (p. 40) provides further information on the primary tasks and purposes of different *full spectrum operations*.

[ideology-of-resistance/](#), 25.3.2011.

¹⁴⁵ *Full spectrum operations* include offensive, defensive, and stability or civil support operations.

	Compound Warfare	Hybrid Warfare	Full Spectrum Operations
Conventional Warfare	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive operations
Irregular Warfare	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive/Stability operations
-Terrorism	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive Stability/Civil Support Operations
-Counter terrorism	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive Stability/Civil Support Operations
-Unconventional Warfare	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive/Stability operations
-Insurgency	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive/Stability operations
-Counterinsurgency	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive/Stability operations
Asymmetric Warfare	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive/Stability operations
Criminality	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive Stability/Civil Support Operations
Cyber Warfare		✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive Stability/Civil Support Operations
Advanced Technology	✓	✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive Stability/Civil Support Operations
Megacities or State-with-in-State or- organizations		✓	✓ Offensive/Defensive/Stability Operations

Table 3: Comparison of Compound Warfare, Hybrid Warfare and Full Spectrum Operations.

According to Table 3, all these three types of warfare seem to be very similar to each other including the same elements of war. Of these three, *compound warfare* seems most out of date, since it does not include cyber warfare or state-with-in-state organizations. On the other hand, although the Second Lebanon War does not categorize as an example of *compound warfare*, the resemblance to *compound warfare* is visible, and even clearer, if we extend the timeline

some 30 years back look at the development of Hezbollah and Middle East in general and look at the Second Lebanon War just as single battle rather than a war. Hezbollah had strong external supporters (Iran and Syria), we could argue that Hezbollah is the “guerrilla” force, and Syria the main force, the regular army, and Iran the supporter and supreme director, all of them having a common enemy, namely Israel. If we examine the way Hezbollah has operated over the years developing from poorly trained and equipped resistance cells, to a terrorist organization to a well trained militia force with considerable political weight in Lebanon, we can conclude that the basic elements of *compound warfare* are together, and that it is not all that different from *hybrid warfare*. The reason why *cyber warfare* is not included in *compound warfare* is mainly because in the example discussed in this thesis, the term did not yet exist. The Vietnam War, which served as an example of *compound warfare*, included the most advanced military technology of the time on both sides of the war. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) had been supplied with at that time the most advanced air-defence system, delivered by the Soviet Union. Had *cyberspace* been an operational environment at the time, I see no reason why it should have been omitted from the tool box of *compound warfare*, since other means of advanced technology were used as well. In *compound warfare*, just as in *hybrid warfare*, all available technologies and methods will be used to achieve desired goals by the warring parties.

In a sense, *compound warfare* is a concept to be used at the *strategic level* of a conflict whereas *hybrid warfare* more describes the tactical level circumstances within a given conflict. From the perspective of a Western observer, the opposing force’s actions and the operational environment may seem hybrid, since the opponent’s modus operandi and mind sets are different from ours. But from their respective, it probably makes perfect sense. The use of all available means to reach desired end states is acceptable, and from their point of view could be understood as a comprehensive approach to the conflict. Having said that, I could conclude that *hybrid warfare* is included in term *compound warfare*, just focusing more on the tactical level of the conflict.

While comparing *hybrid warfare* and *full spectrum operations* I must agree with the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) report of September 2010 on the term *hybrid warfare*.¹⁴⁶ The elements of *hybrid warfare* are included in the term *full spectrum operations*. FM 3-0 *Operations* describes comprehensively the operational environment of today’s conflicts, and includes the elements normally connected with the term hybrid warfare.

¹⁴⁶ United States Government Accountability Office: *Hybrid Warfare*, Washington, DC, USA, September 10, 2010.

The main difference in these terms is the occasion they were brought into discussion: *compound warfare* was the first out in the middle of 1990's, then *full spectrum operations* was introduced in 2001 by U.S. Army's then new version of FM 3-0, *Operations*, and around the same time *hybrid warfare* was introduced in the military discussion. Thus in my opinion, *full spectrum operations* is the most inclusive of the terms discussed earlier in this thesis, and it contains the two terms discussed here.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to answer the questions: what was the thinking behind *hybrid warfare*, what is it, and how does it differ from *compound warfare* or *full spectrum operations*? In my opinion, the term *Hybrid warfare* appeared in the discussion of warfare in the beginning of the 21st century, when the Western militaries became involved in complex and challenging operational environments in Afghanistan and Iraq, and military theorists and doctrine writers tried to better understand the development, including the nature of the conduct of warfare in these two wars. The adversaries and enemies were flexible, adaptable and rogue, and they used advanced weapons and employed irregular forms of warfare. The U.S. Army was around year 2000 still using doctrinal terms such as “low-intensity conflict” and “military operations other than war”¹⁴⁷, terms which were not very descriptive and unsuitable to meet the new types of conflicts. The in 2001 FM 3-0 *Operations* introduced *full spectrum operations*, but at that time the new, unfamiliar term and concept was difficult to adapt to use immediately. On the other hand, the word “hybrid” is descriptive, and it is well suited for describing the nature of modern day warfare. From linguistic perspective, the expression “hybrid warfare” probably gives a better understanding of the complexities and multi-modality of modern day warfare than the terms “compound warfare” or “full spectrum operations”. Just as the United States GAO stated that the threats and wars may well be of “hybrid” kind, due to the descriptive quality of the word “hybrid”.

The U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) do not use the word “hybrid” today. As descriptive as the word “hybrid” may be, it is still not used in the United States Army doctrines. The United States GAO report of September 2010 on *hybrid warfare* tried to put an end to the discussion of *hybrid warfare* by declaring that this was not a new form of warfare.

The other term discussed in this thesis, *compound warfare* has “disappeared” from the debate, and it is not used in any doctrine document. *Hybrid warfare* seems to be facing a similar fate, or will it? Will also the term *hybrid warfare* disappear from the discussion among American or Western military thinkers? If we look at the most recent conflicts, the Western world has got involved in, the rebellion against the Gaddafi regime in Libya, it is possible to see the potential use of the term. In the Libyan conflict, we see the poorly trained and equipped Libyan rebels facing Gaddafi’s well equipped and better trained army. Then we have the Coalition forces led by NATO, a military alliance, comprising of NATO members, non-NATO EU

¹⁴⁷ Hoffman, Frank G.: Hybrid vs. compound war, The Janus choice: Defining today’s multifaceted conflict,

members and Arab states supporting the rebels with air-power, and with no interest in bringing their land forces into the conflict. The Libyan oil fields provide the operational environment with a commercial and a strategic factor relevant to the world economy. In addition, the Coalition entered the conflict with neither a clear end state nor exit strategy. With these factors in mind, and possible national interests of the Coalition states, the on-going Libyan conflict (civil war) includes the potential elements to become a *hybrid war*. Hence the modern terms *hybrid threats*, *hybrid war* and *hybrid warfare* will, in my opinion, remain to be used in the discussions of today's and future conflicts, due to the descriptiveness of the word "hybrid" and the ease of its use.

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8 ENCLOSURES

8.1 Abbreviations

ARVN	Army of the Republic of Vietnam, the South Vietnamese Army.
COIN	Counterinsurgency
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the communist state of North Vietnam.
FM	Field Manual
GAO	the United States Government Accountability Office
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
NLF	National Liberation Front, also known as Vietcong, an umbrella organization containing representatives from several factions opposing RVN government, controlled by the Communist party.
MAAG	Military Assistance Advisory Group, early headquarters of the U.S. Assistance to South Vietnam.
MACV	Military Assistance Command, Vietnam. The command and control headquarters for the U.S. military effort in South Vietnam.
PLA	People's Liberation Army, the armed forces of NLF.
PRP	People's Revolutionary Party, the nominally independent Communist party of South Vietnam.
PAVN	People's Army of Vietnam (North), the armed forces of North Vietnam.
RVN	Republic of Vietnam (South), the pro-American state of South Vietnam.
SLA	South Lebanese Army
WMA	Weapons of Mass Destruction